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## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page	2, text l 1 —For Mahāmatan read Mahāmatana
"	4, para 1, l 4 —For uptil read up till
"	4, para 2, l 3 —For <i>Ouadheid</i> ° read <i>Oudheid</i> °
"	4, para 2, l 3 —For <i>Nederlandisch-Indie</i> read <i>Nederlandsch-Indië</i>
"	4, text l 2 —For °varmanah read varmmanah
"	5, l 6 —For Pushkaraūdi read Pushkarasādi
"	5, para 4, l 2 —For kīng read king
"	5, para 4, l 4 —For <i>yah purā Tārumay(ā)m</i> read <i>yah purā [Tā]r[u]māyā[m]</i>
"	7, f n 4, l 2 —For Mārañja° read Mārañja°
"	9, text l 8 —For [ni] read nī (K V S A )
"	9, text l 16 —For kīradu read kīngu (K V S A )
"	10, text l 50 —For errapperā° read ennapperā° (K V S A )
"	13, l 30 —For ı troke read ı stroke
"	14, last para l 2 —For III read II
"	16, l 29 —For Vājasančyin read Vājasančyī
"	17, l 33 —For Prithviśhēna read Prithviśhēna.
"	18 f n 4 —For (619 26 A D ) read (A D 629 30)
"	20, l 10 —For Taittirīya read Taittirīya
"	21, f n 1 —For Pulomburu read Pulombūru
"	22, para 3, l 10 —For Tundra read Tundra
"	23, f n 13 —For ଚକ୍ରବର୍ତ୍ତ୍ୟ read ଚକ୍ରବର୍ତ୍ତ୍ୟ
"	24, para 2, l 8 —For <i>Sṇānīr</i> read <i>Sṇānīr</i> =
"	26, f n 2 —For ବିଦିଆ read ବିଦିଆ
"	29, text l 28 —For नल° read नल° and for चञ्चल° read चञ्चल°
"	31, l 16 —For āramam read arāmam
"	33, l 29 —For irrefragible read irrefragable
"	34, l 14 —For <i>Vaiśyānām</i> read <i>Vaiśyānām</i>
"	34, l 15 —For <i>Aśhatrīyānām</i> read <i>Kshatrīyānām</i>
"	40, l 10 —For <i>yu</i> read <i>yum</i>
"	44, l 1 —For route read rout
"	44, l 24 —For shows read show
"	45, l 1 —For Kadava read Kādava
"	50, f n 7 —For Mimāmsā, and read Mimāmsā, Pāñcharātra, and
"	50, f n 8 —For <i>Shadja</i> read <i>Shadja</i>
"	50, f n 8 —For <i>Danata</i> read <i>Dhanata</i>
"	51 l 20 —For extacy read ecstasy
"	51, f n 5 —For note 14 on p 10 read note 24 on p 48
"	55, l 2 —For prose read verse
"	56, f n 9 —For Forbe's read Forbes,
"	58, f n 3 —For king Dhārā read king Dhārā(varsha)
"	60, text l 13 —For °बलद read °बल(बु)द
"	61, text l 20 —For °बादापि read °बादापि
"	61, text l 24 —For दीधवाङ् read दीधवा(वा)ङ्

- Page 61, text l 24 —For अ[ह] read अह — ८  
 „ 61, text l 27 —For निस्वा read निस्वा(स्वा)°  
 „ 63, l 40 —For forec read force  
 „ 64, para 5, l 3 —For mutās cha read mutāsā  
 „ 64, para 5, l 3 —For sutās cha read sutās=cha  
 „ 64, para 5 l 5 —For chudh read chuddh-  
 „ 65, l 33 —For Śatakratu read satui=  
 „ 65 l 36 —For l 24 read l 23  
 „ 65, l 38 —For bhūt read =bhūt  
 „ 65, f n 2 —For 169 read 199  
 „ 66, l 1 —For l 62 read l 61  
 „ 66 l 4 —For l 71 read ll 68 69  
 „ 66, l 13 —For °iāṇo read °iāṇa  
 „ 66, l 43 —For Fariukh ibīd read Fariukhābād  
 „ 71, l 8 —For Pūrāvī read Pūrāvī  
 „ 71, l 8 —For Padhama° read Padhama°  
 „ 71, text l 4 —For (त्वम्) read (त्वम्)  
 „ 72, text l 6 —For (स्व) read (स्व)  
 „ 72, text l 16 —For तस्मिन्दिव read तस्मिन्दिव  
 „ 72, f n 3 —For कृष्णामाज read कृष्णामाजो  
 „ 73, text l 27 —For (घ्न) read (घ्न)  
 „ 75, f n 1 —For भगवद्गुहा read भगवद्गुहा°  
 „ 75, f n 2 —For विनम्य read विनम्य  
 „ 76, f n 5 —For षट् read षट्  
 „ 77, para 2, l 1 —Omit of after are  
 „ 77, para 3 l 1 —For guttural read guttural  
 „ 77, para 3, l 2 —For to s read into vpadhmānīya  
 „ 77, para 4, l 3 —For Nāhadva read Nāvada  
 „ 78, l 2 and l 5 —Insert the before Māhu  
 „ 78, f n 9 —For निजवाहुवलेन read निजवा(वा)हुव(व)लेन  
 „ 79, f n 3, l 6 —For Pūrāvī read Pūrāvī  
 „ 80, l 3 —For villages read the village  
 „ 80, para 2, l 5 —Insert with after Bharthānaka  
 „ 80, para 2, l 6 —Insert with after Dhāhadva  
 „ 80, para 3, ll 2, 4, and 8 —For Kāsthā° read Kāsthā°  
 „ 80, text l 1 —For °ळहृत read °लहृत  
 „ 80, f n 2 —For Kāthūā read Kāthūā°  
 „ 81, text l 7 —For अयुत read अयुत  
 „ 81, text l 10 —For कामाटक read कामा(रणी)टक  
 „ 81, text l 15 —It may be noted that the word श्री is superfluous considering the metre.  
 „ 81, f n right hand side —For 3 read 2  
 „ 81, f n 2 —For āchatāt read -āchalāt  
 „ 83, text l 36 —For वरुवो read वरुवो(व)  
 „ 84, text l 57 —For प्रतिवह read प्रतिव(व)ह  
 „ 84, text l 57 —For °ग्रामो read °ग्रामो(म).  
 „ 87, l 9 —Insert From before the record  
 „ 87, l 10 —For attempts read attempts

- Page 88, f n 1—For 1175 1182 A D read 1175 to 1182 A D
- „ 91, text l 38—For 1 read 7
- „ 91, translation, l 3—For °nadagul read °nadigal
- „ 92, l 24—For °ttai- read °ttai
- „ 94, l 6—For saiqqī read saiqī
- „ 94, f n 2, l 3—For chose read these
- „ 95 f n 16—For स्यतिना read ब्रह्मस्यतिना
- „ 99 l 32—For dōṅgarīḥā read dōṅgarīḥā
- „ 99, l 16—For Kōlēpadra read Kōlāpadra
- „ 100 l 30—For Gōṣṣ īminī read Gōṣṣ īminī
- „ 101 l 27—For prayato read prayatō
- „ 102, l 12—For his read this
- „ 102, l 32—For प्रवधं read प्रवध
- „ 102 l 33—For तप [\*] read °तप [\*]
- „ 102 l 34—For सत read सत
- „ 103 l 15—For tasy ānujah read tasy=ānujah
- „ 106 text l 23—For दिजा° read दिजा°
- „ 108, text l 12—For सवध° read सवध
- „ 108, text l 18—For कौल° read कौला°
- „ 108, f n 12—For dōṅgarīḥā read dōṅgarīḥā
- „ 109, text l 56—For °चामेध read °चामेध
- „ 109 text l 65—Insert ° after °कनीन
- „ 109, f n 3—For सवध-चौ° read °वातियपञ्चमहाधौ°
- „ 110, f n 2—For Iḥa° read Iḥa°
- „ 113, f n 1—For Māmadi read Māmadi
- „ 116, text l 5—For °śān itī° read °śān=itī°
- „ 116, text l 10—For sobhī read sōbhū, and for mandal āgra read mandalāgra
- „ 116, text l 13—For °līsha° read °līsha°
- „ 117, text l 26—For °ttam [ā°] read °ttama(mā)°, and for chchūdā read chchū(chū)dā
- „ 117, text l 27—For °anga ja° read °anga ja°
- „ 117, text l 28—For °sy=anā read °sy=an(sv=ṭ)va
- „ 118 text l 31—For mandal āgram read mandalāgram
- „ 118, text l 32—For °bhīshuta read °bhashu(s)ta
- „ 118, text l 33—For °an-nava read °sin nava
- „ 118, text l 42—For °bhogī° read °bhōgī°
- „ 118, text l 43—For °leya ki read °līyaki°
- „ 118 f n 1—For °han dhri° read °han=dhri°
- „ 119, text l 50—For sāgara° read sagara°
- „ 122, text l 2—Insert nati- after muktā
- „ 123, text l 5—For °mānīh read °mīnīh
- „ 124, text l 17—For chakr āhva read chakrāhva
- „ 124, text l 18—For sutō bhūd read sutō=bhūd
- „ 124, text l 20—For rūpam read rūpam
- „ 131, text l 20—For Tiv āmśōr=amśu read Tiv rāmśōr=amśu
- „ 131, text l 33—For Ēn ānka read Ēnānka
- „ 132, f n 1—For ṭsō read -ṭsō
- „ 138, f n 2—For Yah kūñchanañ read yah l āñchanañ=

- Page 144, f n 9 —For °*lsharūmē* read °*lshārū.mē*  
 „ 161, l 11 —For *Kirtika* read *Kīrttika*  
 „ 168, l 9 —For *datt[īm\*]* read *dattām=*  
 „ 168, l 25 —For *alḥipt* read *sa lḥipt*  
 „ 172, f n 11 —For *पुत्रिविपेयस्य* read *पुत्रिविपेयस्य*  
 „ 172, f n 20 —For *अस्मिन्* l 28 and *सावत्सरे* read *अस्मिन्* l 26 and *सावत्सरे* and *दाद५॥*  
 „ 174, text l 31 —The figure 7 should be placed over the *danda* after *तृतीये* and the figure 8 should come after *दाद५॥*  
 „ 174, text l 32 —For *राज्यो* read *राज्या* (V V M)  
 „ 176, l 14 —Insert in the twenty-third year after *Māgha*  
 „ 177, l 11 —For *samlhō* read *samlshō°*  
 „ 183, text l 24 —For *सदाजा* read *सदाजौ*  
 „ 185, text l 41 —For *भट्ट* read *भ[ट्ट]*  
 „ 189, l 14 —For *lumbha* read *lumbha*  
 „ 189, l 15 —For *Gangala* read *Gangala*  
 „ 190, text l 11 —For *कुमाजिसिध* read *कुमाजिसिध*  
 „ 191, text l 33 —For *प्रसाद्य* read *प्रसाद्य (द्य)*  
 „ 192, para 6, l 9 —For *Bhisana* read *Bhisana*  
 „ 194, f n 6 —For *लक्ष्मीयला* read *लक्ष्मीयला*  
 „ 195, f n 7 —For *राजगुरु* read *राजगुरु*  
 „ 213, last l —For *śrēni* read *śrēni* (C R K)  
 „ 214, l 23 —For *had* read *have*  
 „ 216, f n 6 —For *Sibi* read *Śibi*  
 „ 219, l 30 —For *Simha°* read *Simha°*  
 „ 221, column 1 —For *Amarabuyanga* read *Amarabhujanga*  
 „ 222, last l —For *indentical* read *identical*  
 „ 230, l 34 —For *ommission* read *omission*  
 „ 232, l 31 —For *Pa'an* read *Pālan*  
 „ 234, l 35 —For paleographical indications noted on page 17 read chronological indications noted on page 228  
 „ 237, column 1 —Insert la after 1  
 „ 237, column 1, No 14 —For *Tiratti* read *Tiritti*  
 „ 240, text l 37 —For *trē āgni* read *trēt āgni*  
 „ 241, text l 75 —For *puñjarikṛita* read *puñjarikṛita*  
 „ 243, text l 101 —For *śāsanam* read *śāsanam*  
 „ 243, f n 6 —For *eads* read *reads*  
 „ 244, f n 3 —For *erasur* read *erasure*  
 „ 253, text l, 279 —For *ivv ūr=kkaranāttān* read *ivv-ūr ūr kharanattān*  
 „ 254, text l 310 —For *°purattu* read *purattu*  
 „ 259, l 7 —For *varippattagam* read *varippottagam*  
 „ 271, l 1 —For *son* read *younger brother*  
 „ 274, l 11 —For *village* read *village*  
 „ 281, f n 1 —For *Nīlayuāyaya* read *Nīlayudayaya*

# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

## VOLUME XXII

### No 1 —THE TEXT OF THE SOHGaura PLATE

By K P JAYASWAL, M A, BARRISTER-AT-LAW, PATNA

1 The Sohgaūrā plate<sup>1</sup> discovered in 1894 in the district of Gorakhpur and presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Dr Hoey, is one of the undoubted pre-Aśōkan documents Fleet, R D Banerji, and myself have had occasions to comment on the age of the writing<sup>2</sup> In Dr Fleet's opinion, it could even be placed earlier than 320 B C

"The standard of the Bīṣhmī characters of the inscription refers it to at any rate an early date in the Maurya period, B C 320 to about 180, and the method of spelling presented in it, along with the use of these characters and the general style of the record, would justify our placing it even before that time"  
—*JRAS* 1907, p 509

2 The inscription, however, has not been solved Dr D R Bhandarkar impressed on me the necessity of giving my attention to it The discovery of the Mahāsthān stone which has now been edited in this journal (above, Vol XXI, pp 83 ff), made it necessary to refer to this document It seems that the reading can be made out now with some certainty

3 The illustrations are in *JRAS* 1907, plate facing p 510—the Asiatic Society's photograph and Sir George Grierson's electrotpe copy It will be seen that the small-sized *l*'s on the Mahāsthān stone and those in our plate agree in shape, and so do the peculiar *m* forms (Mahāsthān, line 2) which are not found in Aśōka inscriptions This *m* is also found on a Patna glass seal<sup>3</sup> Both Sohgaūrā and Mahāsthān records have as their subject-matter *lothāgāla* (*lōshth-āgāla*) which is used in the Kautaliya Arthasāstra as a technical term for state store-houses for keeping *dravya* and grains (*Aś*, chs 36, 37, pp 93, 99, 1st ed) and refer to *ātyayika* [distress]

4 The Sohgaūrā plate was cast into several copies and is a public placard issued by the Council of Ministers of Śrāvastī, and is a document, relating to famine relief measures. It reads

<sup>1</sup> References 1894, *Bengal Asiatic Society's Proceedings*, pp 84 ff (V Smith and Hornle), 1896, *Ind Ant.*, 261 (Buhler), 1907, *JRAS*, 509 (Fleet)

<sup>2</sup> *JBORS*, VI 203 The date assigned there is c 300 B C

<sup>3</sup> *JBORS*, X 189, 192



## TEXT.

- 1 Sa<sup>1</sup>astīyāna<sup>1</sup> Mahāmātan sasane Manavasitī-ka-
- 2 dā<sup>2</sup> ( ) s[i] lī mātē<sup>3</sup> usāgame<sup>4</sup> 'va etc dave koṣṭhāgalānī. ,
- 3 Tī[ya]v-eni-Māthula- Chachu- Mōdāma- Bhalakāna chha-
- 4 lī kayiyatī (,) atīyāyikāya no galumtāyāyo ( )

## TRANSLATION.

The order of the Mahāmātras of Śrāvastī (issued) from the Manavasitī camp.

Only to the tenants, only on the advent of drought, these (the) *dravya* store-houses of Trivēnī, Mathurā, Chañchu, Mōdāma<sup>4</sup>, and Bhadrā are to be distributed (discharged); in case of distress they are not to be withheld

## COMMENTS ON THE TEXT

**Line 1** The third character is a ligature. There is a defect in the surface which produces a cut in the loop of the *s* and the leg of the *t* above it (see the first photograph). The ligature is indicated by breaking off the perpendicular line before joining to it the legs of the *s*, which may be compared with the normal *s* of lines 1 and 2.

**Mahāmātana**—The long *ā* mark to the *h* is in the middle of the perpendicular line. The *t* is of the stunted variety, with a suggestion of a projecting bar, just as in the *t* of the last line in *galumtāyāyo*.

**Sasane** There is probably a suggestion of a long *mātrā* to the first *s* in the electrottype.

**Line 2.** For the long vowel in *dā* of *Manavasitī* *Jaḍā* see the electrottype

**Silīmāte** *Silī* stands for Sanskrit *sīrī*, *sīra*, 'plough', Hindi *sīr*, 'cultivation'; *sīrīn* 'a tenant' 'a cultivator' *Māte-mātre*

**Us-āgame** the *e* mark to *m* is absolutely certain, and the *ā*-force to *s* (in the middle of the bar) is also certain in the electroplate. The expression stands for *uss-āgame* Sanskrit *ushmā-gamī*

**Dave** the lower limb of *d* is blurred. As the store-houses were evidently more than two, it is not advisable to read the word as *duīē*. It seems to be connected with the technical term of the Maurya period *dratya* in connection with Government Stores, *eg*, *dravya-pāla* (*Artha-sūtra*, ch 38)

**Line 3** *Tīyavēni* is a clear reading. The photograph shows *Māthula*, but the electrottype *Māthula*. The long vowel to *h* in *Bhalakāna* can be seen in the photograph, though it is faint.

**Line 4** The *i*-mark to *l* in *chhālī*, is faint. *Chhālī* Sanskrit *lśharī*<sup>1</sup>; *chhālī-kayiyatī*, 'to be spent', 'to be discharged'. *Chhā* was mistread by Fleet as *ra*. There is a straight bisecting line in the circle. Bühler read it correctly.

## LOCALITIES.

Trivēnī, Mathurā, Chañchu, Mōdāma and Bhadrā must have been in the Kōsala Province, of which Śrāvastī was the capital. This Mathurā, therefore, is not the Mathurā of the Śūrasena but a town or village somewhere in Oudh, Gorakhpur or Champaran. We have an important village *Mathuliyā* in Champaran. *Chañchu* (Glūzīpur)<sup>2</sup> could be within the jurisdiction of the

<sup>1</sup> Ligature *eli* the right leg of *t* touches *e* *See* *Ar* of *ya*

<sup>2</sup> *a* vowel mark is traceable in both photographs

<sup>3</sup> There seems to be a long *i* to *s*, and to *l*. See electrottype

<sup>4</sup> If it be taken as an adjectival form like *Māthula*, the place-name would be *Mudāma*


<sup>5</sup> *Kshar* (क्षर), to pour out, to flow, to dissolve or dissipate

<sup>6</sup> *JRAS*, 1907, 525

## THE TEXT OF THE SOHGAURA PLATE

provincial government of Śrāvastī, as the district of Gorakhpur was, but more likely it was another place between *Truēnī* (*ghāt*) and *Bhadrā*—between the districts of Gorakhpur and Champaran or thereabout. Nothing is known about *Mōdāma* or *Mudāma*. *Bhadrā* (Bhalla) was a common name. *Manavasīti* (Mānavaśīti) is to be looked for in the Tarāi. Its name shows that it was a cool resort.

### THE SOHGAURA AND KUMHRAR PILLAR SYMBOLS

Amongst the symbols the moon (*Chandra*) placed on a hill-like combination and next to it the large *Mo* (like the *ms* in the inscription—in two separate parts) denote an imperial monogram for **Chandra**[gupta]**M**[aurya]. We have the same moon symbol on the Kumhrar pillar [*ASR*, 1912-13, p. 78, pl. XLIX] where it certainly means '*Chandragupta*'. The hill-like combination stands for *gutta* , the upper loop is *g* and the lower loops are *tta*, and on the top of the combination stands *chanda* or *chandra*. This monogrammatic method of writing is what is called *Śilpa-lipi* (i.e., *art-writing*) in the text cited by Dr. Hirananda Sastri (*Proceedings and Transactions of the 6th Indian Oriental Conference*, p. 11). It will be seen from the plate published in the *ASR* that in the centre, by the side of the central dot, there is the symbol for **Chandagutta**, then there is an abrasion in the stone (which I have examined and seen on the actual stone), then opposite there is in a somewhat cursive hand three letters—reading from right to left—'*Moriya*'. This along with the symbol reads '*Moriya-Chandagutta*'. That Chandragupta Maurya had his royal monogram is clear from the Kautaliya *Arthasā-*, ch. 50, p. 129 [*'rājānka*' branded on royal animals] and ch. 93, p. 249 [*'narēndrānka*' engraved on weapons and armours for the use of soldiers].<sup>1</sup>

The *Mo* on the Sohgaura plate is to the right of the monogram. For the full form of the *o*-force, see electrotype.

The two trees probably signify the drought stage from leafy to leafless, and the houses for stores.

### THE DATE

Apart from the monogram, the date is to be gathered from certain circumstances. At the time, Śrāvastī was under a Council of Mahāmātras. This will be true of the Nanda and Maurya times when Kōśala was reduced to the position of a province of the Magadhan empire. The lettering will show an age about a century before Aśōka. The document indicates that extensive measures were adopted by the State to meet threatened or repeated droughts, and the measures were largely advertised for the information of the public. This and the Māhāsthān tablet seem to be contemporary documents of the reign of **Chandra-gupta Maurya** when repeated droughts occurred, according to the Jaina theological history. Both Sohgaura and Mahāsthān inscriptions refer to '*atvyāyika*' circumstances.

<sup>1</sup> I reserve a fuller discussion on the Kumhrar pillar for a separate paper. It is sufficient to note here that the circles denote the plan of this pillar. My brother Mr. U. S. Jayaswal, who is an engineer by profession, without knowing anything of the actual position of the pillar, said that it should be the 8th pillar in the third row according to these 'erection marks'. This agrees to the letter on Dr. Spooner's plan (XLI, p. 69). The sectional plan to the right on the pillar and its circles for the pillars and three lines before the letter *mū* constitute a copy of Dr. Spooner's plan of a group of 8 pillars on the site, reckoning it facing south where the main gate stood. What Dr. Spooner took to be Persian symbols are simply the direction for erection, noting '*mūlha*' 'face'—'gate'. *Mā* and *lha* (or, *lho*) cover the whole of the sectional plan. The letters by the circles read (left to right) "*lhabbha*", 3, 3."

## No 2—SHELL CHARACTER ROCK INSCRIPTION AT CI-ARUTÖN (JAVA)

By K P JAYASWAL, M A, BARPISTI R-AT-I AW, PATNA

A cursive and florid writing has been found in various places in India. I have seen it in the rock-cut cave house at Khandgiri in the so called Lalāta Kūṣārī Gumphā, at the door of the Gupta or pre Gupta temple standing at Tigawān, at Rājgir, at Patna, etc., and one text reported several times at Rāmtek (Nagpur) has been brought to light by Dr Turner<sup>1</sup>. Uptil now it has been called "Shell characters" or Sankha writing owing to the cursive forms of letters which resemble a conch-shell<sup>2</sup>.

Lately I had to study the "box headed" writing of the Javanese inscriptions which have been edited by Dr Vogel under the title *The Earliest Sanskrit Inscriptions of Java in Publications van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst in Nederlandisch-Indië*, Deel I (Wolterreden, 1925). A Shell inscription is engraved at Ci-Aruton below the foot-prints of King Pūrṇavarman. The toes of the king are represented to have had lotus-marks, the auspicious *lal shana* (marks), which have been taken by several Dutch scholars to be a representation of "spiders". The whole purpose of the inscription is to emphasise this *sānudrila lal shana*.

The main inscription is in box-headed letters of the Vāṭ ṭaka type, which has been accurately read by Dr Vogel (p 22) as follows —

- 1 Vikkrūntasy-āvanpatāh
- 2 Śrīmatah Pūrṇavarmanah
- 3 Tīrūmā-nagarāndrasya
- 4 Viśhnōr-iva padā-dāyam

Plate 28 of Dr Vogel's book which is reproduced here gives the facsimile of the foot-prints and the inscriptions in shell and box-headed letters.

It is evident that the two inscriptions are contemporary with the foot-prints (*pādulā*). It was to record the description of the foot-marks that the inscriptions were engraved. The shell writing was drawn first and then the "box-headed" one. This is apparent from the position of the two inscriptions. The loop of the first letter of the shell line caused a little slanting of the box-headed lines. The shell line is just below the *pādulā* and occupies a more prominent position.

On the evening of the 14th April (1933) I placed the plate before my learned friend Dr Hirananda Sastri with my view that here was a bi scriptory writing, and that it was possible to solve the shell record with the help of the box-headed record which gives the purpose of the inscription. Dr Hirananda Sastri<sup>3</sup> agreed with that view. I now place my reading before scholars.

The line opens with *Śrī*, placed just between the two large toes, and reads ŚRĪ PŪRṆA-VARMAHA. It may be noticed that three *ns* are the same in shape.

The writing is very likely the *Paushlarasādīṇā*, one of the three main *lipis* of Northern India mentioned in Buddhist books (Buhler, *Indische Palaeographie*, p 2). The shell writing

<sup>1</sup> J B O R S 1933, Dec issue

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham finding it mostly on Gupta monuments thought that the writing arose in Gupta times (R VIII, p 129). But this is disproved by Silaharī cave inscriptions (of Rawah) where it is associated with contemporary writing of C 100 A D—A S R, 1927-28, p 138. I have examined the latter, and one of them seems to give the same donor's name as the Brāhmī lines.






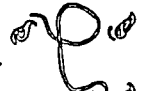

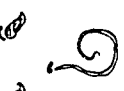




<sup>3</sup> [Mr Jayaswal's reading seems to be plausible but till we have examined all the known inscriptions in this curious script we should treat it as a working hypothesis—H S J]

# Rock Inscription at Ci-Aruron (Java)



REPRODUCED FROM DR J PH VOGEL'S EARLIEST SANSKRIT  
INSCRIPTIONS OF JAVA

## MR K P JAYASWAL'S CHART

FROM PHOTOGRAPH	FROM ESTAMPAGE	VALUES
		śrī
		pūr
		n
		na, nah
		va
		rma



has been always found in Northern India, and its present instances are found on certainly Gupta monuments, the Rājgir writings on the road may be much earlier. Its cursive form shows that it was a non-monumental, i.e., book writing. The *virāma* sign below *n* in our inscription has its descent in the modern Nāgarī and Bengali scripts. The system is purely Hindu, the forms, though different, have basic unity with Brāhmī forms. It seems that Pushkarāḍi with whose personal name the system is associated, invented the system from Brāhmī. A modern example of a similar type of invention is Gurumukhī. The head of each letter in our inscription is headed with a line as in Nāgarī, Bengali and other modern Aryan scripts of the north. This would have arisen in book-writing with pen-and-ink, to keep a straight line in view. The flourishes of long looped vowel-signs and rounded forms of the letters also point to the system of pen-and-ink.

The *ṛ* in our inscription is almost identical with the Brāhmī letter, *p* has a loop to the left instead of to the right, which would denote an earlier origin when *p* was written both ways. The superscript vowel-mark is doubled to denote a long sound. The *m* here has only one arm of the Brāhmī *m* instead of two. The *n* form is entirely unconnected. The *ś* is somewhat unconnected, it resembles remotely the Brāhmī form turned upside down. The superscript and subscript *r* has the same form as in Brāhmī. The double *i* mark resembles the Brāhmī system of the fourth century A.D. The mark for *visarga* on the top of the last *na* resembles a half form of the *ṛiḥāmūliya* sign of the Brāhmī. The origin of the script would go back to B.C. centuries owing to the forms of *p* and *ś* and the unconnected form of *n*. The *mātrās* would have been influenced in their development by the general system which we find in Brāhmī.

#### A NOTE ON PĀḌUKĀS

The custom of giving *pāḍukās* still survives in India. The Jainas have throughout set up *pāḍukās* to their Āchāryas. Sannyāsins *maithas* still make such memorials to their Mahants. In every case they are memorials to dead personages. The custom survives among Bengal Hindus, where the dead *guru-jana*'s foot-prints are taken on a piece of paper after besmearing the soles with lac-dye (*ālā*—Skt *alaka*), whereby actual prints are reproduced. These prints are preserved.

Pūrṇavarman's foot-prints have given rise to various speculations amongst the Dutch scholars. Dr. Vogel has rightly pointed out (p. 25) that the other foot-prints of the king at Jambu were engraved on the place of cremation. The wording of the inscription indicates that the foot-prints were engraved after the king's death (*yah purā Tāruman(ā)m nāmnā śrī Pūrṇavarmanmā*). Similarly the Ci-Aruton inscription is to be taken as an after-death memorial, engraved probably at the place of the Śrāddha. There is no justification in the text to regard it as a dedication to a living man as taken by the Dutch scholars. It was not for worship, and it was not worshipped in his life-time.<sup>1</sup>

#### No 3—MANUR INSCRIPTION OF MARANJADAIYAN

By PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, M.A., MADRAS

Mānūr is a village in the Tinnevely district about nine miles from Tinnevely on the road to Sankaranayinārkōyil. On one of the pillars in the Ambalavānasvāmī temple of this village is

<sup>1</sup> The foot-prints of his elephant (p. 27) Jayasāla (which is the name of the animal) is a memorial to his favourite *ūhana*, and must have been engraved after its death.

found engraved the following inscription<sup>1</sup> of the reign of Mārañjadaiyan, which I edit from a set of excellent ink impressions received from the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras. The inscription has been noticed briefly by the late Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1907, and its contents were summarised by the late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri in the *Annual Report* for 1913 -

The record occupies a space of about 7' x 1' 2" and consists of sixty-four lines of equal length. It is incomplete, a few words being wanting at its end. Line 21 has not come out clearly in the impression, but the words in this line can be easily supplied from the context on the analogy of ll 27-9 which seem to repeat the phrasing employed here. Otherwise the inscription is very well preserved.

The alphabet employed is Vatteluttu with an admixture of Grantha letters especially for ligatures, such as *lshai*, *sia*, *sta*, *sti*, *śrī*, *hma*, *bra*, *pra*, *dda*, *ya*, *ri*, *lla*, and for some words like *sabhai*, *vīda*, *dharmma* and *stīdhana*. In Grantha letters, the length of the medial *i* is marked by the sign of a medial *ā* attached to the right of the letter in *śrī* in lines 1 and 10, the sign representing a medial *ā* is itself a plain short horizontal stroke from the right end of which hangs a vertical one—see *brā* in lines 17 and 23, and *srā* in line 29. The Vatteluttu letters resemble in general appearance those of the Ambāsamudram inscription of Varaguna Pāṇḍya<sup>2</sup>. The size of the letters is larger in the first five lines than in the following. The letter *la*, however, resembles more the *la* of the Āṇamālī inscription<sup>3</sup> than that of the Ambāsamudram record. The medial *ī* is marked by a loop below the letter *i* in ll 1 and 10, and the short *u* by a single vertical stroke below the same letter in line 13. The *pulli* is clearly marked in some cases as in *paṅgu* (l 14), *paṅgavum* (l 34) and *paṇḍikarum* (ll 34-5), but is not so clear elsewhere. One and the same letter is found written in slightly different forms, and different letters sometimes look so alike that we have to depend on the context for their proper identification. As an example of the former tendency the vowel *i* at the beginning of line 25 may be compared with the same letter in lines 5, 11, 26 and elsewhere in the inscription. Compare also, in this connection, the letter *lu* in ll 27 and 28 with *lu* in l 23 and *lū* in l 8, and *yū* in lines 9 and 12. Instances of the latter are furnished by *pa* and *tu* occurring twice in line 5, by the very slight difference between *tu* in this line and *ru* at the end of the preceding one, distinguished from the former by a slight hook at the top of its left arm, and by the letters *pa* and *u* in line 11. It may also be noted that in line 33, *īā* and *la* look alike, the stroke indicating medial *ā* in the former having crossed the vertical of the main letter, whereas the distinction between the two letters is clearly maintained elsewhere *e.g.*, in l 54. These peculiarities only go to confirm the correctness of the view that the Vatteluttu may be described as a cursive script which bears the same relation to the Tamil as the modern northern alphabets of the clerks and merchants to their originals, *e.g.*, the *Mōḍi* of the Marāṭhās to the *Bālboḍh*<sup>4</sup>.

The vowel *ai* occurs once in line 58. The letter *ya* is unisepate and looks much simpler than in the Ambāsamudram inscription and closely resembles the form of the letter in the Vāṭṭikudi grant. The sign for the medial *i* is invariably attached as in the Vāṭṭikudi grant to the right

<sup>1</sup> No. 423 of 1906 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

<sup>2</sup> Part II, paragraph 23.

<sup>3</sup> *Ante*, Vol. IX, plate opposite page 90.

<sup>4</sup> *Ante*, Vol. VIII, plate opposite page 320.

<sup>5</sup> [Nowhere else in the record is the *pulli* marked and it is therefore doubtful if it is marked in the instances noted here. The marks looking like *pulli* on the impression may be due to the roughness of the stone.—EJ.]

<sup>6</sup> Bühler—*Indian Palaeography* ed. Fleet, p. 75.

side of the letter, and never, as invariably in the Ānaimalai and sometimes in the Ambāsamudram inscriptions, placed at the top of the letter

Palaeographically, this inscription belongs to the same group as the Ānaimalai and Ambāsamudram inscriptions and the Vēlvikudi and the Madras Museum grants of Jātīlavarmān. To the same group may be assigned the Tirupparangunram and the Trivandrum Museum stone inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> Slight differences as in the formation of the letter *ya*, the disposition of the medial *i* symbol, and the general appearance, sloping (Ānaimalai and Vēlvikudi) or vertical (Madras Museum, and Ambāsamudram), of the letters in an inscription do not, in the case of Vatteluttu records, furnish any reliable criteria for a close determination of their exact age.<sup>2</sup> It seems to me therefore that the Mānūr inscription of Mārāñjadaiyan is also a record of the reign of the celebrated donor of the Vēlvikudi grant and the Madras Museum plates

It must be observed, however, that the high regnal years in this and in some other inscriptions of Mārāñjadaiyan have been considered to be an obstacle in the way of accepting this conclusion.<sup>3</sup> I have pointed out elsewhere what appears to me the proper method of reconciling these high regnal years with the historical data furnished by the Vēlvikudi and the larger Śīnuamanūr grants,<sup>4</sup> and I need not repeat the arguments here. I have also examined elsewhere the views recently expressed by Mr K. V. Subramania Aiyar on some inscriptions of Mārāñjadaiyan and on the date of the accession of Varaguna Mahārāja.<sup>5</sup>

The language of the inscription is Tamil, but Sanskrit words are also employed wherever necessary. The rules of *sandhi* are sometimes observed, as in *nūrraru* (l 4), but more often not—*pattu onbadu* (l 5), *lūdi irundu nūr* (ll 11-12) and so on. The letter *v* is needlessly duplicated in two places—*manrāduraḍāgarum* (ll 45-6) and *śeyradāga* (l 61). The grammatical construction of the sentence at the beginning of the *iyasīlai* (ll 14-20) is peculiar, but might be heard to day from the mouth of any Sanskrit Pandit in South India. Some words are used in peculiar senses now obsolete, examples are *manrādutal* in the sense of 'to discuss or deliberate' more generally, 'to take part in the proceedings (of an assembly)', and *śīraṇai*, a word unknown to literature, and apparently closely allied in meaning to *pangu*,<sup>6</sup> as can be seen from the general sense of lines 31-34 read along with ll 18-19. *Śrāṇai* and *āṇam* are doubtless two forms of the same word—cf *Śramana*, *amana*, and *Śrāvana*, *āvan*. And the old Tamil lexicon

<sup>1</sup> Cf Venkayya at *Ind Ant.* Vol XXII, p 68 and *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1907, Part II, p 20, as modified by 1908, II, 36, and above, Vol IX, p 86, n 13 [Mr A. S. Pamanatha Aiyar thinks that it is wrong to group together the Ānaimalai, Ambāsamudram, Vēlvikudi, Madras Museum, Tirupparangunram and Trivandrum Museum inscriptions as belonging to the same period. He suggests that the letters of the Mānūr record which do not exhibit the older forms of *r*, *n* and *ṛ* can favourably be compared with the writing in inscriptions of Mārāñjadaiyan (*Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol IV, p 119), Śādayamūran (*ibid*, pp 121-122) and Vira Pāndya (*ibid*, Vol III, pp 69 and 72)—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> Cf Krishna Sastri's remarks above, Vol XVII, p 292 and *South Indian Inscriptions*, III, p 442.

<sup>3</sup> *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1907, II, 21, is tentative on the point, 1929, II, 8, is more decisive.

<sup>4</sup> *The Pāndyan Kingdom*, Chap IV and pp 253-5. [Mr A. S. Ramanatha Aiyar is of opinion that the Mānūr inscription must be attributed, palaeographically, to a later Mārāñjadaiyan, probably Parāṇakā-Vīraṇārāyaṇa Śādayan, the brother of Varagunavarman of A.D. 862. He also considers that a few records of Mārāñjadaiyan which cite high regnal years, viz Nos 298 of 1916 (35th year), 431 of 1914 (35th +\*), 12 of 1928-29 (35+6th year), 863 of 1917 (35+7th year), 605 of 1915 (43rd year) and 104 of 1905 (39th year), all of the Madras Epigraphical collection, are palaeographically similar to the Mānūr record and may have to be ascribed to the king named above.—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol XX, pp 46-54, Early Pāndyan Chronology—*Journal of Indian History* 1932 April.

<sup>6</sup> In No 64 of 1898 we have the phrase *manaiyūṁ śrāṇaiyūṁ ulliṭṭa oṇu paṇḍu*. Here *śīraṇai* would seem to be a unit of land other than a house site. The word is evidently used in the sense of document or title-deed in an inscription (323 of 1910) of the reign of Kulōttunga I in the phrases *vīlai śrāṇai ppaiyūṁ* and *vīlai yīlai śrāṇai ppaiyūṁ*, with which cf *vīlai āṇam* (sale deed).



*Pingalam* gives for the word *ānam* the meaning of 'right (to property)' Speaking generally, *śrāṇai* like *ānam* may be taken to denote right to property, and '*śrāṇai pugu*' to mean, 'to enter upon and exercise the right of ownership' The words *lachcham*<sup>1</sup> (agreement) and *kuṭṭukkal* (obstruction) may also be noted as perhaps interesting colloquialisms of the time

The object of the inscription is to record a resolution of the *sabhā* of Mānamlainallūr The resolution is called *vayasthai* in Sanskrit, and *lachcham* in Tamil The resolution fixed the procedure to be followed in future meetings of the *sabhā* by laying down the minimum qualifications in terms of property, education and character, that would entitle persons to take part in the work of the *sabhā* It also stated that no kind of *vāriyam* was to be assigned to a person who did not possess a full share in the lands of the village This is one of the earliest uses of the term *vāriyam* known to South Indian Epigraphy The Ambāsamudram inscription of the sixteenth year of Varaguna Mahārāja mentions the *vāriyar* of the *sabhā* of Ilanāṅkkudi It is not easy to decide if these terms in these Pāṇḍya records refer to committees of the assembly in the same manner as the Uttaramūr inscriptions of Chōla Parāntaka I belonging to a later century and another part of the country It is not improbable that the earlier records only imply the choice of particular individuals for the performance of specified tasks, and that the *vāriyar* were individual officers carrying out the orders of the *sabhā* rather than an executive committee with wide discretionary powers such as the committees of Uttaramūr undoubtedly were<sup>2</sup> However that may be it is clear that the present resolution of the *sabhā* of Mānamlainallūr forbade any responsible executive duties being entrusted in the future to persons who did not satisfy a minimum property qualification Lastly, the resolution lays down the penalty of a fine of five *kaṇ*'s per head for failure to observe its terms and for wilful obstruction, and avers that, even after the penalty is enforced, the original terms of the resolution shall be acted upon

This inscription is unique in the insight it gives into the actual working of the autonomous village assembly in *brahmadēya* villages under the early Pāṇḍyas The existence of such *sabhās* is known from other records of the time like the Ambāsamudram inscription mentioned above, and an inscription from Tiruchendūr<sup>3</sup> But the inscription cited here is the only early Pāṇḍya inscription giving particulars of the constitution and working of the *sabhā* A meeting of the general body is summoned by the beating of a large drum—*perunguṛi vāṛṛi* (ll 9-10)<sup>4</sup> The assembly, *mahāsabhā*, met at the stated hour in a public place fixed beforehand,—here it was Gōvardhana,<sup>5</sup> apparently signifying a Vishnu temple of which there seem to be almost no traces left at present<sup>6</sup> The rules made on this occasion by this *sabhā* show that while in the assembly, generally speaking, all land owners were represented, still an active part in the deliberations of the assembly was allowed only to those persons the extent of whose property did not fall below a prescribed minimum and who, in addition, had attained a certain standard of education and possessed good character The work of the assembly when it was not in session, including the carrying out of its decisions in particular matters, was apparently entrusted to *vāriyar* of its choice Of the number and duties of the *vāriyar*, we derive no knowledge from the inscriptions of the time

<sup>1</sup> Kittel notes in his Kanarese English Dictionary that *kan lattu* is a derivative of Skt *larya*, and our *lachcham* may be the same word in another form The expression *vai pramukha lachchatta* occurs in South Indian Inscriptions Vol I, No 52, l 4

<sup>2</sup> See my *Studies in Chōla History and Administration*, pp 82-3, 133-134

<sup>3</sup> No 26 of 1912 and No 156 of 1903 of the Madras Epigraphical collection

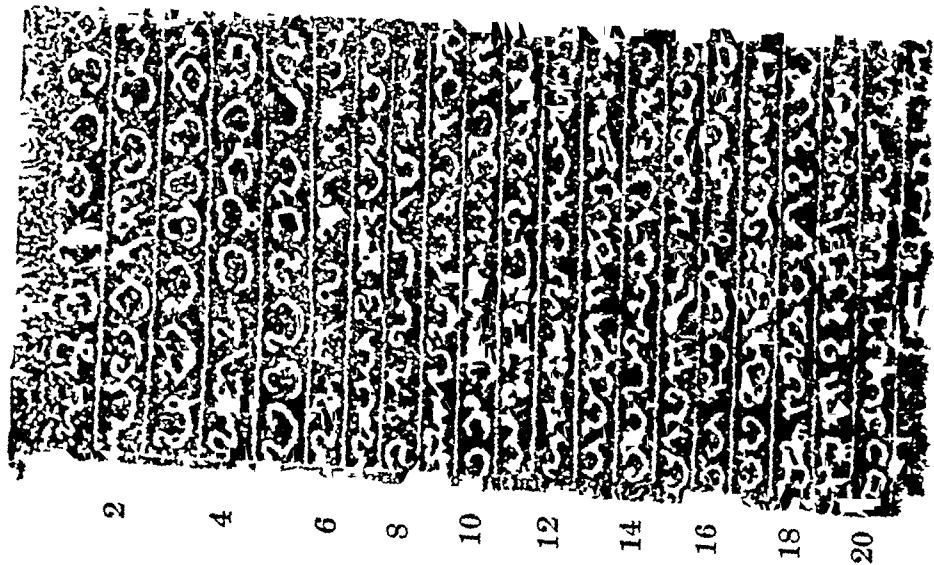
<sup>4</sup> A Chōla inscription (103 of 1897) has the phrase *dharmā yādip perunguṛi laṭṭi*

<sup>5</sup> Cf 64 of 1898 from Uttaramūr saying *emmūr śrī gotardānattu Mahāviṣṇuḥ laṭṭu*

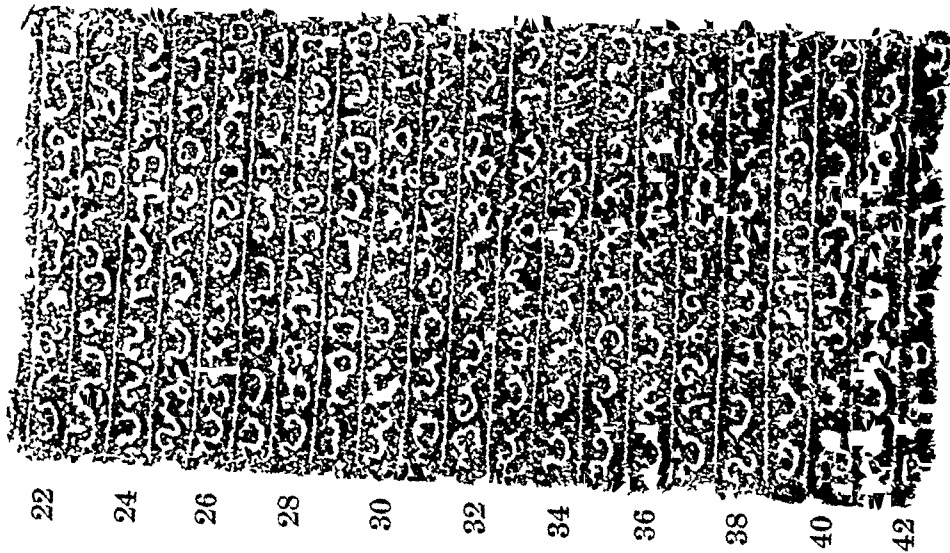
<sup>6</sup> "The foundations of a few old buildings may be traced in the paddy fields to the west of the village, but it is now impossible to account for the 1008 Brahman houses which, according to a local belief, once existed on the site"—*Tinnevely Gazetteer*, p 476



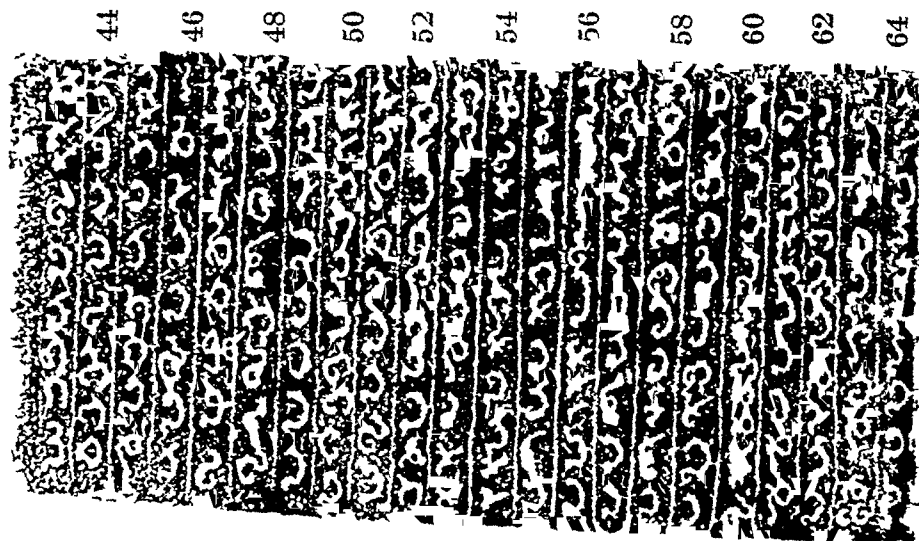
1st Side



Second Side



Third Side



Of the geographical data supplied by the inscription, *Mānanilaimallūr* is obviously the present *Mānūr*. The *nādu* in which this place was located bore the name *Kalakkudī*. Other places in *Kalakkudī-nādu* mentioned in the inscriptions are *Karuvāṇallūr*,<sup>1</sup> seven miles to the north of *Śankaranaynārkōyil*, and *Karavandapuram*,<sup>2</sup> which seems to have had the alternative name of *Kalakkudī* as can be inferred from the *Āṇaimalai* inscriptions.<sup>3</sup> It has been suggested that *Kalakkudī* might be identical with the modern village of *Kalakkād* in the *Nāngunēri Tāluk*.<sup>4</sup> Considering that the *nādu* extended to the north beyond *Śankaranaynārkōyil*, it may be doubted if *Kalakkudī-Karavandapura* could be the same as *Kalakkādu*, too far south in the *Nāngunēri Tāluk*. *Ambāsamudram* and *Śrīmādēvi* to the north of *Kalakkādu* were part of *Mulli-nādu*, and *Kalakkādu* is itself said to have been in the *Vānavan-nādu*, in a record of a later date.<sup>5</sup> There is a village called *Kalakkudī* in the *Tinnevely Taluk* itself, which may possibly have been the headquarters of the *nādu*.

## TEXT.

*First side*

- 1 Svasti śrī || Kō Mārañja-
- 2 daiyaṅku yāndu
- 3 muppattaiñju
- 4 nāl nān-nūṅṅ-aṅu-
- 5 pattu-onbadu i-
- 6 n-nā]āl Ka]ak[ku]dī-
- 7 nāttu brahmaḍṇyam Māna-
- 8 [n]laimallūr māhāsa-<sup>6</sup>
- 9 bhayōm perungurī śā-
- 10 ṅṛī śrī-Gōva[r\*]ddhanattu-kkū-
- 11 dī irundu ivv=ūr mā-<sup>6</sup>
- 12 hāsabhayōm kudī? manṛā-
- 13 duṣadanukku śeyda vyaṣastai-
- 14 y=āṣadu ivv=ur<sup>8</sup> pangudai-
- 15 yār makkaḷ sabhaiyil maṅ-
- 16 ṛādukūradu oru dha[r\*]ma[m\*]-utpa-
- 17 da Mantirabrāhmanam vallār su-
- 18 vṛittar=āy iruppārē oru pan-
- 19 giṇūkkū<sup>9</sup> oruttarē sabhaiyil
- 20 manṛāduvadāgavum vilaiyum
- 21 [pratigrahaṃum strī-dhanamum-udai-]<sup>10</sup>

*Second side*

- 22 yār oru dhanmam=uppa<sup>11</sup>
- 23 da Mantirabrāhmanam

<sup>1</sup> No 424 of 1906 of the *Madras Epigraphical collection*.

<sup>2</sup> No 418 of 1906 of the same collection.

<sup>3</sup> *Ante*, Vol VIII, p 318 and n 8

<sup>4</sup> No 130 of 1905 of the *Madras Epigraphical collection*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *lūd*. The suggestion may be made that *ludī manṛādu* means 'deliberate on the affairs of the village', but there is no other instance of such usage.

<sup>6</sup> Read *ivv=ūr*

<sup>7</sup> Read *ṇukku*

<sup>8</sup> Conjectural reading based on l 28 below.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>10</sup> Read *māhā*

<sup>11</sup> Read *utpāda*

- 24 vallaṭ=īṣṣuṭṭa(r)ttar=āy  
 25 iruppārṭi manṛādu-  
 26 vāḍāgavum idan=mēr<sup>1</sup>-  
 27 pātṭadu vilaiṛālu-  
 28 ri pratigrahattālum str<sup>2</sup>-  
 29 dhānattālum śrāvanai  
 30 puguvār muḷu śrāva-  
 31 nāi anṛi kāl śrāva-  
 32 nāiyum vāich=chirāvanai-  
 33 yum mukkal śrāvanaiyu-  
 34 m puguvum panikkavu-  
 35 m perāḍi[r=ā]gavum pa-  
 36 ngu vīlakkū kolpa-  
 37 vār<sup>3</sup> oru vādam ell[ā]  
 38 idamum sa-pariśiṣṭi[t]a-  
 39 m parikṣai tandārkkē  
 40 śrāvanai panuppādā-  
 41 gavum ip=parisu an-  
 42 ri śrāvanai pulkṛaiyumu

## Third side

- 43 pinnaiyumu ik=kach-  
 44 chattil patta-pari-  
 45 ṣṭ manṛāduvadiga(v)-  
 46 vum ip=parisṁā-  
 47 l muluch=chirāvanai  
 48 illādārai evvagi-  
 49 patta vāriyumu-  
 50 m ṛrappērādār<sup>4</sup>=āgavu-  
 51 m ip=parisu śeygin-  
 52 rūrum anrenru kuttu-  
 53 kkāl śeyyapperidā<sup>5</sup>-  
 54 r=āgavum kuttukkal śey-  
 55 vāraiyum kuttukkal śe-  
 56 vīrkkū<sup>6</sup> uṛavāyudani<sup>7</sup>-  
 57 ppāriyumu evvārru-  
 58 vagai ayyaṇṇu l[ā]ṣu tan-  
 59 dan-gondu pinnaiyumu  
 60 ik=kachcha[t\*]til patta-pari-  
 61 ṣṭ śev(i)adīgavum i-  
 62 p=parisu panittu vyava-

<sup>1</sup> r lool s like n<sup>2</sup> Read strī-<sup>3</sup> Read tar [The impression reads lo(v)ār—Ed.]<sup>4</sup> rra lool s like rana, cf ra in mūra in l 1 Likewise rā and dā look much alike<sup>5</sup> ru and dā look alike<sup>6</sup> Read śeyārkkū<sup>7</sup> The reading is doubtful Mr C R Krishnamachari suggests that it may be read as upō[lam]—in the sense of upō[ra], and that upō[ra] nippār may be rendered as those standing by or near, i.e., abettors.

63 *stai śeydōm mahāsabhāi-*  
 64 *yōm mahāsabhaiyār [pa]*<sup>1</sup>

## TRANSLATION

Lines 1-14 Hail ' Prosperity ' the year thirty-five, and day four hundred and sixty-nine of (the reign of) King Mārañjadaiyan,—on this day, we, (the members of) the *mahāsabhā* of Mānanilainallūr, a *brahmadēya* in Kalakkudi-nādu, having proclaimed a general body meeting by beat of drum, and, having assembled in the sacred Gōvardhana, made the following resolution (*vyavasthai*) for conducting deliberations in the meetings of the *mahāsabhā* of this village

Ll 14-20 In the matter of the share-holders of this village taking part in the deliberations of the assembly, only those who are conversant with *Mantra-brāhmaṇa* inclusive of one *Dharma* and are of good conduct shall take part in the discussions of the *sabhā*, only one person (*representing*) a share,

Ll 20-26 of those who own (*shares*) by purchase gift or dowry, only such as are conversant with *Mantra-brāhmaṇa* inclusive of one *Dharma* and are of good conduct shall take part in the deliberations,

Ll 26-35 in the future, those who exercise their right of property (*śrāvanai-puguvār*) (*acquired*) by purchase, gift or dowry, shall not, except by (*possessing*) full *śrāvanai*, exercise their right and vote<sup>2</sup> (*merely*) in virtue of a quarter, half or three-quarters of a *śrāvanai*,

Ll 35-45 among those who acquire shares by purchase, the *śrāvanai* shall be awarded only to such as have passed an examination in an entire Vēda together with the *Parīśiṣṭa*, and those who enter upon a *śrāvanai*, by means other than the above, shall take part in the discussions only in accordance with the terms of this settlement (*kachcham*),

Ll 46 51 in virtue of this arrangement, those who do not possess a full *śrāvanai* shall not be selected to any kind of *vāriyam*,

Ll 51-61 those who abide<sup>3</sup> by this agreement shall not say ' nay ' and cause any obstruction (*to this arrangement*), those who cause obstruction and those who abet the obstructionists<sup>4</sup> shall be fined five *lāsus* each, and even thereafter, the terms of this resolution (*kachcham*) shall be strictly observed

Ll 61-64 We, the members of the *mahāsabhā* ordered in this wise and made this settlement The members of the *mahāsabhā*

## No 4 KHAROSHTHI INSCRIPTION ON A BEGRAM BAS-RELIEF

By STEN KONOW, PH D, OSLO

Bēgrām, on the confluence of the Ghorband and Panjshīr rivers, has been identified with ancient Kāpīsī<sup>5</sup> The site has been explored by French archæologists, and M Barthou has, *inter alia*, unearthed a damaged sculpture in bas-relief,<sup>6</sup> which has been interpreted as representing the Buddha's first interview with Bimbisāra or the invitation to preach addressed to Bhagavat by Brahmā and Indra Gotama, with a moustache, is seated on a throne, raising the right hand in the *varada-mudrā* and resting the left, which is mutilated, on the lap To the right stands

<sup>1</sup> The continuation on the fourth face seems to be built in

<sup>2</sup> The word *pariśīlavum* in the context is not easy I have taken it to mean ' declare one's opinion,' ' vote '

<sup>3</sup> The expression *ipparisu seyginrarum* (ll 51 2) is vague, but obviously it must refer to the persons who enter on *śrāvanai* in an irregular manner, without passing the examination, and are left out of account for the *vāriyam*

<sup>4</sup> Lit " Stand in intimate relation with those who cause obstruction "

<sup>5</sup> Cf A Foucher, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, VI, pp 341 ff

<sup>6</sup> J Hackin, *La sculpture indienne et tibétaine au musée Guimet*, Paris 1931, Pl XI

a person in royal attire, raising his hands in supplication, and to the left a somewhat defaced figure, in the same attitude, but apparently not a royal personage. In the background we see a Vajrapāni to the left, and another person to the right, and outside the group, to the right, is still another person, according to M. Hackin perhaps a monk. The height of the sculpture is 14½ inches.

Under the sculpture is an inscription in Kharōshthī letters. The right-hand portion of the base is abraded, and the beginning of the record is therefore irreparably lost. If the whole base was utilized, we may reckon that approximately twenty *aksharas* have disappeared.

What has been preserved covers a space 10½ inches long, with twenty-four letters, each about ¾ inches high. Professor Thomas has published his reading of the record from M. Hackin's plate, where, however, the last *aksharas* are defaced.<sup>1</sup>

I am indebted to M. Hackin for graciously allowing me to publish the inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica*, and to the authorities of the musée Guimet for kindly providing me with excellent photographs, from which the plate accompanying this article has been prepared.

Our inscription is the first Kharōshthī record which has been found in, or in the neighbourhood of, ancient Kāpiśī. The excellent execution of the characters, however, shows that they are due to an experienced engraver, and we have no reason for doubting that Kharōshthī was in common use in Kāpiśī and in the other towns along the old highroad to India, *via* Nagarahāra and Pushkarāvati.

According to M. Hackin, Professor Mironov has examined the Bēgrām epigraph and come to the result that certain cursive and late characters remind us of the Kharōshthī documents from Niya, and that we must, consequently, think of a date towards the end of the Kushāna period, at least not earlier than Huvishka. This estimate cannot be far from the truth, though I cannot see any special resemblance to the Niya alphabet.

*A priori* we should be inclined to look for parallels to the characters of our record in inscriptions from places such as Wardak, Bīmarān, Haddā and ancient Pushkarāvati, and though the materials at our disposal are limited, our search will not be quite in vain. The *ma*, with the tops bent slightly inwards, has its parallel on the Hashtnagar pedestal, where we also find forms of *da* and *pa* of the same kind as in our record. The angular *e*, with the *e*-stroke at the bottom, has exact parallels in Wardak, and also in Ārā, Naugrām, and Jauliā. *Ta* has an ancient shape, but the long *tu* reminds us of Wardak. *Ya* has its parallels on the Kanishka and Kurram caskets, and *ha* has the same shape as in Wardak. *Śa* is peculiar, the right hand bar being shortened and bent backwards. Generally speaking, however, the characters make the impression of being traditional and little characteristic. They are perhaps somewhat later than the Haddā inscription of the year 28, and earlier than the Mamīne Dherī pedestal of the year 89, though the highly cursive ductus of the last-mentioned epigraph makes it difficult to make any use of it for chronological purposes.

One of the characters occurring in our record is peculiar. The last word but one is evidently meant to be *pituno*. The first syllable is not, however, written in the usual way. Instead of the ordinary *pa* with the *r*-stroke we have *pa* with a St. Andrew's cross at the end of the stem.

The same sign has been found by Professor Rapson<sup>2</sup> in some few instances in the Kharōshthī documents recovered at Niya in Chinese Turkestan, where it is used in words such as *alpa*, *śilpa*,

<sup>1</sup> *J. R. A. S.*, 1933, p. 415.

<sup>2</sup> *Kharōshthī Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan*. Transcribed and edited by A. M. Boyer, L. J. Rapson, and E. Senart, Oxford 1920 29, p. 316.

*śilpiḡa*, and accordingly seems to stand for *lp*. Another compound *lp*, formed in the usual way by placing *l* above *p*, is stated to occur in *[la]lpitamti*, where the *i*-stroke has been added, but hardly anywhere to denote *lpa*.

Professor Rapson further draws attention to the fact that the St Andrew's cross is used in a similar way in the coin legends of Wima Kadphises. In an earlier publication<sup>1</sup> he proposed to read the compound letter as *lph*, but now he prefers to read *[Ka]lp(sa)*.

We should then have to draw the inference that the writer of our inscription had misunderstood the compound and wrongly used it for *pi*. But we should fail to understand why he did so. *A priori* we would be inclined to think that he knew it from words where it was actually pronounced *pi*.

The oldest known occurrence of the compound *alshara* containing the St Andrew's cross is in the coin legends mentioned above. The name or title in which it is used is applied to two different rulers, whose names are best known in the forms Kujūla and Wima Kadphises. The word is known both from the Greek and from the Kharōshthī legends, and further from Chinese renderings.

In the case of Kujūla, the Chinese transcript points to *Kapa*, the Greek legends give *Kadaphes* and *Kadphises*, and in Kharōshthī we find *Kadapha*, *Kaphsa*, *Kasa*<sup>2</sup>, etc. For Wima we have Chinese *Kāu-t'ien*, Greek *Kadphises*, and in Kharōshthī the form here discussed. There is nowhere any trace of a *l*, but several writings which point to a dental, and probably to a voiced dental fricative, a *ḍ*. And in this connection it should be borne in mind that the Kharōshthī *alshara* which most closely resembles the St Andrew's cross is the dental *th*. *A priori*, therefore, Professor Rapson's old explanation would seem to be more likely than the new one.

We do not know the derivation or etymological explanation of the word. Professor Lévi<sup>3</sup> has maintained that it means 'ruler of Kāpīsā'. Whether he is right or not, it is highly probable that it was thus understood in Kāpīsā itself, where it was perhaps also used about the successors of the two first Kushānas. And in Kāpīsā it could then hardly be pronounced otherwise than *Kāpisa* or *Kappisa*. Some of the coin legends also point to disappearance of the sound preceding *p* (*ph*). The writer of our inscription, which has been found in ancient Kāpīsī, would therefore be familiar with the use of the compound *alshara* as a rendering of the sound *pi*, and it is not to be wondered at that he took the St Andrew's cross to be the sign of *i*, leaving out the *i*-stroke itself.

The result would be the same even if the cross originally stood for *l*. For it is almost certain that old *lp* became *pp* in the North-Western Prākṛit. There are not, it is true, any instances of old *lp* in later Indian Kharōshthī inscriptions. But both Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā have *apa*, *lapa* for Sanskrit *alpa*, *kalpa*, respectively, and the Dutreuil du Rhins manuscript gives *apa* for *alpa* and *sagapa* for *samkalpa*. Moreover we find *atapī* for Sanskrit *akalpika*, side by side with 'Sanskrit' forms such as *lalpa*, *kalpī* in Saka, which language has been influenced by the North-Western Prākṛit.

This state of things leads us to question the interpretation of our sign as *lp* in the Niya documents. The forms transliterated *alpa*, *śilpa*, *śilpiḡa* by Professor Rapson were pronounced *appa*, *sippa*, *šippiḡa*, respectively, in the dialect, and we may reasonably draw the inference that the other sign, *l* written above *p*, was used where a Sanskrit loanword was pronounced as in Sanskrit e.g., in *(la)lpitamti*.

<sup>1</sup> *Actes du XIV<sup>e</sup> Congrès des Orientalistes*, 1, p. 219.

<sup>2</sup> I abstract from the form *Kassa* which Professor Rapson, *Kharoshthī Inscriptions*, p. 312, proposes to read on a copper coin, because the actual reading is not certain. To me it looks like *Katsa*.

<sup>3</sup> *J. A.*, cum, 1923, p. 52 = Sylvain Lévi, Jean Przyluski and Jules Bloch, *Pre Aryan and Pre Dravidian in India*. Translated by Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, Calcutta 1929 p. 120.



So far as I can see, our only key to the pronunciation of the compound *akshara* are the coin legends of Wima Kadphises. And we have no reason for assuming a pronunciation *lp* in them. If the letter was originally devised for writing foreign *e g*, Iranian, words containing the consonantal compound *ḍp*, which does not occur in Indian dialects, it is conceivable that it was locally pronounced *lp*.<sup>1</sup> But it is hardly necessary to resort to such an assumption in order to explain the Nya writings. And in our record, at all events, the compound is meant to render *pi*.

With regard to orthography and grammar, we may note that no distinction has been made between the dental and the cerebral *n*. Thus we have *mena kusalamulena*, but *pituno*, *danammuhe*. The last mentioned word illustrates the well-known tendency to nasalize a vowel before a nasal, and also shows that the nominative of *a*-bases ended in *e* and not in *o*, as is the rule in the western part of the territory in which the North-Western Prakrit was in use. The dialect used in our inscription is, as might be expected, the same as in other Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions.

As has already been remarked, the beginning of the record, probably about twenty *aksharas*, has disappeared. It probably contained a date, either in the old Saka or in the Kanishka era.

The inscription opens with a damaged *ya*, or apparently rather *ye*. It is evidently the termination of a feminine noun, in the genitive or in the locative. This word cannot be restored with any approach to certainty. If it was the last word of the date portion, we might think of *purvaye*, as in the Taxila Plate. Other dated inscriptions from Afghanistan, however, use *kshunammi* and not *purvaye* after the date. Moreover, the ensuing dative *pujæ* makes it probable that we should expect *puræ* and not *purvaye*. The same consideration may be urged against restoring words such as *bharyaye* or *upasikaye*. We might think of *lutimbiniye* or of *lapiṣiye*, but we cannot say anything for certain.

The first complete word is *atariye*, which Professor Thomas is no doubt right in restoring as *Antariye*, the genitive of an elsewhere unknown name *Antari*. It is evidently the name of the donor of the sculpture, and dependent on the following *danammuhe*, gift.

The remaining words do not present any difficulty. They are *mena kusalamulena* [*pi*]*tuno* *pijæ*. We might expect a *bhavatu* to follow, and there are perhaps some faint traces of three *aksharas* which might be read *bhavatu*, above the line, after *pujæ*. My reading and translation are therefore

#### TEXT

y[e] A[m]tariye danammuhe mena kusalamulena pituno pujæ [bhavatu]

#### TRANSLATION

gift of Antari, through this root of bliss (may it be) for the worship of [her] father

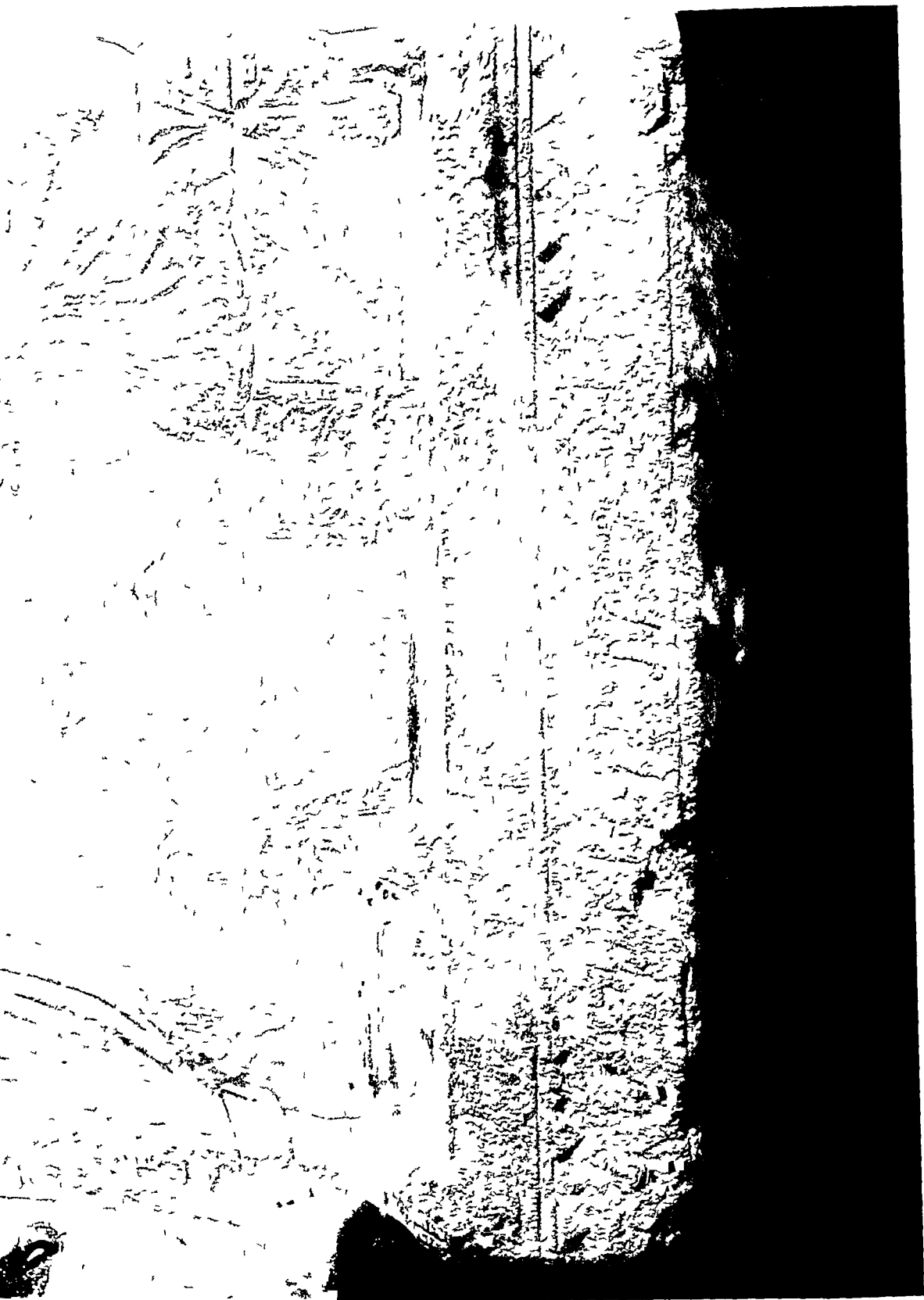
#### No 5—A NOTE ON THE MAMANE DHERI INSCRIPTION

By STEN KONOW, PH D, OSLO

The Mamāne Dherī inscription of the year 89 of the Kanishka era was published by me in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, 1, pp 171 ff. A small portion of the record is so defaced that I could not make it out from the photograph and estampages at my disposal. I tentatively read the last word of this part as *pujæ*. In the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1928-29, p 142, Mr M. Delawar Khan has contributed a note on the record, and a new

<sup>1</sup> Cf *l < ḍ* in Pashto γḍl, Avestan *gaḍa*, *lām* Avestan *duma*, and vice versa, Sogdian *ḍykh*, Sanskrit *ḍīha* *ḍuḥ*, Sanskrit *lola*, *lḍp*, Sanskrit *lalpa*, etc.





From a photograph

reproduction will be found on Plate LVIIIc. We are informed of the fact that Mr. N G Majumdar proposes to read *arogadakhshinae* instead of *puyae*, and a careful comparison of the new reproduction with my plate shows that he is certainly right. With the exception of the initial *a*, all the *aksharas* can be traced. It is further possible to see that *arogadakhshinae* was preceded by a word of three *aksharas*, the first of which must be *pi*, so that we can confidently restore *piduno* or *pituno*. This completes the record, which should accordingly be read

Sam 20 20 20 20 4 4 1 *margasiras(1)a masi 4 1 ve khsunam*  
*niryaide ime deyadharme Dharmapriena shamanena piduno arogadakh-*  
*nae upajayasa Budhapriasa puyae samanuyayana arogadakhshinae.*

### No 6—THAKURDIYA PLATES OF MAHA-PRAVARARAJA

By PROF V V MIRASHI, M A, NAGPUR

These plates were discovered in November 1931 at Thākurdīyā, a village six miles from Sārangarh, the chief town of a feudatory state of the same name in Chhattīsgarh, C P. They were kindly sent to me in January 1933, by Mr R D Naik, B A, LL B, the Dīwān of Sārangarh at the instance of Mr L P Pandeya, Honorary Secretary of the Mahākōsala Historical Society. They are now in the possession of the Chief of Sārangarh, who has kindly permitted me to edit them.

They are three copper-plates each measuring 3 6" by 7 1". The first and the third are inscribed on one side only, while the second, which is somewhat thicker, is inscribed on both the sides. The edges of the plates are neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. About 1" from the middle of the proper right margin each plate has a roundish hole about  $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter for the ring on which the plates are strung. The ends of this ring, which is 8" in thickness and 3 2" in diameter, were secured in a circular seal of bronze 3 2" in diameter. About a quarter of the lower portion of the seal is broken off, but the emblem and the legend on it are intact. The ring was not cut when the plates were sent to me. The weight of the three plates is 70 *tolas* and that of the seal with the ring is 49 *tolas*.

The plates were much corroded when first found, but have since been cleaned by the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The text of this inscription is, with a few exceptions, practically identical with that of the other inscriptions of the dynasty and there is no uncertainty in its reading. The symbol on the seal also closely resembles that on the other seals of the dynasty. It has already been described by Dr Fleet<sup>1</sup> and Dr Sten Konow<sup>2</sup>. The concave and slightly countersunk surface of the seal is divided by two horizontal parallel lines into two equal parts. The upper half contains in relief the figure of Lakshmi with a halo surrounding her face, standing on a lotus and facing full front. She holds a lotus in her right hand and something circular in her left. On each side of her there is an elephant standing on a lotus, and holding a pot in his uplifted trunk to pour water on the head of the goddess. In the right as well as the left corner there is a water lily.<sup>3</sup> The lower half of the seal contains the legend in verse deciphered below.

The characters are of the box-headed variety of the Central Indian alphabet as found in the copper-plates of Mahā-Jayarāja and Mahā-Sudēvarāja and also in the silver coin of Prasan-

<sup>1</sup> C I I, Vol III, pp 191 and 196

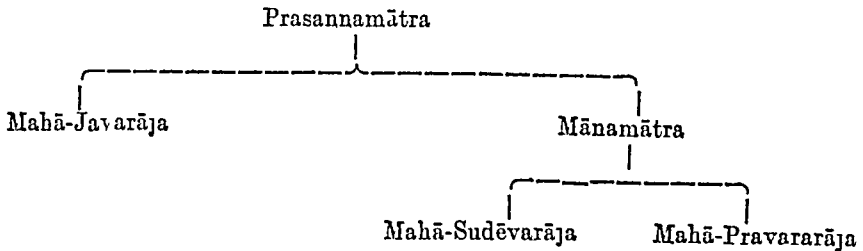
<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol IX, p 171

<sup>3</sup> In the seals described by Dr Fleet and Dr Konow there is a *śamlha* in the proper left corner.

namātra They resemble in general the characters of the Rithapur plates of Bhavattavarman<sup>1</sup> and are somewhat more elongated and angular than those of the Siwanī- and Riddhapur<sup>2</sup> plates of the Vākātaka king Pravarasena II. As in the Ārang plates<sup>4</sup> of Mahā-Jayarāja, in medial *i* the length is denoted by a dot in the middle of the circle which indicates its short form. The medial *ū* is denoted in two ways—the usual one of indicating length by a short stroke to the right as in *bhū* and *sū* (cf. *bhūtvā* l 11 and *sūryya* l 16) and the other in *chū* (cf. *chūdāman* l 1) and *yū* (cf. *yūyam* l 10). The medial *ṛ* is denoted by a flourish to the left, the medial *au* is tripartite (cf. *dhau* of *dhautā* l 2). The sign for the cerebral *ḍ* occurs twice in *chūdāman* l 1 and *Tudārāsh-ṛiya* l 4. The *gh*, *p*, *s*, and *sh* are open at the top. The right arm of *l* goes over the letter in the form of a curve and appears as a vertical stroke to the left, *m* appears in its angular form, *n* with a loop and *t* without it. The loop of *kh* is larger than its hook. The final *t* as in *dadyāt* l 17 and *vasēt* l 19 is denoted by two vertical strokes on the top. The loop of *y* is complete in *Vājasaneyin* l 9 and *dvīyāya* l 13 and contains a dot in *sūryyasutās=cha* l 16. The final pause is denoted by two vertical lines, the first of which has a hook at the top. The numerical symbols for 3 and 2 occur in lines 22 and 23 respectively.

The language is Sanskrit. Except the legend on the seal and the usual imprecatory verses at the end, the whole inscription is in prose. As regards orthography, we have to note the reduplication of the consonant which follows *r* in *sarva* l 8, *dharma* l 13, *svarggī* l 18, etc. *V* appears doubled after *anuvāra* in *paradattā[m\*]vā* l 20 and *samvatsara* l 22. *B* is distinguished from *v* as in *sīk-āmbu* l 2 and *bahubhar* l 19. *Ri* is used instead of the vowel *ṛ* in *srishtah* l 10 and for the *rēpha* in *danīsayati* l 12 and *varīśa* l 17. The palatal *ś* wrongly appears for the lingual *h* in *śashtī* and *varīśa* l 17 and the dental *s* for the palatal *ś* in *śasi* l 6. The *visarga* appears superfluous after its change to *s* in *grāmah strīdaśa* l 5, so also the *anuvāra* after its change to a nasal in *bhāmanṭi* l 17 and *sīmamṭa* l 2, etc. One *d* is wrongly dropped in *tasmādvīyāya* l 13.

The plates were issued from Śrīpura by Mahā-Pravararāja on the second day of Mārgasiṃha in the third year of his increasingly victorious reign. They record the donation of a village Āshādhaka in the *śāstrā* or sub division named Tudā<sup>5</sup> to a Brāhman named Purandara of the Parāsara gōtra of the Vājasaneyin (Śākhā of the Yajurveda). The importance of our inscription lies in this that it has brought to light the name of a new prince Mahā-Pravararāja in the dynasty of the so called "Kings of Śarabhapura". Again, unlike the charters of the other kings of this dynasty, these plates have been issued from Śrīpura and not from Śarabhapura. From several plates of Mahā-Jayarāja and Mahā-Sudēvarāja, which have been published, we can make out the following genealogy —



It appears that Mahā-Jayarāja was the elder son of Prasannamātra. He seems to have died without issue and was succeeded by his nephew Mahā-Sudēva. All the copper-plates of Mahā-Jayarāja and Mahā-Sudēvarāja are issued from Śarabhapura. This town has not been identified.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol XIX, p 100

<sup>2</sup> J P A S B., Vol XV, pp 53 ff

<sup>3</sup> C I I, Vol III, p 243

<sup>4</sup> C I I, Vol III, p 191.

<sup>5</sup> [See p 22 n 1 — Ed.]

but Mr L P Pandeya's suggestion<sup>1</sup> that it is represented by modern Śarabharāgarh, the chief town of a big zamindari of the same name in the Gāngpur feudatory state in Orissa appears plausible. The town seems to have been founded by a king named Śarabharāja, just as Pravarapura was founded by King Pravarasēna II of the Vākātaka dynasty. It is not known when this Śarabharāja flourished. He may be identical with Śarabharāja whose daughter's son Gōparāja fell in a fierce battle at Eran in the Saugor district of C P, in which he assisted Bhānugupta as recorded in an inscription<sup>2</sup> at Eran dated G E 191 (510 A D). In that case he may have flourished in the latter half of the fifth century. Prasannamātra and his descendants were evidently born in the family of Śarabharāja and may not have been separated from him by many generations, for, as stated above, the characters of their charters closely resemble those of the Rithapur plates of Bhavattavarman which have been referred to the latter half of the fifth and first half of the sixth century A D. The present plates seem to indicate that Mahā-Pravararāja, who evidently succeeded his elder brother Mahā-Sudēvarāja, removed the capital from Śarabhapura to Śrīpura which he himself may have founded<sup>3</sup>. The town is not known to have been in existence before the fifth or sixth Century A D. It is named after Śrī or Lakshmī who figures on all the seals of "the Kings of Śarabhapura". In the legend on the seal of the present charter Pravararāja is said to have won the earth with his arms. Such an expression does not occur in the legends on the seals of his brother and uncle. It seems, therefore, that Pravararāja extended his kingdom in the west and must have, therefore, felt the need of shifting his capital to a more centrally situated place like Śrīpura.

It seems that the dynasty came to an end soon after Mahā-Pravararāja, for no descendant of either Mahā-Sudēvarāja or Mahā-Pravararāja is known. By his conquests in the west Mahā-Pravararāja seems to have come into conflict with the Sōmavamsī kings of Bhāndak and though he succeeded for a while, his dynasty seems ultimately to have been over-thrown by some Sōmavamsī king, probably Tivaradēva whose Rājim and Balodā plates are issued from Śrīpura, for he is the first king of the Sōmavamsī dynasty whose inscriptions are connected with that town. Besides, he describes himself as the lord of the entire Kōśala country<sup>4</sup> in the Balodā plates and such a title he could have assumed only after conquering the territory now known as Chhattisgarh, where Mahā-Pravararāja and his ancestors were ruling. Tivaradēva's Rājim and Balodā plates are inscribed in box-headed characters which appear to be later<sup>5</sup> than those of the "Kings of Śarabhapura". None of the inscriptions of his predecessors at Bhāndak or his successors at Śrīpura is in box-headed characters. It seems that these characters were in use in Kōśala owing to the influence of the Vākātakas, for from the Bālāghāt plates of Prithvīshēna we learn that the king of Kōśala, who was probably one of "the Kings of Śarabhapura", was a feudatory of his father Narēndrasēna. When Tivaradēva conquered the territory he also at first adopted

<sup>1</sup> L P Pandeya—A Silver coin of Prasannamātra—*Proceedings of the Fifth Oriental Conference*, p 461 [Dr Sten Konow thinks that Sarabhapura may be identical with the present Sarabhavaram twenty miles north west from Rajahmundry in the Godāvāri district of the Madras Presidency or one of the few other villages with a similar name in the neighbourhood (above, Vol XIII, p 108)—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> C I I, Vol III, p 91

<sup>3</sup> R B Hiralal who places Sarabhapur kings after the Sōmavamsī kings of Śrīpura identifies Śarabhapura with Śrīpura. He says "It (Sarabhapura) may perhaps have been a new name imposed on the conquered city of Śrīpura by the victor from the fabulous animal of that name who is believed to be a match for a lion with reference to the claim of the Sirpur dynasty to be Kōśaris" (Above, Vol XI, p 186 footnote). This conjecture is rendered impossible by the discovery of the present plates, for, herein we find the city named as Śrīpura even by the last prince of the Sarabhapura dynasty. Secondly, Tivaradēva and his successors who reigned at Śrīpura are not known to have ever assumed the title of Kōśarin.

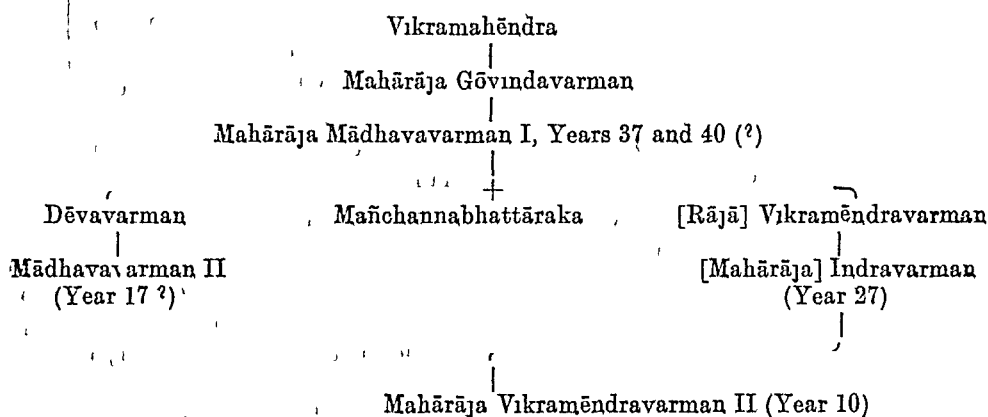
<sup>4</sup> Cf 'prāpta sakala Kōśal ādhipatyah' above, Vol VII, p 105

<sup>5</sup> They are more elongated and angular in appearance than those in the charters of Śarabhapura kings. Again the passage *यत्तद्विजयिष्यामि* which regularly occurs in the grants of Śarabhapura kings seems to have been borrowed in the Rājim and Balodā plates of Tivaradēva.



From the Śirpur stone inscription of the time of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna, we learn that Bālārjuna's mother Vāsatā was the daughter of Sūryavarman "who was born in the family of the Varman kings, great on account of their supremacy over Magadha."<sup>1</sup> There is no king of this name in the dynasties of Magadha except the Maukharī prince Sūryavarman whose Harāhā stone inscription<sup>2</sup>, incised in the reign of his father Īśānavarman, is dated (Mālava) Samvat 611 (555 A D). The name of this prince is not known from other records of the Maukharis. As Sūryavarman is called King in the Śirpur stone inscription above referred to, he may have succeeded his father and ruled for a short time, though, being a collateral, his name is not mentioned in the records of his brother or his descendants. Chandragupta, the grand-father of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna was thus a contemporary of Sūryavarman and flourished probably from 550 to 570 A D and his elder brother Tivaradēva from 530 to 550 A D.

The date thus arrived at for Tivaradēva is corroborated by the evidence afforded by the records of the Vishnukundin kings. After examining all the available charters of these kings Mr Dinesh Chandra Sarcar has given the following genealogy<sup>3</sup> —



Māhārāja Mādhavavarman I was the most powerful king of the dynasty. He is described in his as well as his successors' records as one who had performed a thousand (*Agmashītoma*) sacrifices and eleven *Āśvamēdhas* (horse-sacrifices). He is also described in his plates as "*Trivara nagara-bhavana-gata-parama-yuvati-jana-viharana-ratih*"<sup>4</sup> or as "*Trivara-nagara-bhavana-gata-yuvati-hrīdaya-handanah*"<sup>5</sup> i e, as one who sported in company of (or delighted the hearts of) the best ladies in the mansions of the city of Trivara. This expression has not yet been satisfactorily explained. Dr Hultzsch took it to mean that Mādhavavarman I lived at Trivaranagara, but he could not identify the city. It seems clear, however, that Trivaranagara means 'the city of Trivāra', i e, Tivaradēva, King of Mahākōśala. But then what does the above expression signify? It cannot mean that Mādhavavarman married a lady from the family of Tivaradēva, for the expression refers to a number of ladies (*yuvati-jana*) in the mansions of the city of Trivara, whom he delighted. We must, therefore, take the expression to refer to Mādhavavarman's victory over Tivaradēva. Tivaradēva was a powerful king. As stated above, he claims in his

<sup>1</sup> लिप्यङ्के, मगधाधिपत्यमहता जातं कुले वर्धयामि कृतिमि कृती कृतमन कम्प सुधामीजिनाम् ।  
यामासाद्य सुता हिमाचल इव श्रीसूर्यवर्मा द्रुप प्राप प्राकपरमेष्ठिरश्चरुतागर्वानिखर्व पदम् ॥

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol XIV, p 115

<sup>3</sup> *Ind Hist Quarterly*, Vol IX, p 278

<sup>4</sup> Pulombūru plates of Mādhavavarman, *Jour Andhra Hist Res Society*, Vol VI, p 20

<sup>5</sup> Ipūr plates of Mādhavavarman, above, Vol XVII, p 336



charters to have attained suzerainty over the whole Kōśala country. A victory over such a great king must be a source of pride to Mādhavaśarman. Hence we find it referred to in both his inscriptions. The idea that a victorious king captivates the hearts of young ladies of the enemy's city—nay, even of the enemy's family—occurs sometimes in Sanskrit and Prākṛit literature<sup>1</sup>. It would not, therefore, be wrong to suppose that Mādhavaśarman I vanquished Tivaraśarman. In any case, he was his contemporary.

When did this Mādhavaśarman flourish? His Pulombūru plates<sup>2</sup> record that when he crossed the Gōdāvarī to conquer the eastern region he donated the village Pulombūru in the Guddavāḍi *visaya* to Śivaśarman, the son of Dāmaśarman and grandson of Rudraśarman of the Gautama *gōtra* and Taittirīya-śākṛhā, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse which occurred on the full moon day of *Phālguna*. Again the Pulombūru plates<sup>3</sup> of the Eastern Chūluka King Jayasimha I, which were discovered along with the above plates of Mādhavaśarman, record the grant of the same village to Rudraśarman, the son of Śivaśarman and grandson of Dāmaśarman of the Gōtama *gōtra* and Taittirīya-śākṛhā. From the details given above it is quite clear that Śivaśarman, the donee of Mādhavaśarman's plates, was the father of Rudraśarman who received the village from Jayasimha I. It seems that Rudraśarman who is called *pūri-āgrahāri* (former owner of the donated village) lost possession of the village in troublous times due to the invasions of Pulakāśin II in the beginning of the seventh century A.D. He, therefore, seems to have made representations to Jayasimha I some time after peace and order had been established in the kingdom and received the *āgrahāra* village again from him.

If we calculate the interval between the reigns of Mādhavaśarman I and Jayasimha I, we find that some 60 or 70 years must have elapsed between these two rulers. Mādhavaśarman's Pulombūru plates are dated in the 10th year of his reign<sup>4</sup>. They were, therefore, issued towards the close of his reign. He seems to have ruled over an extensive empire, for he performed as many as eleven *Āśvamedhas*. Three of his sons are known from inscriptions—(1) Dēvaśarman (2) Mañchannabhātāraka<sup>5</sup> and (3) Vikramāndraśarman. As Mādhavaśarman had a long reign of more than forty years, none of his sons seems to have succeeded him. In any case, we do not know of any plates issued by them. Mādhavaśarman II, the grandson of Mādhavaśarman I, who calls himself the lord of Trikūṭa and Malaya mountains, seems to have held possession of the western provinces after the death of Mādhavaśarman I, while another grandson, Indrasarman, seems to have succeeded him in the east. His plates are dated in the 27th regnal year. He is not likely to have reigned much longer, for his son Vikramāndraśarman is said to have come to the throne when he was a mere boy<sup>7</sup>. Vikramāndraśarman's plates were issued in his tenth regnal year. The reigns of Indrasarman and his son thus cover a little more than 37 years. As no successor of Vikramāndraśarman is known, he seems to have been dethroned by Pulakāśin II, who placed his brother Kubja-Vishnuvardhana in charge of the Eastern province, who reigned

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rājāśekhara's *Viddhatālabhāṣikā*, IV, 8 and *Gaudavaho* (V 1060).

<sup>2</sup> *Jour. Andhra Hist. Res. Society*, Vol. VI, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XIX, p. 254.

<sup>4</sup> I have accepted the view of Mr. D. C. Sircar, *Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, Vol. IX, p. 275.

<sup>5</sup> The name of this prince occurs towards the end of the Īpūr plates (1st set). Above, Vol. XVII, p. 334. None of his descendants are known.

<sup>6</sup> It is noteworthy that no royal titles are prefixed to their names even in the records of their sons [That no plates of these rulers have yet been found may not be taken as a proof that they did not rule. In the Rāmapartham plates, Vikramāndraśarman also bears the title of *rāja* like his son Indrasarman who was the ruler and the donor of the grant.—Ed.]

<sup>7</sup> परममहिषरथ महाराज श्रीरुद्रमहाराजकवमाय प्रियन्विष्टपुत्री गरिष्ठ प्रेमाय एव चकलगुणालङ्कृतस्य  
सस्यगुणारोपितसकलराज्यभार परममहिषरथ महाराज श्रीमान् विक्रमेन्द्रवर्मा एवमात्रापथति

for about 18 years (615-633 A.D.) As the Pulombūru plates of Jayasimha referred to above are dated in the fifth<sup>1</sup> regnal year, we can calculate the interval between the dates of the two sets of Pulombūru plates as follows<sup>2</sup> —

	Years
Indravarman	27
Vikramēndravarma	10
Vishnuvardhana	18
Jayasimha	5
Total	60

As Mādhavavarman I, Indravarman and Vikramēndravarma may have continued to reign for some years after their respective plates were issued, this figure may have to be increased by about ten years, i.e., a period of about seventy years may have elapsed between the gifts of Mādhavavarman I and Jayasimha<sup>3</sup>. It appears that Śivaśarma was a young man of 25 to 30 years when he met Mādhavavarman I in his expedition to the east, while his son was an old man of 50 to 60 years of age when he regained the lost *agrahāra* village from Jayasimha. Now Jayasimha issued his plates in *circa* 638 A.D. Deducting 70 years from this, we get c. 568 A.D. as the approximate date of Mādhavavarman's plates. We find that there was a lunar eclipse in the month of *Phālguna* in 565 A.D. This may, therefore, be accepted as the date of Mādhavavarman's plates. As these plates were issued in his 40th regnal year, we may accept 525-568 as the probable duration of Mādhavavarman's reign<sup>4</sup>. We have fixed above 530 to 550 A.D. as the date of Tivaraḍēva on the evidence of the Śirpur inscription, which we thus find corroborated by the date of Mādhavavarman I, who, as described in his charters, was a contemporary of Tivaraḍēva<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Agreeing with Mr. Somasekhara Sarma (*Jour. Andhra Hist. Res. Society* Vol. V, p. 183) I read the numerical symbol in Jayasimha's Pulombūru plates as 5.

<sup>2</sup> The years of Mādhavavarman II's reign are not included here, as he was ruling in the west contemporaneously with Indravarman. [But cf. Dr. Hultzsch's view, above, Vol. XVII, p. 338—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> [The argument does not appear to me as very convincing. If we have to allow other rulers between Mādhavavarman I and Indravarman or even another ruler, viz., Vikramēndra, who also bears the title of *rājā*, the situation would become worse. It is very doubtful if Mādhavavarman I could be so far removed from Jayasimha even if he was not actually the predecessor of the latter in time as Prof. Bhandarkar thinks. See his *List of Northern Inscriptions*, p. 291, n. 3. Moreover, there were other lunar eclipses in *Phālguna* between 565 and 638 A.D.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> Agreeing with Mr. D. C. Sircar, I have identified Mādhavavarman of Pulombūru plates with Mādhavavarman I mentioned in the Chikkulla and Ipūr plates (First set) on the ground of similarity of description. Mr. J. Dubreuil, who distinguishes between them, places Mādhavavarman I about 450 A.D. The tradition in the *Sihālamāhatmya* of Śrī Parvata on which he relies (*Ancient Hist. of the Deccan*, p. 73) is worthless for historical purposes. Prabhāvatiguptā was not known as Chandrāvatī and was, moreover, a devotee of Vishnu and not of Śiva. See her Riddhapur plates. If Mādhavavarman I owed his throne to a Vākātaka prince, it must be to Harishēna (c. 500-530 A.D.) who conquered the Āndhra country. The Vākātaka princess whom he married was probably Harishēna's own daughter.

<sup>5</sup> The late Dr. Hiralal, accepting Kielhorn's date for Tivaraḍēva, placed the Śirpur Lakshmana temple inscription of Tivaraḍēva's grand nephew in the eighth or ninth century A.D. (Above, Vol. XI, p. 184). But the characters of the inscription which closely resemble those in the Ganjam plates of the time of Śaśāṅka (619-620 A.D.) are decidedly earlier. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's identification of Chandragupta<sup>1</sup> mentioned in the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsha I (Śaka Samvat 793) with Tivaraḍēva's brother (Above, Vol. XVII, p. 240) cannot be accepted, for that Chandragupta, who is mentioned with Nāgabhaṭa in the inscription, was probably a king of Central India, and not of Kōśala. It is noteworthy in this connection that Kōśala is mentioned subsequently in the description of the later conquests of Gōvinda III. Tivara, who is mentioned in the Kondedda, Nivnā and Puri plates as defeated by the Sailōdbhava king Dharmarāja alias Mānabhita, was probably a descendant of the earlier Tivaraḍēva who issued Rājūm and Balodā plates. We know of several instances of such repetition of names in the dynasty of the Sōmavamśī Kings of Kōśala and Orissa to which Tivaraḍēva belonged.

We have shown above that Tivaradēva flourished later than the "Kings of Śarabhapura" and was probably responsible for their overthrow. Mahā-Pravararāja, the donor of the present plates, is the last known king of the 'Śarabhapura dynasty'. He seems, therefore, to have flourished in the beginning of the sixth century (c. 515 to 535 A.D.).

The overthrow of the kings of Śarabhapura by Tivaradēva accounts for the war between Mādhyavarman I and Tivaradēva. As we have seen the kings of Śarabhapura were probably feudatories of the Vākātakas. In the beginning of the sixth century the power of the Vākātakas was declining. The reign of Harishēna the last known Vākātaka king came to an end about 530 A.D. Mādhyavarman I who is known to have married a Vākātaka princess, probably a daughter of Harishēna, seems to have taken vengeance for the destruction of the kings of Śarabhapura by invading the kingdom of Tivaradēva and occupying his capital for a while as suggested in his Pulombūru and Īpūr plates.

As for the geographical names occurring in these plates Śrīpura is modern Śirpur in the Raipur District of C. P. Tudā<sup>1</sup> which gave its name to the district in which the donated village was situated, may be identified with one of the villages named Tunda, Tundra, Tundri or Tundra-gaon in the vicinity of Seorinārāyan about 25 to 30 miles from Thākurdīyā. It may be noted in this connection that the Tundāraka-bhūmi mentioned in the Sārangadh plates of Mahā-Sudēva has been identified by R. B. Dr. Hiralal with Tundra 6 miles south of Seorinārāyan. The village Chullandaraka granted in that charter may be identified with Chulda 82° 31' and 21° 30'. The village Āshādhaka granted in the present plates may be represented by modern Asoud 82° 54' and 21° 45', about two miles to the north of the Mahānadi, which is within a distance of fifteen to twenty miles from the villages Tunda, Tundra, etc., mentioned above.

I edit the inscription from the original plates.<sup>2</sup>

### TEXT

#### The Seal

- 1 मानमान[सु]त[स्ये]दं स्व[सु]जीपार्जित[स्वते] [1\*]
- 2 [श्री]मधवरराजस्य शासन[—\*] अनुशासन [—\*] [11\*]<sup>3</sup>

#### First Plate

- 1 श्री<sup>4</sup> स्वस्ति [1\*] श्रीपुरादिक्रमोपनतमाम<sup>5</sup>न्तयकुटचूडा<sup>6</sup>मणिप्रभाप-
- 2 सेका<sup>7</sup>वुधौतपादयुगलो रिपुविनासिनोसीम<sup>8</sup>न्तोदर<sup>9</sup>हेतु<sup>7</sup>-
- 3 र्वसुधुधागोप्रद<sup>8</sup> परमभागवतो मा<sup>9</sup>तापितुपादानुध्यातः
- 4 श्रीमहाप्रवरराजः तुडाराद्रि<sup>10</sup>धापाढके प्रतिवासिनः समान्ना-
- 5 पयति [1\*] विदितमस्तु वो यथास्माभिरय ग्रामः<sup>11</sup>स्तिदक्षपतिसदन
- 6 सुखप्रतिष्ठाकरो आवद्रविशसि<sup>11</sup>ताराकिर<sup>11</sup>प्रतिहतधोरान्धका-

<sup>1</sup> [Correct reading appears to be Tunda — Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> The excellent facsimiles, which accompany this article were kindly supplied by Mr. K. N. Dikshit, M. A., Superintendent Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

<sup>3</sup> Metre Anushtubh

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by a symbol

<sup>5</sup> The anusvara is superfluous

<sup>6</sup> The engraver first wrote dha but afterwards corrected it as da

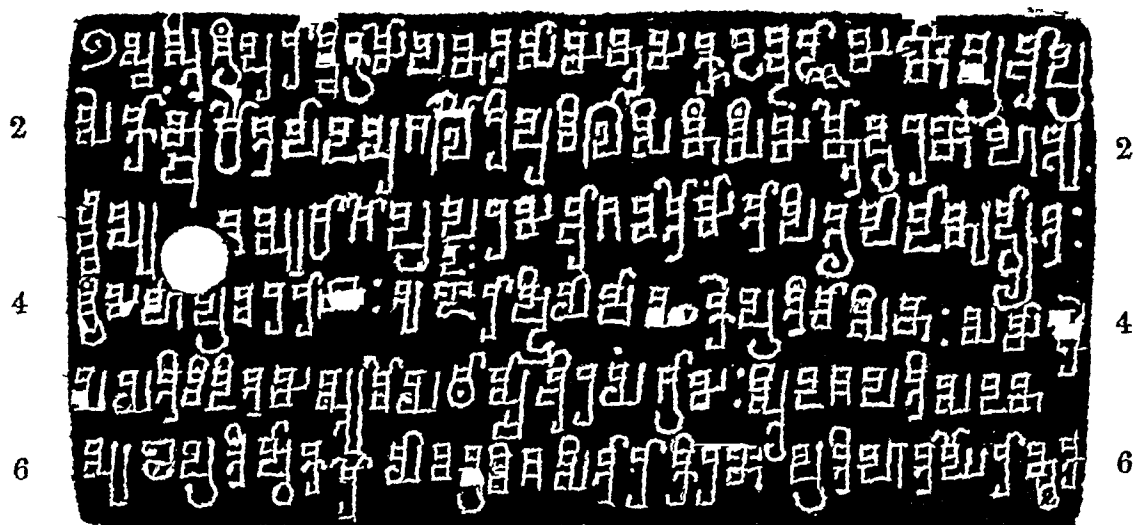
<sup>7</sup> The visarga is superfluous

<sup>8</sup> द which was first omitted is written below the line

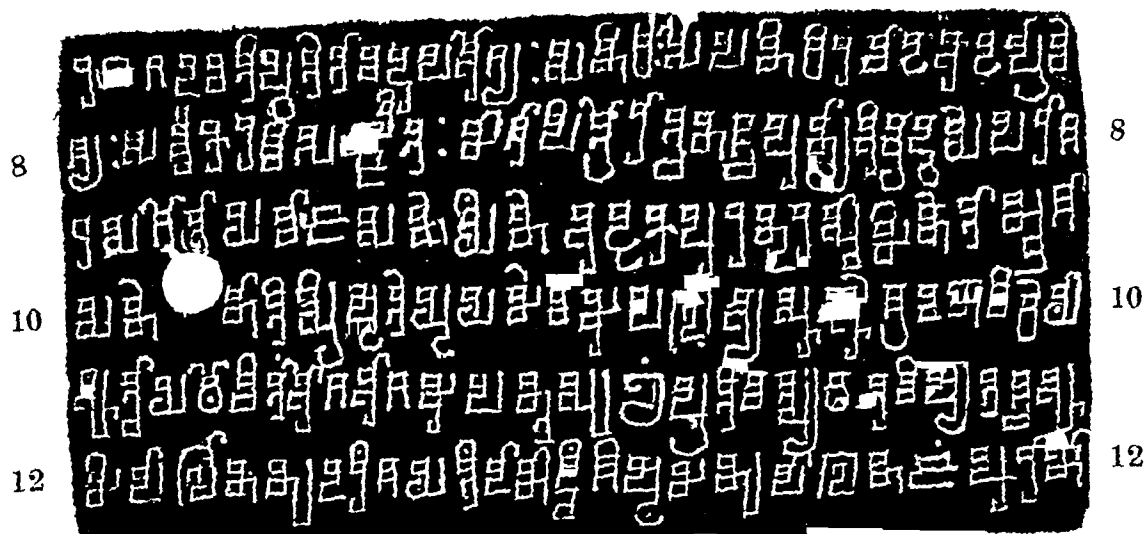
<sup>9</sup> Read गता<sup>9</sup>

<sup>10</sup> [Reading is तुडाराद्रि — Ed.]

<sup>11</sup> Read अक्षि<sup>11</sup>



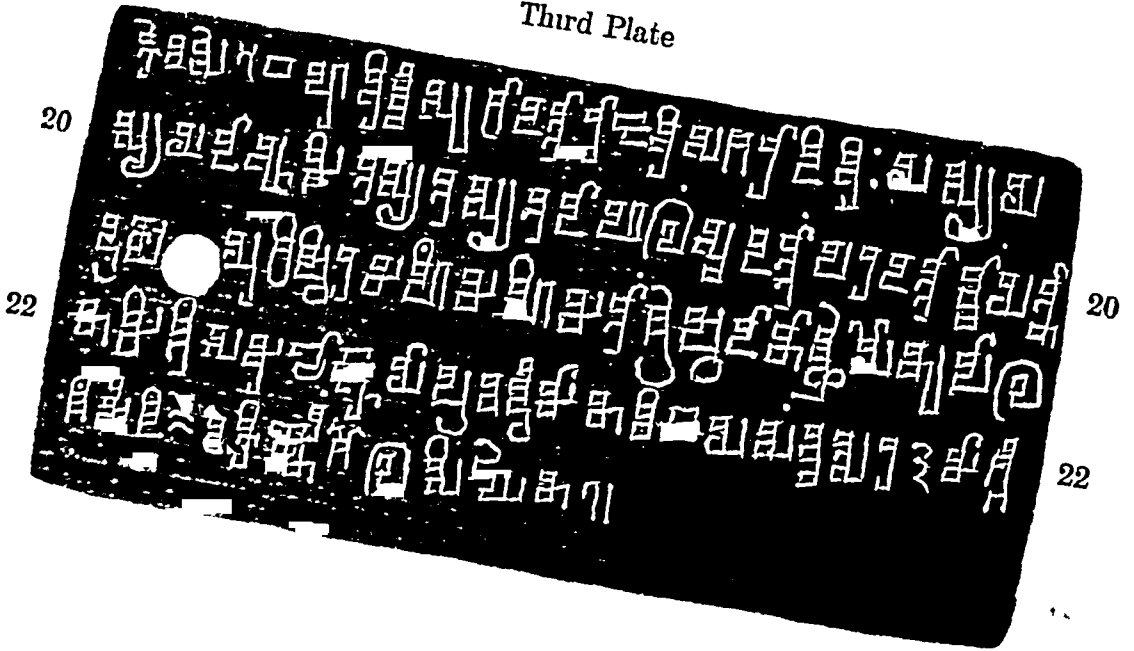
Second Plate First Side



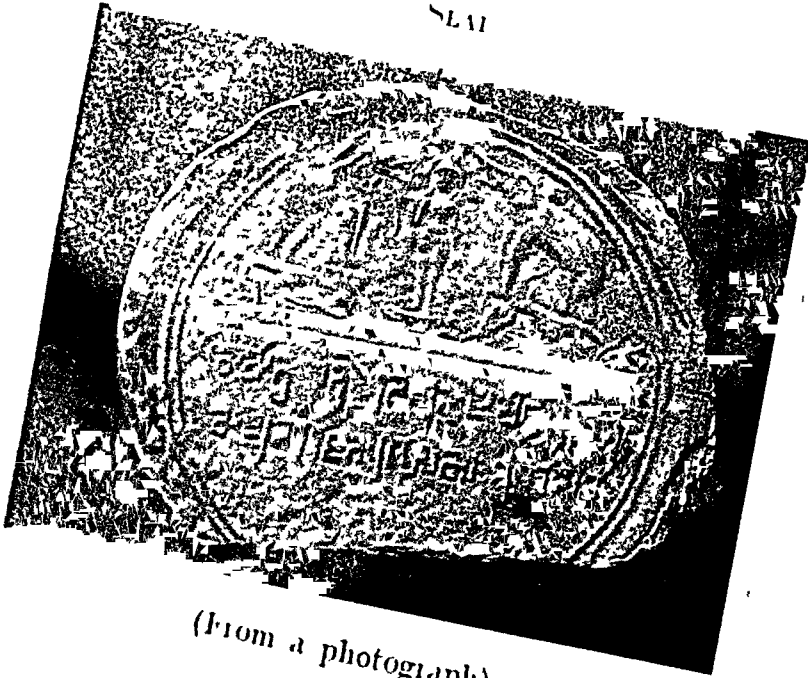
Second Plate Second Side



Third Plate



SLAI



(From a photograph)

## Second Plate , First Side

- 7 (रं) जगदवतिष्ठते तावदुपभोग्यः सनिधि<sup>1</sup> सोपनिधिरचाटभटप्रावे-  
 8 श्यः सर्वकरविसर्जितः मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुन्धा(ण्या)भिद्वयै पराश-  
 9 रसगोत्राय वाजसनेयिने भट्टकपुरन्दरस्वामिने ताम्र<sup>1</sup>शा-  
 10 सनेनातिसिद्धि<sup>3</sup>[1\*] ते यूयमेवमुपलभ्य आज्ञाश्रवणविधेया  
 11 भूत्वा यथोचितं भोगभागमुपन्त<sup>3</sup> सुखं प्रतिवक्ष्यय [1\*] भविष्यतश्च भू-  
 12 मिपालाननुदरिशयति [1\*] दानादिशिष्टमनुपालनज पुराणा

## Second Plate , Second Side

- 13 धर्मेषु निश्चितधिया<sup>1</sup> प्रवदन्ति धर्मं [1\*] तस्माद्विजाय<sup>5</sup> सुविशुद्धकु-  
 14 लश्रुताय दत्ता भुव<sup>1</sup> भवतु वो मतिरेष गोप्तु [1\*]<sup>6</sup> तद्वद्विरथ्येषा दत्ति-  
 15 रनुपालयितव्या [1\*] व्यासगीतांश्च श्लोकानुदाहरन्ति [1\*] अग्नेरपत्य प्र-  
 16 थमं सुवर्णा<sup>1</sup> भूर्ज्यैषावी सूर्यसुताश्च गावः [1\*] दत्तास्तयस्ते-  
 17 न भवन्ति<sup>7</sup> लोका यः काचन<sup>1</sup> गाश्च महीश्च दद्यात् [1\*] शष्टो वरिणस-<sup>8</sup>  
 18 हस्राणि स्वर्गं मोदति भूमिदः [1\*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता<sup>7</sup> च तान्येव नर-

## Third Plate

- 19 के वसेत् [1\*] बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभि[1\*] सगरादिसिः [1\*] यस्य य-  
 20 स्य यदा भूमित(स्त)स्य तस्य तदा फलं [1\*] स्वदत्ता परदत्ता<sup>9</sup> यत्ना-  
 21 द्रक्ष्य युधिष्ठिर [1\*] महो<sup>10</sup> महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छेयोनुपाल-  
 22 नमिति [1\*] <sup>11</sup>समुखाज्ञया प्रवर्द्धमानविजयसर्व<sup>12</sup>त्वर ३ आर्गा-  
 23 शीर्ष दि २ उकिर्ण<sup>13</sup> शीलसिद्धेन<sup>14</sup> ४

<sup>1</sup> Read तास<sup>0</sup><sup>2</sup> Read °ष्ट<sup>3</sup> Read सुपनयन्<sup>4</sup> Read दर्शयति<sup>5</sup> Read द्वितीय<sup>6</sup> Metro Vasantatilakā<sup>7</sup> The anusvara is superfluous<sup>8</sup> Read षष्टि वर्ष<sup>0</sup><sup>9</sup> Read परदत्ता वा<sup>10</sup> Read महो<sup>11</sup> Read समुखाज्ञया<sup>12</sup> Read सवत्सर<sup>13</sup> Read उत्कीर्ण<sup>14</sup> [Plate shows Gōla°.—Ed]

## No 7 —DAYYAMDINNE PLATES OF VINAYADITYA-SATYASRAYA, ŚAKA 614.

By R S PANCHAMUKHI, M A, MADRAS

The subjoined inscription<sup>1</sup> is engraved on three copper-plates discovered at Dayyam-dinne a village in the Adoni taluk of the Bellary District. It is noticed in the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1916 and described as follows: "The ends of the ring are fixed into the bottom of an almost circular seal, one inch in diameter, bearing on its counter-sunk surface the crude figure of a standing boar facing the proper right, as in the case of the Harihar Grant of Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya published in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol VII, pages 300 ff. The plates measure between  $8\frac{7}{8}$ " and 9" in breadth and between  $3\frac{3}{8}$ " and  $3\frac{1}{2}$ " in height. The ring, which is oval in shape, measures  $4\frac{1}{8}$ " and  $3\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter and is about  $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick. The plates and the seal weigh 112 tolas." The inscription is edited below for the first time from the ink-impressions prepared in the office of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent (now Superintendent) for Epigraphy, Madras.

The inscription is in a fairly good state of preservation though some letters in the second plate are damaged and rendered indistinct. Only one side of the first and last plates bears writing. The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets and resemble closely those of the Sorab and Harihar grants, which belong, like the present one, to the Chālukya king Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya. The language is Sanskrit. Excepting the invocatory verse at the beginning and benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the record is throughout in prose. In respect of orthography it may be remarked that the consonants *n*, *t*, *d*, *n* and *v* are doubled after *r* as in °*ārnnavam* (l 1), *kīrtti* (l 14), *Sēnānīr-ddaitya-balam* (l 19), etc. The rules of *sandhi* are not strictly observed, as for instance in *pañchāśad-nīvarttana* (ll 29-31). There are numerous clerical mistakes in the record owing to the carelessness of the engraver.

The object of the record is to register the grant of fifty *nīvartanas* of land each, to Dūśasaṁman and Kannaśarman of the Kauśika-gōtra, and Sarvaśarman of the Ātrēya-gōtra, in the eastern quarter of the village Ulchal in Nalavādi-vishaya, and fifty *nīvartanas*, to Sarvasarman of the Gārgyāyana-gōtra, in the southern quarter of the same village, made by the Western Chālukya king Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya who was encamped at Talayakhēda-grāma near the northern bank of the Tagara river. The grant was made at the request of a certain Marddakārī, on the full-moon day of Āshādha in *Dakṣhīnāyana-kāla* falling in the twelfth year of Vinayāditya's reign, when six-hundred and fourteen Śaka years had expired. The record was composed by Śrī-Rāmapuṇya-vallabha who also wrote the other charters of this king.

The details of date given in the present record have been calculated by the late Mr L D. Swamikannu Pillai<sup>2</sup> whose remarks on them run as follows: "If the reference were to Śaka 614 (expired) the Āshādha full-moon would be that which fell on June 4 (Adhika-Āshādha) or that which fell on July 4 (Nija-Āshādha). Neither day would be the summer solstice whether of the tropical or sidereal sun. But if we took Śaka 614 as referring to the current Śaka year, i.e., to A D 691-92, then Āshādha full-moon would have been on June 16, A D 692<sup>3</sup> which would be very near the tropical summer solstice." It is proved in the sequel that the intended date of the record must be July 4, A D 692, and that *Dakṣhīnāyana-kāla*

<sup>1</sup> I No 7 of 1915 16

<sup>2</sup> Cf L R 1916, App G, p 102. *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol I, part II, p 35

<sup>3</sup> It ought to be A D 691, since the commencement of the year (*Chaitra*, *śu* 1) fell in March A D 691.

cited in the record must be taken to mean a day in *Dakṣināyana*<sup>1</sup> and not a day of *Dakṣināyana-saṅkrānti*. It may be noted that the record does not mention the *Dakṣināyana-saṅkrānti* as such but specifies the day as falling in *Dakṣināyana* only.

The charter is important as it helps us in determining the date of accession of Vinayāditya with greater certitude than hitherto. So far six<sup>2</sup> dated records of the king have come to light. But owing to the irreconcilable regnal years given in them it has not been possible to ascertain his initial year definitely. In this set of six are included the Jejūri copper-plates recently published in this journal<sup>3</sup> whose date has added further difficulties in solving the problem. But if we study all the dates of Vinayāditya with reference to the details contained in the Dayyamdinne plates, we arrive at a definite result, as shown below, viz, some day between *Āshādha* *śu* 2 and *Āshādha* *śu* 15 of Śaka-Samvat 603 expired, i.e., between 22nd June and 4th July of A.D. 681 for the commencement of the first current year of the king.

According to the Sorab grant,<sup>4</sup> Śaka 614 expired, *Dakṣināyana-saṅkrānti*, Rōhinī, Saturday fell in the 11th regnal year of the king. This date corresponded to Saturday, 22nd June, A.D. 692, on which day the *tithi* was *Nṛga-Āshādha* *śu* 2. The present charter bears the same Śaka date and was issued on the full-moon day of *Āshādha* in *Dakṣināyana* which, however, is stated to have fallen in his 12th regnal year. Of the two alternative equivalents for the *Adhikā*- and *Nṛga-Āshādha* in that year, viz, 4th June and 4th July A.D. 692, the latter has to be accepted since 4th June would neither be a day of *Dakṣināyana-saṅkrānti* nor a day in *Dakṣināyana*, for *Dakṣināyana-saṅkrānti* took place, as stated above, only on the 22nd day of that month. Further, 4th June could not have fallen in his 12th year since his 11th year lasted till at least 22nd June. Thus the dates of these two grants, combined, yield the initial date to fall sometime between 22nd June and 4th July A.D. 681. This starting point of Vinayāditya's reign agrees perfectly well with the dates given in his Lakṣmīśvara inscription,<sup>5</sup> and the Karnūl<sup>6</sup> and Haribar<sup>7</sup> grants. The Togarchēdu<sup>8</sup> grant and the Jejūri plates, however, point to some day between 18th October A.D. 678 and 2nd July A.D. 679 for the first year of the king. This day probably marks the time of Vinayāditya's nomination to the throne during the lifetime of his father.<sup>9</sup> It may be remarked that the Śaka years quoted in the Lakṣmīśvara inscription and the Togarchēdu grant must be considered as referring to the current years and not expired ones. Dr Kielhorn<sup>10</sup> is inclined to take this view in regard to the former record. These

<sup>1</sup> Such citations are not rare in inscriptions. See for example App G to *M E R* for 1916, p. 101, No 561 of 1915. The gift in the present case might have been actually made on the day of *Dakṣināyana-saṅkrānti* and issued on the date recorded in the plates. See also above, Vol. XV, p. 253.

<sup>2</sup> There are two forged grants of the same king which are noticed in *M E R* for 1906, No. 12 of App A and *ibid*, for 1917 18, No. 3 of App A. In *Ind Ant*, Vol. XL, p. 240, is noticed the Patōḍā grant of this king dated Śaka 617 corresponding to his 14th regnal year.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XIX, p. 62.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind Ant*, Vol. XIX, p. 149.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, Vol. VII, p. 112.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, Vol. VI, p. 89.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, Vol. VII, p. 300.

<sup>8</sup> *J B B R A S*, Vol. XVI, p. 242.

<sup>9</sup> See below, p. 29.

<sup>10</sup> Kielhorn's *List of Southern Inscriptions*, App. II, p. 2.



results will become clear from the following classified table of dated records of Vikramāditya in which the corresponding initial years also are shown.

Inscription	Panalar year	Date of date	Approximate initial year	Initial year of the corresponding era
1 Jojūri Plates	9	Śaṅkha (ex) (ex) (ex) Aṅkha (ex) (ex) (ex)	101 A.D. 67	(II) 101 A.D. 67
2 Togarchēḍu grant	10	Śaṅkha (ex) (ex) (ex) Kartika (ex) (ex) (ex)	101 A.D. 67 101 A.D. 67 101 A.D. 67	(II) 101 A.D. 67 101 A.D. 67 101 A.D. 67
3 Lekshmiśvara inscription	6	Śaṅkha (ex) (ex) (ex) Māhārāja (ex) (ex) (ex)	101 A.D. 67 101 A.D. 67 101 A.D. 67	(II) 101 A.D. 67 101 A.D. 67 101 A.D. 67
4 Kernūl grant	11	Śaṅkha (ex) (ex) (ex) Māhārāja (ex) (ex) (ex)	101 A.D. 67 101 A.D. 67 101 A.D. 67	(II) 101 A.D. 67 101 A.D. 67 101 A.D. 67
5 Sorab grant	11	Śaṅkha (ex) (ex) (ex) Dakṣiṇa (ex) (ex) (ex) Māhārāja (ex) (ex) (ex)	101 A.D. 67 101 A.D. 67 101 A.D. 67	(II) 101 A.D. 67 101 A.D. 67 101 A.D. 67
6 Dayamdinne plates	12	Śaṅkha (ex) (ex) (ex) Māhārāja (ex) (ex) (ex) Dakṣiṇa (ex) (ex) (ex)	101 A.D. 67 101 A.D. 67 101 A.D. 67	(II) 101 A.D. 67 101 A.D. 67 101 A.D. 67
7 Harihar grant	11	Śaṅkha (ex) (ex) (ex) Kartika (ex) (ex) (ex)	101 A.D. 67 101 A.D. 67 101 A.D. 67	(II) 101 A.D. 67 101 A.D. 67 101 A.D. 67

The record is interesting in other respects too. While recounting the achievements of Vikramāditya the present inscription like all the other records of Vikramāditya states that he captured Kāñchīpura after defeating the Pallava king who had been in the state of disgrace to his family, subdued the three kings (*aharavahatras*)<sup>1</sup> Pāṇḍya, Chōla and Kōṛala and made the inexorable Pallava bow to his feet. Vikramāditya's own records,<sup>2</sup> however, are unanimous in proclaiming that he required for this on the terms of his father which had been concealed by (the confederates of) three kings (*aharavahatras*)<sup>3</sup> and defeated the enemy-kings in country after country. The Gadgil plates<sup>4</sup> of his 20th year (A.D. 674) add that he inflicted a crushing defeat on Pallava Narasimhavarman Mahēndravarmān and Išvarapōṭavarman and seized their capital Kāñchīpura. Thus, the defeat of the Pallavas and the capture of Kāñchīpura being common in both the accounts, the confederates of three kings mentioned in the epigraphs of Vikramāditya must evidently refer to the Pāṇḍya, Chōla and Kōṛala given in his son's records. Hence my opinion that the three princes were Pallava Narasimhavarman, Mahēndravarmān and Išvarapōṭavarman is untenable. It is impossible in the scheme of Pallava chronology to suppose that Narasimhavarman and Mahēndravarmān had died and Paramēśvaravarman's rule had already commenced by A.D. 655 in which year Vikramāditya had acquired his hereditary provinces after subduing the confederates. For

<sup>1</sup> *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, pp. 368 and 369.

<sup>2</sup> According to Pāṇini *सुविश्वं पञ्चमस्य १९२१२१* the terminations *पञ्च* and *मस्य* convey the same meaning. Hence the two expressions occurring in the two sets of inscriptions must be taken to give the same sense.

<sup>3</sup> See for instance, above, Vol. IX, pp. 98 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. X, pp. 100 ff.

according to all authorities<sup>1</sup> on Pallava chronology Narasimhavarman's reign alone extended beyond A D 655. As stated above, Vikramāditya recovered his territory from the Pāndya, Chōla and Kērala kings, and not from the Pallavas, which fact leads us to suppose that the Chālukyan territory was not in the possession of the Pallavas in or immediately before A D 655. The Pallava grants,<sup>2</sup> however, assert that Narasimhavarman defeated Pulakśin II in the battles of Pariyala, Manimangala and Sūramāra and destroyed Vātāpi. In some inscriptions<sup>3</sup> he is given the epithet *Vātāpi-londa*. This is fully borne out by the existence of a rock-inscription at Bādāmi of this Pallava king, written in the Pallava-Grantha characters of the period.<sup>4</sup> This event is supposed to have taken place after the visit of the Chinese pilgrim Huen Tsiang to the court of Pulakśin II i.e., in about A D 643. It is not, at present, possible to guess under what circumstances the Pallava hold was displaced and the three confederates occupied the Chālukyan country in the intervening period.<sup>5</sup>

Another noteworthy point in the present record is the expression *Trairājya-Pallava*. Vinayāditya is stated to have vanquished, at the command of his father, the over-grown army of Trairājya-Pallava and brought his country into a state of peace and quiet. Scholars are divided in their opinion regarding the significance of the term *Trairājya*. Fleet,<sup>6</sup> Kielhorn<sup>7</sup> and Krishna Sastri<sup>8</sup> have taken it to refer to the three South-Indian powers, viz., Pāndya, Chōla and Kēraḷa. Dr. Dubreuil<sup>9</sup> has posited that the three kings who constituted *Trairājya* were the Pallava, the Pāndya and Simhaḷa Mānavamma. Recently, an endeavour has been made by a writer to show that this term as well as the expression *avampati-tritaya* refer to the three branches of the Pallava dynasty ruling over three different regions of their kingdom.<sup>10</sup> One of them ruled, according to him, over Tondai-mandalam and the Tamil country with its capital at Kūñchī, another governed the modern Guntur and Nellore districts and formerly issued its grants usually from Mēnamātura, Tāmbbrāpa and Palakkada, and the third had under its control the modern Ceded Districts probably with the exception of Cuddapah. The views of either of the last two scholars are wholly untenable as they lack the support of historical facts of the period and of the proper interpretation of the texts of inscriptions in which the word occurs. This term is found used, besides in the Chālukya inscriptions, also in

<sup>1</sup> K. V. S. Aiyar's *Historical Sketches of the Ancient Dehkan*, p. 41, Dubreuil's *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> Kūram, Kāśāludi and Vclūrpālaiyam grants (*S I I*, Vols I, pp 148 ff, II, No 73, and p 503).

<sup>3</sup> *Eg S I I*, Vol II, No 73.

<sup>4</sup> There are also some minor inscriptions at Bādāmi written in this script, see *eg Ind Ant*, Vol X, p. 61.

<sup>5</sup> It is not impossible that soon after the occupation of Vātāpi by Narasimhavarman I after A D 642, the Pāndya, Chōla, and Kērala who were biding a favourable opportunity to avenge the defeat inflicted upon them by the Pallava monarch (see the Kūram plates), joined themselves into a confederacy and, after subduing the Pallavas whose resources had probably been exhausted in their conflicts with the Chālukyan army, marched as far north as Vātāpi, shattered the Pallava hold on it and finally took possession of the Chālukya territory. This supposition would explain the variant statements contained in the Chālukya as well as the Pallava epigraphs and the description of the Pallavas as the cause of disgrace and destruction of the lunar family of the Chālukyas would also be accounted for.

<sup>6</sup> *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 368.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol V, p. 202 n.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol XI, p. 341 n. 1. See also Hultzsch, above, Vol IX, p. 101 n. 5 and Pathak, *ibid.*, p. 205, n. 4.

<sup>9</sup> *The Pallavas*, p. 44.

<sup>10</sup> *The Madras Christian College Magazine*, January, 1920, pp. 6 and 8. The author presumes that "the Chōlas did not exist as a political power during the seventh century A D" (p. 4). This is wrong. They are referred to as an independent ruling family in almost all the records of Vinayāditya and his successors. There is nothing to indicate in the Gadval grant that the Chōḷika viśhaya had been directly governed by the Pallavas of Kūñchī, as supposed by him.

the Mal'pādu plates of Puṇyakumāra (Cir 8th century<sup>1</sup> A D), the Viṣṇupurāṇa<sup>2</sup> and Jinaśāna's Ādipurāṇa<sup>3</sup> (9th century A D). In the Viṣṇupurāṇa, the word occurs along with Muṣhila in the passage<sup>4</sup> श्रीराम सुदिक्त १५८२३ १०१६० भोत्यति । Fleet has identified Muṣhila with a part of the Malabar coast between Quilon and Cape Comorin<sup>5</sup>. *Trairājya* should, therefore, be naturally located near it. Further the word is explained by the commentator of Jinaśāna's Ādipurāṇa as referring to Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Kūṛaḷa. It is therefore reasonable to think that *Trairājya* of the Chāḷukya inscriptions refers to these three countries only. This view finds considerable support from the analogous expression श्रीराज occurring in Vikramāditya (I)'s records which in the context means the administration of the three king (श्रीराजविमर्ग), i.e., Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa and Kūṛaḷa.

From the foregoing discussion it may be said that the constituents of *Trairājya* were not the Pallava, Pāṇḍya and Simhala Mānavamma as postulated by Dr. Dubreuil. If the Ceylon king had actually joined the confederation, this remarkable event would have been mentioned in the *Mahātamsa* as an important achievement of Mānavamma<sup>6</sup>. Further the Pallava could not have formed a member of the *Trairājya* since he is mentioned separately. The contention that the *Trairājya* was composed of three kings ruling over three different parts of the Pallava kingdom is similarly untenable<sup>7</sup> for the above mentioned reasons. According to this view, we ought to find the existence of the Pallava sway over the Nellore, Guntur and the Ceded Districts in and before A D 613 when the confederation is supposed to have temporarily subverted the Chāḷukya power. But this is not the case. The situation of stone inscriptions and of villages granted in copper plate records<sup>8</sup> of this early period would show clearly that parts of the Guntur, Nellore and the Ceded Districts had already been conquered by Pulakēśin II in his famous *dig vijaya* and become subject to the Chāḷukya rule.

The defeat of the three powers, namely, the Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa and Kūṛaḷa by Vinayāditya appears to have taken place after the date of the Gaduḷ plates (A D 673) since it is not alluded to there. After the victorious campaign of the Chāḷukya king into the Pallava and Chōḷa countries in that year, the Pallava king Paramēśvaravarman must have mustered his forces and sought the assistance of the Chōḷa and the other two powers of South India in order to give a crushing blow to their common enemy Vikramāditya. The combined forces of these four powers entered the Chāḷukyan territory and probably sacked and captured the 'city of Ranarasika' on this

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XI, p. 337.

<sup>2</sup> Chapter 4 24 67 of the Venkatesvara Press edition.

<sup>3</sup> Chapter XXX, verse 35. This reference was pointed out by Pathak above, Vol. IX, p. 205.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. K. P. Jayaswal adds श्रीराज to this in his quotation from the same Purāṇa (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIX, p. 129).

<sup>5</sup> *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 281. See Mr. K. V. S. Aiyar in *J. P. S.* April 1922, p. 175 and also Vanda Lal Dey's *Geographical Dictionary of the Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 131. [Mushkanagara is mentioned in the Hathigumpha Inscription of Khāravela, see above, Vol. XX, p. 77 and note 7.—Ed.]

<sup>6</sup> Dubreuil does not discuss the composition of *atavijayā tritaya* which as pointed out above signifies the same three powers as *Trairājya*. It is impossible that the Simhala king Mānavamma who ascended the throne in A D 668 (Hultzsch)—according to Dubreuil in A D 660 and A D 691 according to Wijesinha—could have entered the alliance as a crowned king and helped the Pallava Narasiṃhavarman I in defeating the Chāḷukyas in about A D 643.

<sup>7</sup> Fleet originally held the same opinion but subsequently abandoned it (*Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 362 n).

<sup>8</sup> See, for instance, the Koppāram plates (above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 257 ff), the Niduparu grant (*ibid.*, p. 55), the Chendalūr plates of Sarvalōkāsraya (*ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 238), the Annavaram inscription of Vikramāditya (*Nellore Inscriptions*, Darsi 2, and Dr. Venkatarāmanayya's *Trilōchana Pallava and Karikōḷa Chōḷa*, p. 16) the Gooty inscription and the Sorab grant of Vinayāditya, and Nos. 333, 343, 350 and 364 of 1920 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

occasion They were routed by Vinayāditya probably in A. D. 678-79, when he was nominated to the throne as indicated by his Jejūri plates and the Togarchēdu grant

Of the geographical places mentioned in the record *Talayakhēda-grāma* has been identified by the late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri with Thairkedda on the north bank of the river Tēr (Thairna) <sup>1</sup> Dr Fleet has identified *Nalavādi-vishaya* with portions of the Anantapur and Kurnool Districts <sup>2</sup> *Ulchal* which was situated in this *vishaya* is probably to be identified with *Ulachāla* <sup>3</sup> in the Kurnool taluk of the Kurnool district If this is correct, Fleet's identification of the *Nalavādi-vishaya* will be confirmed Recently two inscriptions of the Nala dynasty have been obtained, viz, the Rithāpur <sup>4</sup> plates of Bhavattavarman and the Podāgadh inscription <sup>5</sup> of his son Skandavarman, which locate their kingdom somewhere in the Central Provinces on the side of Yeotmal, and Podāgadh in the Jeypore Agency It is too premature to establish any connection between the *Nalavādi-vishaya* and the Nala country since they are far removed from each other The present record contains the second known reference to *Nalavādi-vishaya*, the first being found in the Kurnool plates <sup>6</sup> of Vikramāditya I

TEXT

Second Plate, Second Side

- 22 . . . . . १विना(न)-  
 23 यादित्यसत्याश्रयश्च[१\*]यिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरभ-  
 24 द्दाराकक्षर्वानेवमाज्ञापयति[१\*] विदितमस्तु वोष्माभिः चतुर्दशोत्तमपट्टने-  
 25 षु शकवर्षेष्वतीतेषु प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्यसंवत्सरे द्वादश(शि) वर्त्तमा-  
 26 ने तगरनद्युत्तरसमीपे तक्ष्यखेडग्राममधिवसति विजय-  
 27 स्तस्यावारे आषाढपौर्णिमास्यां दक्षिणायनकाले मईकारीविज्ञापनया

Third Plate First Side

- 28 नलवाडिविषये उक्त्यज्जनामग्रामे कौशिकगोत्राय दूतशर्मणे पूर्वस्था-  
 29 न्दिशि राजमानेन पञ्चाशद्वि(त्रि)वर्त्तनक्षेत्रे अपि च कौशिकगोत्राय कल्याण-  
 30 शर्मणे राजमानेन पञ्चाशद्वि(त्रि)वर्त्तनक्षेत्रे अपि च आत्रेयगोत्राय स-  
 31 र्वशर्मणे राजमानेन पञ्चाशद्वि(त्रि)वर्त्तनक्षेत्रे अपि च गार्ग्ययणगोत्र-  
 32 सव(र्व)शर्मणे दक्षिणस्यान्दिशि राजमानेन पञ्चाशद्वि(त्रि)वर्त्तनक्षेत्रे  
 33 सर्वबाध(घा)परिहार दत्ता(त्ता)नि [१\*] वेदव्यासेन व्यासेनोक्त[म् १\*]  
 अक्षयंश(शै)र-

34-36 Imprecatory verses

- 37 किमि[१\*] श्रीरामपुण्यव[त्त]भसेना . राजन(जेन) लिखितं [१\*]

<sup>1</sup> *M E R*, 1916, p 130

<sup>2</sup> *Bom Gaz*, Vol I, pt II, p 363

<sup>3</sup> *Alphabetical List of Villages in the Madras Presidency*, Kurnool district, p 5

<sup>4</sup> *Above*, Vol XIX, p 100

<sup>5</sup> *M E R*, 1922, p 80, No 283, *above*, Vol XXI, pp 155 f

<sup>6</sup> *J B B R A S*, Vol XVI, pp 225 ff Since the Madakasira taluk now belongs to the Anantapur district, Anantapur should be substituted for Bellary in Fleet's identification of this *vishaya*

<sup>7</sup> Lines 1 to 22 are a reproduction of the first eighteen lines of the Jejūri plates (*above*, Vol XIX, pp 63-4)

## No. 8—SILAHARĀ CAVE INSCRIPTIONS

By PROF. D. R. BHANDARKAR, Calcutta

The inscriptions which are edited here for the first time were found in Caves at Silaharā in the Rewah State, Central India. More than twenty-five years ago a rubbing of one of these records was sent by a schoolmaster to Rāi Bahadur Hiralal, the celebrated archaeologist of C. P., who in his turn some time ago brought it to the notice of the Government Epigraphist, Dr. Hirananda Sastri. During the year 1927-28, the latter officer visited the caves and published an account of the same together with a summary of their inscriptions on pp. 136-8 of the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind., An. Rep.*, of the same year. The castimpressions which he took during his official visit to the monuments were kindly made over to me for detailed treatment, and the present paper is the result of it.

The caves at Silaharā are about sixteen miles to the north-east of Jājhāri, a station on the Katni-Bilaspur Branch of the Bengal Nagpur Railway. It lies between Latitude 23° 2' North and Longitude 81° 50' East. They are a group of four artificial excavations, with traces of one more excavation and are situated on the east bank of a small river called the Kōyān, presenting a picturesque view. The name *Silaharā*, as suggested by Dr. Sastri, is probably a modern form of *Silāgrīha* which occurs as *silāgalā* in these inscriptions. Of these four monuments, only three, namely, the Sitāmādi, the Durvāsī and the Chēri Gōdādī Cave, are well preserved. The fourth has a hole in the roof of one of its cells. The first three caves only contain inscriptions, some of which are in the Brāhmī script, and some in the 'Small' characters. Here we are concerned only with the inscriptions in the Brāhmī script.

From the form of the letters all these inscriptions except one seem to belong to the first century A.D. What is palaeographically worthy of note about them is that the characters *p* and *v* have occasionally flat and angular bases and that the base line of *n* also is sometimes slightly curved. These peculiarities are first clearly noticeable in the cave inscriptions of Ushavādita, which pertain to the beginning of the second century A.D. But there they appear as the permanent and not incidental forms of those letters. Moreover, because *p* and *v*, the letters *lh*, *gh*, *ṇ* and *m* are found in Ushavādita's epigraphs invariably with flat and angular bases, which are not noticeable at all in our cave inscriptions. The inference is not unreasonable that our epigraphs are slightly earlier in date than those of Ushavādita, and if the latter belong to the first quarter of the second century, we cannot be far from right if we assign the Silaharā inscriptions to about the middle of the first century A.D.

Other palaeographic peculiarities also deserve to be noticed. Thus *d* consists of two curves,—one concave and one convex, joined in one way or the other and thus giving rise to two different forms of *d*. Similarly, the letter *t* appears in two different forms. The character *m* in Sitāmādi in No. 3, 13, is unlike *m* in other places in these inscriptions, and as such is worthy of note.

These are seven inscriptions. All of them except two bear more or less the same import. They are engraved in the inner walls of the caves, the Durvāsī containing one, and the Chēri-Gōdādī two and the Sitāmādi three. The last of these caves has one more inscription but incised on a pillar and with a different import. All these records are complete as far as they go, but the longest and most detailed of these is that engraved in the Durvāsī Cave. In the Sitāmādi Cave, however, while one inscription is complete, the other has apparently not been fully incised, supposing of course that the whole of it has been copied in the castimpage before us. The object of the inscriptions is to record the excavation of caves by the *amātya* Maudgaliputra Mūladāya of the Vatsa-gōtra, while Svāmīdatta was the ruler of the kingdom. Who this Svāmī-

datta was is not known We know of only one Svāmīdatta who according to the celebrated Allahābād Pillar Inscription was king of Kōttūra in Dakṣiṇāpāṭha and was conquered by Samudragupta who flourished in the fourth century A.D But the Svāmīdatta of our inscriptions must have lived in the first century And there is neither epigraphic nor numismatic evidence to point to any king of this name during this period

As we have just seen, the caves were excavated, not by the king Svāmīdatta, but by his minister Mūladāva, whose pedigree for three generations has been given He was son of Sivamita (=Sivamitra), grandson of Sivadata (=Sivadatta), and great grandson of Sivānamdi (=Sivānandi) It is worthy of note that the terms used for 'grandson' and 'great grandson' are *natika* (=naprika) and *panatika* (=pranaprika), but they are obviously used in the sense of *pautra* and *prapautra* These last words no doubt generally occur in the inscriptions of Aśoka, but they are sometimes replaced by the other words also in some versions of his edicts (cf e.g., the Girnār with the other copies of RE IV)

What the original object of these excavations was may be now briefly considered The inscriptions found in the Chēri-Gōdadi and Sītāmādi Caves simply say that they were *silāgahā* or rock mansions, but that engraved in the Durvāsū Cave describes it as *ārāmam pavate* or 'pleasure-house on the hill' There can be little doubt that they were intended as dens for mirth and frolic This inference is supported by Inscriptions Nos 6—7 in the Sītāmādi Cave They are no doubt engraved in characters of the second century A.D., and are thus one century posterior to the other epigraphs Nevertheless, they are sufficiently close in time to the others Now one inscription reads *Yuvati-māle*=*Yuvati-mālī* *Mālam* means "a high ground, rising or elevated ground" The word occurs in v 16 of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*, where the word is thus explained by Mallinātha *śaila-prāyam=unnata-sthalam*, 'an elevated hilly place' Consequently *Yuvati-māle* is to be understood as denoting some hill place for meeting young women The other inscription reads *Udaya tāū*, 'the Rising Star', which apparently is the name of some female artiste The Silaharā Caves thus seem to have been excavated for sportive and merry-making purposes and continued as such for at least a century more All the caves except one that have so far been discovered were intended as religious edifices If we take the Buddhist caves, they were either *chaityas*, 'worship halls' or *layanas* 'residences for monks' If we take the Brahmanic or Jaina caves, they were cut to serve as temples or abode of ascetics The only exception just referred to is the two caves of Rāmgarh, called Sītābhṅgā and Jōgīmārā<sup>1</sup> The former of these was apparently an amphitheatre, and the latter a love den Both have an inscription each That in the first contains some verses in praise of poetry That in the second purports to say that there was a *dīvadāsī*, Sutanukā by name, who was loved by Devadīnna, native of Bārūpasī and a banker (*iūpadakṣha*) by profession<sup>2</sup> It appears that the Jōgīmārā Cave was excavated originally by Devadīnna for gratifying his amorous propensities The Silaharā Caves also were perhaps cut for the same purpose, and served as pleasure retreats to Mūladāva, minister of Svāmīdatta

This Mūladāva, as stated above, has been described both as Vachha (=Vātsa) and Mogaliputa (=Maudgaliputra) The first is a patronymic and shows that he belonged to the Vatsa-gōtra, that, in other words, he was a Brāhmaṇ The second is a metronymic and means "son of (a woman) of the Mudgala or Maudgala family" Mudgala is a section of both the Bharadvāja- and the Atri-gōtra<sup>3</sup> Maudgala again is a section not only of the Bharadvāja or the Vasishtha, but also of the Bhṛigu-gōtra<sup>4</sup> The mother of Mūladāva may have belonged to any one of these

<sup>1</sup> A S I, An Rep, 1903 04, pp 74 5 and pp 123 ff

<sup>2</sup> Luders, List of Brāhmī Inscr., No 921 I, however, differ from the Professor in regard to the interpretation of *iūpadakṣha* For this technical sense of the word *rūpa*, see my Carmichael Lectures, 1921, pp 124 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Gōtra pravara nibandha kadambam, p 63, l 9 and p 81, l 3

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, p 62, l 5, p 110, l 14, and p 37, l 5.

*gōtras* except Bhṛigu She could not have come of the Bhṛigu, because her husband, being a Vātsī, was a Bhṛigu<sup>1</sup> Let us in this connection discuss the significance of the Vedic metronymics which occur in cave and such early inscriptions Buhler says in one place that "numerous instances in the northern and southern inscriptions show that the queens and princesses were frequently called by the Vedic *gōtra*-names, such as the Gautamī, the Vātsī, the Vāsishthī, the Gārgī, etc"<sup>2</sup> The remark is true so far as it goes, but he forgets that the Brāhman women also had such *gōtra*-names One such instance is of course furnished by our inscriptions which call Mūladēva's mother Maudgalī, another, by a Nāsik Cave record which speaks of a Brāhman Asvibhūti as Vārāhīputra<sup>3</sup>, and a third by a Malavalli pillar inscription in Monumental Prākṛit which mentions the Brāhman grantee Nāgadatta as not only of the Kaundinya-*gōtra* but also as Kauśikīputra<sup>4</sup> Now, the first question that here arises is what was the use of these metronymics at all? There can be but one reply When and where polygamy is in vogue, it is absolutely necessary to distinguish the sons of one wife from those of another The practice is still prevalent in Rājputānā If a Rājput prince marries more than one princess, they are always distinguished one from the other, according as she is a Hādī-jī, Rānāvāt-jī and so forth Such must have been the case in Ancient India also Kings certainly married more than one queen who were therefore known by the family names of their fathers But it is worthy of note that this polygamy was present in Ancient India not only among the Kshatriyas but also among the Brāhmanas as the three instances adduced above clearly show

The second question that now arises is this If the Brāhmanas have metronymics derived from the Vedic *Gōtras*, that is just what might be expected But why should such *gōtras* be in vogue among the Kshatriyas, at any rate among the members of the ruling class? Let us take for example the Śātavāhana family, whose inscriptions have been found in the Nāsik, Kārle and Kanheri Caves The earliest of them is called Gautamīputra, his son, Vāsishthīputra, and one of their successors, Mādharīputra These metronymics are clearly formed from the Brahmanic *gōtras*, and the wonder of it is how they are found in a ruling dynasty In explanation of this fact it has been argued by some that the Śātavāhanas were of the Brāhman caste,<sup>5</sup> and in support of this position our attention has been drawn to two passages from Nāsik Cave Inscription 2<sup>6</sup> The first, which is from l 5, is *kshatriya-dapa-māna-madanasa*, "of (Gautamīputra), who humbled the pride and arrogance of the Kshatriyas" From this it is inferred that Gautamīputra could not have been a Kshatriya For, if he had been a Kshatriya, there would have been no propriety in his saying that he put down the pride and conceit of the Kshatriyas What was he then by caste? Is there anything in that inscription which throws light upon the subject? We are thus referred to a second passage in the Nāsik Inscription, namely, *ekabamhanasa*, which has been rendered by Senart as "the unique Brāhmana" Some scholars are thus of opinion that the Śātavāhanas were undoubtedly Brāhman by caste It is true that in this translation of the passage Senart practically follows Buhler, who renders it by "of him who alone (was worthy of the name of) a Brāhmana"<sup>7</sup> But it is forgotten that the word *bamhana* of the Prākṛit original can be equated not only with the Sanskrit *Brāhmana* as was done by Bühler and Senart but also with *brahmanya* as was first suggested by R G Bhandarkar, who

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, p 33, l 10

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol I, p 394

<sup>3</sup> Luders, *loc cit*, No 1131

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, No 1196

<sup>5</sup> H Raychaudhuri's *Political History of Ancient India*, pp 280 1.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol VIII, p 60

<sup>7</sup> *Arch Surv. West Ind*, Vol IV, p 110.

translates it by "the only supporter of Brāhmanas"<sup>1</sup> Bhagwanlal Indraji, however, takes *bamhana* as equivalent to *Brāhmaṇa*, but takes the expression to mean 'the only holy man'.<sup>2</sup> Personally I would prefer the first. But whatever interpretation is approved, this much is certain that *bamhana* need not necessarily be taken as equivalent to *Brāhmaṇa* and can also stand for *brahmanya*, and thus the prop in support of the Brāhman origin of the Śātavāhanas becomes feeble and shaky. How then, it may be asked, are we to explain the first of the passages which has been quoted from Nāsik Cave Inscription No 2 and which represents Gautamīputra to have humbled the pride and arrogance of the Kshatriyas? Even if we take the word *Kshatriya* here in its usual sense, namely, the second of the four castes, the passage in question at the most would prove that Gautamīputra was a non-Kshatriya, but not necessarily that he was a Brāhman. Are we, however, compelled to take this word in this sense? Cannot *khatrya* (= *Kshatriya*) bear any other signification? In this connection we must remember that there was a tribe called Kshatriya or Kshattri, mentioned both by foreign writers and in Sanskrit literature. Thus Arrian who wrote an account of Alexander's invasion of India says that when this Macedonian emperor was in camp on the confluence of the Chenab and the Indus, he received deputies and presents from Xathroi (Khathroi), an independent tribe of Indians.<sup>3</sup> The same tribe is apparently mentioned as Kshatriyas by Ptolemy.<sup>4</sup> As has been pointed out by Mr K P Jayaswal<sup>5</sup>, they appear to be mentioned by Kautilya along with the Kāmbojas and Surāshtras as the Samghas subsisting both upon agriculture and arms. They are no doubt the Kshattri described in the *Manusmṛiti*, and the Kshatriyas of the later inscriptions (see e.g., the Lādnū Inscription of Sādhārana<sup>6</sup> who and his ancestors are spoken of as Kshatriyas of the Kāśyapa-gōtra). They appear to be represented by the Khattris of the modern day. Originally, however, they formed an independent tribe living not far from the confluence of the Chenab and the Indus. It will thus be seen that this tribe may very well have been the Kshatriyas whose pride and conceit Gautamīputra Śātakarni crushed down. If the latter went on conquering as far northwards as the Śakas, Yavanas and Palhavas, there is nothing strange in his putting down the Kshatriyas who lived in their neighbourhood just as the Mahākshatrāpa Rudradāman is reputed to have exterminated the Yaudhēyas.<sup>7</sup> No irrefragable evidence is thus forthcoming from Nāsik Cave Inscription No 2, or, for the matter of that, from any source, which demonstrates that the Śātavāhanas were Brāhmanas. On the other hand, there is a passage in the same Nāsik Cave Inscription which is worth considering here. It is the passage where Gautamī Balaśrī is called *rājarisī-vadhusadām akhīlam anuvādhīyamānā*, "wholly conforming to the title 'wife of the Royal Sage'". It may be pertinently asked what is meant by a *Rājarshi* (Royal Sage)? It may be contended that the term simply denotes 'a sage-like king', be he a Brāhman or a Kshatriya. But it has to be remembered that *Rājarshi* is always employed in contradistinction to Brahmarshi which unquestionably means 'a Brāhman Sage'. The use of the term *Rājarshi* is thus enough to show that the Śātavāhanas were not Brāhmanas.

Or we may set aside the Śātavāhanas for a while and consider the Ikshvākus of the south whose inscriptions have been found in the Āndhra country at Jaggayyapēta and Nāgarjunikonda. That the Ikshvākus were the Kshatriyas of the solar race is too well-known to be pointed

<sup>1</sup> *Trans Inter Cong Ori*, London, 1874, pp 310 11

<sup>2</sup> *Bomb Gazet*, Vol XVI, pp 552 and 554

<sup>3</sup> McCrindle's *Ancient India Its Invasion by Alexander the Great*, p 156

<sup>4</sup> *Ind Ant*, Vol XIII, p 360

<sup>5</sup> *Hindu Polity*, Pt I, p 60

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol XII, pp 23 ff

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol VIII, p 44, l 12.



out. And yet we have in this dynasty three kings, two of whom bear the metronymic *Vāsishthīputra* and one *Māthariputra*.<sup>1</sup> Related to these Ikshvākus are personages holding titles of nobility such as *Mahā sūnāpati* and *Mahā talavara*. Even they bear such metronymics. If we turn westwards again and consider the cave inscriptions, we find that even there, feudatory chieftains styling themselves as *Mahārathi*, *Mahā sūnāpati* and *Mahā-bhūja* possess similar metronymics. The question therefore arises how were these Vedic metronymics in vogue among the ruling classes most of which were presumably Kshatriya by caste? According to Bühler, "the explanation is no doubt that these *gōtras* originally were those of the Purōhita of the royal or noble families, from which the queens were descended, and that the kings were affiliated to them for religious purposes, as the Śrautasūtras indicate."<sup>2</sup> But was it so really from 150 B.C. to 250 A.D.? Bühler is apparently taking his stand upon the Śrautasūtras. What the Śrautasūtras, however, lay down in the case of a Kshatriya or a Vaisya is the adoption not of the *Gōtra* but of the *Pravaras* of his Purōhita. Thus the *Bṛudhivara Śrautasūtra*<sup>3</sup> says *Akshatriya-Vaiśyānām purōhita pravarō bhavati-iti vishūyati*. The *Āpastamba*<sup>4</sup> has *atha yjshām (-Akshatriyānām) mantrapitō na syuh sa purōhita pravarās-ti pravarīran*. From these quotations it is clear that what a Kshatriya borrowed from his Purōhita for religious purposes was, not his *Gōtra*, but his *Pravaras*. It may perhaps be argued that one set of *Pravaras* presupposes one specific *Gōtra* only, so that when that *Gōtra* name is pronounced, only that particular set of *Pravaras* is indicated. Nor is this argument well founded. One instance will suffice for our purpose. Let us take the *Mathara gōtra* from which the metronymic *Māthariputra* is derived. It has the three *Pravaras* *Kāśyapa*, *Āyatāra* and *Nandirava*. But, these *Pravaras*, *Mathara* possesses in common with at least eighty other *Gōtras*, such as *Kāśyapa*, *Chhāgari* and so forth. There is no such thing as one set of *Pravaras* for one *Gōtra* and one *Gōtra* only. Even supposing that a Kshatriya affiliates himself to his Purōhita's *Gōtra* for religious purposes as Bühler supposes, why should that *Gōtra* be binding upon the Kshatriya for secular purposes, why in other words, should the Kshatriya avoid marriage, not in his proper exogamous group, but in the same *Gōtra* as that of his Purōhita, though the *Gōtra* is natural to a Brāhman but an extraneous something which is foisted upon him? Nowhere is it laid down in any Sūtra or similar writings, explicitly or implicitly, that a Kshatriya, like his Purōhita, shall not marry in the same Vedic *Gōtra*. Besides, it is not a fact that even in this period the member of a ruling family had a metronymic invariably derived from a Brāhmanical *Gōtra*. Two instances will suffice to prove our point. There is an *Amarvatī* Buddhist sculpture, the inscription on which records the gift of an *upāsala* *Buddharakshita*, who is therein called *Gomdiputa*. It is evident from this that his mother was *Gōmdī* which no scholar has yet been able to explain. The term *Gōmdī* indicates that she belonged to the *Gumda* family which, however, is not known to be any Vedic *Gōtra*. It may however be contended that this *Buddharakshita* originally was not a Brāhman or a Kshatriya, and so his metronymic has no bearing upon our discussion. Let us therefore take another, namely, *Gotiputa*, which, we find, was borne by persons of three different ranks, namely, by a king, a *Mahārathi* and a goldsmith. Possibly this goldsmith also was neither a Brāhman nor a Kshatriya, and may therefore be set aside. But what about the king and the nobleman styling themselves *Gotiputa* which has been equated by scholars with *Gauttiputra*, son of a woman belonging to the Gupta race. Surely Gupta, Gota, or Guta has not yet been

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XX, pp. 16 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. I, p. 394.

<sup>3</sup> *Pravara prabha*, 54.

<sup>4</sup> *Pravara Ihonda* 15.

<sup>5</sup> Lüders, *loc. cit.*, No. 1271.

shown to be the name of any Vedic Gōtra. This clearly shows that we have personages of the ruler or nobility class bearing a metronymic not connected with any Vedic Gōtra. Again, let us see who was this ruler that called himself Gotiputa. The inscription which makes mention of him is engraved on the pillar of a *torana* which was originally found at Bharaut but which is now exhibited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. It records that the gateway was erected by Vātsīputra Dhanabhūti, son of Gotiputa Āgaraju (= Gaupīputra Angāradyut), and grandson of the king (*rājan*) Gīrgīputra Viśvadīva, during the rule of the Sungas.<sup>1</sup> As Viśvadīva is here called a *rājan*, there can be no doubt that his son and grandson pertained to a ruling family. And further it is worthy of note that whereas Viśvadīva and Dhanabhūti are styled Gīrgīputra and Vātsīputra, showing that their mothers bore the Vedic Gōtra, Angāradyut alone is styled Gotiputa showing that his mother belonged to the Gupta family which was anything but a Vedic Gōtra. The other instance of the occurrence of Gotiputa as a metronymic is supplied by the epigraph on the lion column standing in front of the *chaitya* cave at Kārlī. It says that the column was set up by one Agnimitranaka (Agnimitra) who was a Mahārathi and a Gotiputa, which Prof. Lüders takes to mean 'son of a Gaupī'.<sup>2</sup> Mahārathi denotes a feudatory rank. Agnimitra was thus a feudatory chief, and yet he bears a metronymic which is in no way derived from a Vedic Gōtra. A third non-Vedic metronymic which may be considered here is that furnished by an inscription on a relic casket found in Sonari Stūpa No. II near Bhilsā. It mentions the name of a Buddhist Missionary who is described as the teacher of all Himalayan countries. His personal name is not given, but he is called Kotiputa and Kāsapagota.<sup>3</sup> His metronymic merits special notice as his original caste is here specified. For we have just seen that he is called Kāsapagota which means that his father was a Brāhman. But what was he from his mother's side? She was evidently a 'Koti' which is taken by Prof. Lüders as equivalent to Kauntī. But the Professor does not explain what he means by Kauntī. Kauntī, as it is, has to be derived from Kuntā, but Kuntā as the name of a family or a clan is unknown. The only clan name that approximates to it is Kuntī, a Yādava clan, whose ruler, Kuntibhōja, being childless, adopted Kuntī, the first wife of Pāṇḍu. It will thus be seen that the word Kuntī itself means "(a woman) descended from Kuntī". The Buddhist missionary Kāsapagota would thus have been called Kuntīputra, and not Kauntīputra, if his mother had pertained to the Kuntī lineage. Perhaps the best explanation of the metronymic Kotiputa is to say that his mother belonged not to the Kuntī, but to the Kota, clan. That Kota was the name of a ruling family is clear from the fact that their coins have been found round about Delhi and in Eastern Panjāb.<sup>4</sup> Besides, the celebrated Allahābād Pillar Inscription speaks of Samudragupta as having captured a scion of the Kōta family.<sup>5</sup> The Kotas and the Guptas thus were both ruling families in the fourth century A.D. And if they were so ruling side by side in that century, there is nothing unreasonable in supposing that both the clans were in existence about the beginning of the Christian era. The metronymic Kotiputa therefore had better be equated with Kauntīputra and the inference drawn that the mother of the Buddhist teacher Kāsapagota came from the Kota family. But whatever the correct explanation of Kotiputa may be, this much is certain that the mother of the Buddhist missionary belonged to a non-Vedic Gōtra.

The above discussion is enough to convince any one that members of the ruling and nobility classes bore metronymics which were sometimes Vedic and sometimes non-Vedic. Similarly,

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 687

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1089

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 158

<sup>4</sup> *Smith's Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, pp. 238 and 261.

<sup>5</sup> *Ilect & C. I. I*, Vol. III, p. 6, l. 14.

we have just seen that the Buddhist saint who is described as the teacher of all Himalayan countries was born of a Brāhman father as his patronymic Kāśapagota shows, but that his mother was a Kshatriya woman as she was a Kota by extraction. The conclusion is therefore irresistible that in the ancient period ranging from circa 150 B C to circa 250 A D there were many inter caste marriages, which were not only *anulōma* but also *pratilōma*. The history of the Ikshvākus of South India clearly shows that the Brāhmanas were ready to give their daughters in marriage to the Kshatriyas if they but belonged to the ruling family.

## TEXT

*Inscription in the Duvāsū Cave*

## No 1

- 1 Sāmī[da]to rajam lārayamtuṃmhi Sīvānamdi-panatī[k]ena
- 2 Sivadati-natīk[e]na
- 3 Sīvamī[ta]-putena
- 4 [Vachhena] M[o]galiputena
- 5 [Mūla\*]d[e\*]v[e\*]na arānam pavate ropāpita[m]

*Inscriptions in the Chīrī-Gōdadī Cave*

## No 2

- 1 [Sivā][namd\*]i [pa\*][na]t[ī] [e\*][na]
- 2 Sivadita natikena Sīvamita-putena\* [Vachhena\*]
- 3 [Mo\*][ga]liputena amache[na] Mūladevena rī[āga]hā [kā]ritā

## No 3

- 1 Sīvānamdi-panatīkena
- 2 Sivadati-natīkena
- 3 Sīvamita-[putena]<sup>1</sup>

*Inscriptions in the Sitāmūdī Cave*

## No 4

- Sīvānamdi-panatīkena Sivadati natīkena Sīvamita-putena Vachhena Mogaliputena  
Mūladevena amachena sūgahā kūrītā

## No 5

- Sīvānamdi-panatīkena Sivadati<sup>2</sup>

## No 6

- Yuvati mālē<sup>3</sup>

## No 7

- Udaya-tārā<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This whole line has been faintly engraved

<sup>2</sup> The remainder has not been either engraved in the Cave or copied in the estampage

<sup>3</sup> On a pillar, in characters slightly later, probably of the second century A D

<sup>4</sup> On the east wall, in characters of the second century A D



Inscription

No



No 4



No 6





## No 9 —A BUDDHIST INSCRIPTION FROM KARA

By N P CHAKRAVARTI, M A , PH D , OOTACAMUND

According to a report published in the 'Leader' of the 7th August, 1932, the inscribed plate under consideration was presented to the Allahābād Archaeological Society by Sheikh Jamal Ahmad, the Senior Vice-Chairman of the Allahābād District Board and a Zamindar of Kara. Kara is a place of historical importance and is situated at a distance of about 5 miles north-east from Sirathu and 41 miles from Allahābād. The Secretary of the Allahābād Archaeological Society sent the plate to the Director General of Archaeology in India who again sent it to the Government Epigraphist for India for decipherment. No information was available as to the exact find place of the inscription.

The plate which measures  $4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$  is of copper and is triangular in shape with the corners rounded off. It was so shaped evidently for the purpose of fixing it at the bottom of an image which must have been the object of gift mentioned in the inscription. An image of Buddha with a similar inscribed plate fixed at the bottom of the pedestal was discovered years ago in the neighbourhood of Gayā.<sup>1</sup>

The present record contains  $3\frac{1}{2}$  lines of writing which is in a fair state of preservation with the exception of 3 or 4 letters at the beginning of the first line and 2 or 3 letters at the commencement of the second. These letters have partly rubbed off and grown indistinct. The fifth letter in the third line is damaged and this injury to the plate seems to have been caused by some sharp instrument striking against it. The weight of the plate is  $8\frac{1}{2}$  tolas.

The most interesting feature of this inscription is its palaeography. The alphabet of the record is of the 'arrow-head' variety. Bendall first discovered this script in some manuscripts from Nepāl and brought it to the notice of scholars in the 7th International Oriental Congress.<sup>2</sup> Later on, while editing the inscription from Gayā, he pointed out that the script used in the Gayā record was the same as that used in the Nepalese manuscripts referred to above, the only difference being that the former showed 'wedges' instead of 'arrow-heads' at the top of the letters.<sup>3</sup> The script used in the present record is practically the same as that found in the Gayā inscription. Very few inscriptions written in this script have been discovered till now. Besides the two just mentioned, I am aware of only five other inscriptions written in this script but none of the latter has so far been published. One of them is stated to be inscribed on the pedestal of a statue of Jambhala<sup>4</sup> which is now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Waddel notices four other inscriptions in this script which he discovered at Uren<sup>5</sup> in the Mungir District of Bihār.

Bendall identified this script with the *Bharkshukī* *lipi* mentioned by Albīrūnī. According to the latter scholar this script was 'the writing of Buddha' and was used in Udunpur in Pūr-vadēśa.<sup>6</sup> Probably by saying that this script was the writing of Buddha, Albīrūnī meant to say that it was usually employed by Buddhist monks—for which reason it came to be known as *Bharkshukī* or that of the *bhikshus*. All the inscriptions in this script which we know so far have

<sup>1</sup> See *Ind Ant*, Vol XIX, p 77 and *Fleet C I I*, Vol III, p 19, note 1. In the references quoted above the image is stated to have belonged to James Robinson, C E of Gayā. The same image later on seems to have passed into the possession of Mr Saurindra Mohan Sinha of Bhāgalpur who presented it to the Museum of the Bangiya Sāhitya Parishad, where it is now preserved. See R D Banerji, *History of Bengal* (in Bengali), 2nd ed., p 85, and *Bangiya Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā*, Vol XX, pp 153 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Verhandlungen des VII Internationalen Orientalisten Congresses*, Arische Section, p III.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind Ant*, Vol XIX, p 77 f.

<sup>4</sup> See *Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā*, Vol XX, pp 155.

<sup>5</sup> *J A S B*, Vol LXI, pt 1, p 17 and Pl IV, Nos 12.

<sup>6</sup> Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, 1, p 178.

come from Magadha or its neighbourhood in Eastern India. Udupur is evidently the Uddandapura of inscriptions and Otantapuri of the Tibetan writers and is identified with the modern Bihār<sup>1</sup>

Bendall has already pointed out that this script has no connection with Nāgarī but is the immediate offspring of an ancient form of the Brāhmī. Devoid of the wedges it conforms, on the whole, to the script used in India during the 1st century A. D. but what seems strange is that it has so far been found usually in the dedicatory inscriptions engraved on statues coming from Eastern India which can only belong to the period between the 8th and the 12th centuries A. D. The main features of this script have already been discussed by Bendall and Bühler and the latter scholar has drawn attention to the characteristic points of this script which indicate its southern origin. Till we are in possession of further facts we cannot trace the gradual development of this script nor can we fix with certainty the date of its introduction. If the identification of this script with the *Bhāṣṣukī lipi* of Alhbirūnī is correct then this script must have been used in Eastern India side by side with the Eastern Nāgarī which is the usual script found in the inscriptions of that period.

It may not be out of place here to point out a parallel instance that we find in the Śāradā script. Though a descendant of the Western Gupta alphabet it is found employed in Kashmir and in the north-eastern Punjab only from the 9th century A. D. In this case too we perceive that from the end of the 13th century to the 15th century Śāradā and Nāgarī were used simultaneously at least in the Kāngra District. This fact, however, does not preclude the possibility that both the arrow-head and Śāradā scripts might have been used as literary scripts from an earlier period though they came to be employed as epigraphical scripts only at a later period.

I have already pointed out that the script of this inscription is very similar to that of the Gayā inscription referred to above and Bendall's general remarks on the paleography of the latter will be applicable to the present inscription also. Here I shall notice only the points of difference found in the letters of these two inscriptions or those points which have not been dealt with by Bendall before. Thus *l* in the Gayā inscription is, as in the Kūṣhīna and Gupta scripts, written with a curve at the lower end but in the present inscription this curve is differently shaped and the stroke to the right is not noticeable. *ch* and *ṇ* are more angular in this inscription than in the Nepalese manuscript while *ṇ*, *r* and *n* have all curves at the lower end. *N* in the present inscription is more akin to the form found in the manuscript than to that in the Gayā inscription. *N* is as in the manuscript with no loop to the left. *P* has two forms where it is joined with the vowel *ā* it is open to the right and is distinguishable from *d* only by a small cross stroke across the end of the hook to the right, in other cases it has a wedge to the left. *B* is similar to *p* in shape the only difference being that it is closed at the top. The loop in *m* is much bigger here than in the Gayā inscription. *L* is of the same type as we find in the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta and also in the Pūharpur copper plate inscription<sup>2</sup>. In conjunction with the vowel sign *ē* the consonants have usually a wedge to the right (cf. *āc* in l. 3).

The inscription is written in correct Sanskrit and bears no date. It opens with an assertion of the impermanent nature of an individual being. Such an avowal is quite in keeping

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVII, p. 110. According to the author of *Paṇṣaṁ Jon Zang* Otantapuri was the name of a great shrine situated in the neighbourhood of Nālandā. According to him *Otantā* means 'the soaring on high' (Skt. *udātṛyaṇ*?). This name was given to this shrine because of its loftiness—See *Paṇṣaṁ Jon Zang*, ed. S. C. Das, Index, p. ciii.

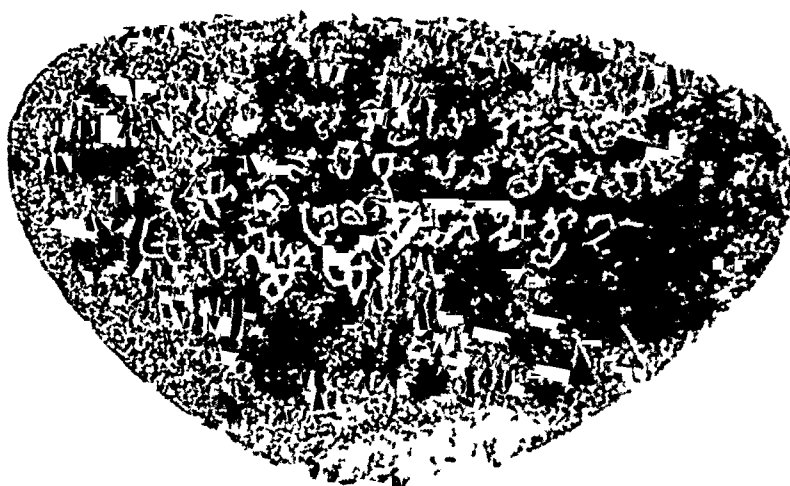
<sup>2</sup> See Vogel *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Part 1 (*A. S. I. New Imperial Series*, Vol. XXXVI), p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XX, pp. 61 ff and Plate.





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with the Buddhist doctrine according to which the realization of the impermanent nature of all things leads to the attainment of right knowledge. After this short introductory sentence, the inscription registers the gift of the queen<sup>1</sup> Chandalladēvi who was a lay worshipper and the wife of the *Rāṇaka Mahipāla*. No further details of the donatrix or her husband are given in the inscription. We cannot trace this Mahipāla in any other inscription known to us but the title *Rāṇaka* shows that he was at the most a feudatory of some paramount ruler. This title is found so far as the inscriptions of Bengal, Bihār and Orissa are concerned only from the 9th century onwards.<sup>2</sup> Till further evidence is forthcoming we cannot say definitely who was the overlord of this *Rāṇaka Mahipāla*.

#### TEXT

- 1 N[ā]ma-[rū]pam=anītyam | Rāṇaka-śrī-
- 2 Mahipāla-ba(va)dhū-paramōpāsī-
- 3 ka-rāññī-śrī-[Cha]ṇḍalladēvyā dē-
- 4 ya-dharmō=yam||

#### TRANSLATION.

The individual being (lit name and form) is impermanent. This is the religious gift of the queen (*Rājñī*) Chandalladēvi, a devout female lay worshipper and the wife of the *Rāṇaka*, the illustrious Mahipāla.

#### No 10—TINNEVELLY INSCRIPTION OF MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA I

BY

K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B.A., COIMBATORE.

The subjoined inscription of Māravarman Sundara-Pāndya I is engraved on the outside of the west wall of the second *prākāra* of the Nelliappar temple at Tinnevelly. It was copied in 1894 by the Madras Epigraphical Department<sup>3</sup> and the text of it is given in Tamil in the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Volume V.<sup>4</sup> So far, no inscription of this king has been edited critically in the pages of this Journal or the *South-Indian Inscriptions*. For the highly interesting information which the record contains, both in its historical introduction and in its grant portion, it is taken up here for publication.

The inscription consists of 28 lines of writing. It is in Tamil prose and verse. Though the alphabet employed is Tamil, Grantha letters are used in writing Sanskrit words such as *svastī śrī* (l 1), *āśrayalinga* (l 21), *Rājaraṇa cchaturvēḍimangalam* (ll 22, 24), *viśeṣa-pūjā* (l 24), etc. The introductory portion alone runs from line 1 to line 20 and is composed in Tamil verse of *Agaval* metre. It contains more than 125 metrical lines. The name of the poet that composed it is not given as is the case with all Tamil inscriptions, but there is no doubt that it is a creditable piece of work. The rest of the inscription is in prose.

<sup>1</sup> The inscription uses the term *Rājñī* which has evidently been used as the feminine form of *Rāṇaka*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the inscriptions of the Pālas of Bengal and Magadha and those of the Sēna, Varman and Chandra kings of Bengal. The Bhāṇja kings Śatrubhaṇja and Raṇabhaṇja bore the title of *Rāṇaka* (*Bhandarkar's List*, Nos 1490, 1492-95). This title is also found in the Ganjam and Bānpur Plates of Dandamahādēvi. The Rajput title *Rāṇā* evidently originated from *Rāṇaka*.

<sup>3</sup> No. 140 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1894.

<sup>4</sup> No. 431 on pages 155-157.

There are several mistakes of commission and omission in this record, especially in the verso portion of it. While some of them are due to the negligence and ignorance of the engraver, others must be attributed to the scribe that committed the record to writing and polished it for being incised on stone. Though the mistakes are too many to be catalogued here, attention may be drawn to a few. Under mistakes of spelling may be noted *malur-rtāmaram* (l. 4) where *r* takes the place of *t*, *Puliyūr tiru* (l. 7) where *r* has to be replaced by *rt* and *malur etchēvad* (l. 8) and *tirukum* (l. 11) where *r* has to be corrected into *r* and *rt* respectively. *Sūram* and *puru ai* in line 6, *tiri, tithya* in line 10 and *mullat-* (l. 12), *ōna* (l. 11), *polavar* (l. 17), *yaruvayur* (l. 19) are mistakes for *śuram*, *puriśai*, *tirai*, *tiriya*, *mullat*, *ōda*, *polavar* and *yaruvayar*. Under omission of letters and words, the following may be cited — *ye* is omitted after *lāri* (l. 5), *e* is omitted in the middle of *de* of *lurragendal* (l. 11), *mālanum* is omitted before *māligai* (l. 5) and *ru* is omitted after *ma* in *iyamaiku* (l. 13). For wrong insertion of letters see *mudalaya(r)* (l. 3), *dānō(u)lagam* (l. 10), *lahi(lī)rril* (l. 12) and *lum(sa)ba* (l. 17). Errors in grammatical forms are found in *vīndargalai lūrta* (l. 11) which must be *vīndargaluk lūrta*, *mārcalai lu* for *mārcalul lu* (l. 10) and *tada kongannai* (l. 11) which must be *tada kongann*.

In the purely eulogistic account which runs from line 1 to line 4, the panegyrist states that when this king was crowned, the boy and the tiger, which are the crests of the Chōra and Chōla kings,<sup>1</sup> disappeared, and the fish, which is the crest of the Pāṇḍya,<sup>2</sup> sported on the golden mountain, i.e., Mēru, the Tamil and Vēdic literature prospered, and all kings paid their tribute. Reference is made to the garland of Indra worn by the Pāṇḍya. From line 4 commences the historical portion. On being crowned, the king is said to have sent a large army against the Chōla country, to have set on fire Tāñjai (i.e., Tanjore) and Uṇḍai (i.e., Uraiyūr), the principal cities of the Chōlas, to have destroyed many tanks, rivers and water sources, halls, fortifications, towers, theatres, mansions, palaces and pavilions, to have ploughed the enemy's country with asses, to have driven the Chōla king into the forest and to have taken away his crown. The victorious Pāṇḍya king is then said to have gone to Āyirattal<sup>3</sup> where he performed the anointment of heroes, to have entered the sacred city of Puliyūr,<sup>4</sup> i.e., Chidambaram, and paid obeisance to Śiva dancing with his consort in the golden hall<sup>5</sup> of the temple, and to have finally reached Ponnamarāvati. While staying in the last-mentioned place, the Pāṇḍya king sent word to the Chōla promising to give back Sōnāḍu and the crown which he had lost. On hearing it, the Chōla returned with his wife, and presenting his legitimate son first, himself remaining behind, prostrated under the victorious lion throne of the conqueror and begged. After removing the heat of Valavan (i.e., Chōla) caused by his flight and loss of territory with a libation of water, the Pāṇḍya gave back to the Chōla king his legitimate son the crown and the expansive country (of Sōnāḍu). In support of this gift, he is also reported to have given a royal writ impressed with the fish seal, the title *Chōlapati* and his ancient city.

<sup>1</sup> On this account the Chōra is called *Ullavan* and the Chōla *Puliyūrttor*.

<sup>2</sup> *Mīnayan* is one of the names of the Pāṇḍya.

<sup>3</sup> At the end of the introduction, this place is called by its other name *Mudikondāśolapuram*.

<sup>4</sup> *Vyāghrapurī* is the name given to it in Sanskrit. The hymns of the Dēvāram refer to it by the names *Tillai* and *Puliyūti* and speak highly of the dance of Śiva in this place. One of the verses of *Sundaramūrtti-Nāyanār* describes the place thus: *Malur ulagan lāval pūḍai urumavāyā Pallaverkkūḷḷirai kōḍu maraṇaravāḥ marukkañ cheyyum perumaiyārt Puliyūr=chchēgarai balattēn berumūnāyēy eṇṇam=anṇē—*

<sup>5</sup> While the *Tiruvālaingū* grant states that the Chōla king Parāntala I covered the *śabha salā* with gold, the Leiden plates say that he covered the temple at *Vyāghragrahāra* (i.e., Puliyūr) with gold. One of the stone inscriptions of *Tirugōkarnam* in the *Pudulottai* State dated in the 12th year of *Rajakēśarivarman Kulōttunga* (I), informs us that that king covered the large hall at Chidambaram with gold (No. 411 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1904).

In the abstract of the historical introduction given above, one point that is particularly worthy of note is that when the Chōla king begged in the manner aforesaid, viz, by presenting his son first, the libation of water was made to himself, while the crown and kingdom were bestowed on his legitimate son

Now comes the question of the identification of the Chōla king and his legitimate son, that are referred to as having been the recipients of the ignominious honour. There is some difficulty with regard to this. As both Māravarman Sundara-Pāndya I and Rājarāja III count their regnal years from A D 1216, it would be natural to say that the invasion undertaken by the former was against the latter, and that the latter and his son were the ill-fated persons referred to. That this answer, though natural, is superficial and incorrect, and does not take into consideration all the factors that really count in the matter, will be evident from the sequel. In the first place, it is necessary to know when the Pāndya king effected his conquest of the Chōla territory and took the Chōla king's crown and country, and when again he restored them. This last point could be answered by observing the order of mention of the events in the introduction or better still by noting the earliest year in which these events are found registered in the king's inscriptions. The narration of the events in the introduction shows clearly that the invasion of the Chōla country was undertaken immediately after the Pāndya king's coronation. It appears also that the restoration of the captured country was not delayed long, for we are informed that after taking the country the Pāndya king went to Āvirattal and had his anointment performed there, went to Puliyūr and paid obeisance to the god Natarāja, probably as a thanks-offering, and proceeded to Ponnamarāvati where he, inviting the Chōla king, presented to him—or rather his son—the crown and kingdom. The numerous stone inscriptions of the king range in date from the 2nd<sup>1</sup> to the 24th<sup>2</sup> year. In the earliest of these, viz, the one dated in the 2nd year, 'Śōnādu londa' (who took the Chōla country) occurs. As such, the country must have been taken in A D 1216-17. Since this event, which happened soon after Māravarman Sundara-Pāndya I assumed regal powers, 'Śōnādu londa' became the short title and distinguishing mark of the king. And it is particularly worthy of note that even the inscriptions which commence with the introduction *Pūmaruṇiya* and register all his achievements, when they come to mention the name of the king, mention him with this short title. It thus appears that 'Śōnādu londa' had become almost a part of his name, that being the first great achievement. As the presentation of the Chōla country is specifically stated to have been made to Kulōttunga III in two stone inscriptions<sup>3</sup> and as his latest inscriptions show that he reigned for 40 years<sup>4</sup>, i e, until A D 1217, it is clear that the country was given back soon after it was taken in 1216-17. There is no doubt that the Chōla opponent of Māravarman Sundara-Pāndya I was Kulōttunga III and not Rājarāja III, for even though the latter's regnal years are counted from A D 1216, his actual rule commenced two years later. Here it may be noted that in the case of most South Indian kings—especially the Chōlas—we know that the regnal years are counted not from the actual date of accession to power but from a prior date which we may take to be the year of their nomination. In some cases, these two dates are very near each other, while in others they are abnormally distant. The specific mention of the fact noted above, viz, that the Chōla country was given back to Kulōttunga III precludes our carrying the event to a later date than A D 1216-17 up to which only Kulōttunga III's inscriptions are found and nothing can be argued

<sup>1</sup> No 549 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1926.

<sup>2</sup> No 394 of the same collection for 1917.

<sup>3</sup> No 72 of the same collection for 1924 and No 9 of 1926.

<sup>4</sup> No 282 of the same collection for 1909.





to route and many of the cavalry, elephants, chariots and infantry were cut to pieces and the field was made a feasting ground for kites and crows. After the success in this war, the Pāṇḍya king is reported to have received a *parami*, a particular kind of Tamil poem, composed in honour of himself celebrating all his heroic actions. This second war with the Chōḷa king was no doubt conducted against Rājārāja III, for it seems to have taken place some years after the first war and at a time when Kulōttunga III had ceased to rule. The introduction ends saying that the Pāṇḍya king, seated along with his queen Ulagamulududaiyāl, was crowned in the hall at Mudikondaśōḷapuram, at all the entrances of which he had ordered golden pillars of victory to be put up.<sup>1</sup>

A word may now be said about the second war of Māraṇarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I with the Chōḷas. The one permanent theme of the imperial Chōḷas from the time of Parāntaka I down to Rājārāja III was the subjugation of the Pāṇḍya country, and they had several times defeated the Pāṇḍyas in battle. As such, Rājārāja III must have felt keenly the pitiable position of owing the overlordship of, and paying tribute to the Pāṇḍya king to which he was reduced by the daring act of Māraṇarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I committed at the end of the reign of Kulōttunga III. The inscription under publication, as we have already noticed, gives clear evidence that he wanted to free himself from this plight by refusing to pay the tribute and by sending a contingent of forces against the Pāṇḍya. Tamil inscriptions do not help us much to determine exactly when it was done. But it can be fixed within narrow limits from other sources as we shall see presently. The Hoysala king Narasimha II, who stood in the relation of father-in-law to the Chōḷa Rājārāja III, is said to have marched on the island of Śrīraṅgam in about A.D. 1222 and soon after, i.e., in A.D. 1224 assumed the title 'the establisher of the Chōḷa country'.<sup>2</sup> This and the other claim of his that he was the thunderbolt in splitting the rock that is the Pāṇḍya, shows that he was requisitioned by the Chōḷa king to help him against his enemy the Pāṇḍya king Māraṇarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I. Our inscription states that the Pāṇḍya king waged a deadly war with the Chōḷa and caused great damage, but the fact that the Hoysala king was able to establish a new capital soon after in the Tamil country on the borders of the Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya territories, i.e., at Kannanūr alias Vikramapura, 5 miles from Śrīraṅgam, shows that the allied forces of Narasimha II and Rājārāja III gained their object. Thus the second encounter of Māraṇarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I with the Chōḷas, which was more in the nature of repulsing an attack made by the latter, might be placed in the period A.D. 1222 to 1224. The earliest inscription that refers to Kannanūr is dated in Sarvaḍhārīn (=A.D. 1228) and it states that Vira Sōmēśvara was ruling at the place.<sup>3</sup> But as Narasimha's reign lasted till A.D. 1233, Kannanūr should have been made a Hoysala capital during his time and Vira-Sōmēśvara stationed there to guard the Chōḷa king from being molested. In fact we are given to understand that it was Vira Sōmēśvara that built the new capital in the country which he had conquered by the power of his arm,<sup>4</sup> showing thereby that he took an active part in the war undertaken by his father. Here we may fitly consider one other claim of Narasimha and of his enemy Peruñjina. While the former calls himself 'a very Janārdana in destroying the demon

<sup>1</sup> It must be noted that this portion is found in earlier records immediately after describing the first war with the Chōḷa, where its proper place is, and being almost in the form of introducing the king is bodily removed at the end of all introductions, earlier or later.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. VII, p. 162.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, and *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 507.

<sup>4</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 507.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 508.

Kantabha in the form of the Kadava king<sup>1</sup>, the latter is styled *Karnāta bhūpa māna mardduna* and *Pāndya maṇḍala-sthāpana-sūtradhāra*<sup>2</sup>. These claims are sufficient to establish the fact that the Pāndya king Māvarman Sundara Pāndya was allied with the Pallava Peruñjina even before the latter actually assumed regal powers.

The grant portion of the inscription gives us to understand that in the 20th year and 374th day of the king's reign, when he was pleased to remain on the reclining seat of Maḷavarāyan in the hall of the bed-chamber of the palace (or temple) at Tirunelvēli in Kīl-Vēmha-nādu, both the *dīśalanis* of the temple of Tirunelvēli-Udayār and Śankaran Alagiyaperumāl alias Maḷavarāyan of Kāladi, the Premier, made a request that certain lands of Kayattānkuṟuchchi, which formed part of the *ḡivita* not only of the latter but also of his great grandfather Maḷavarāyan, who like him held the office of the Premier, should be made tax-free and given to the temple to meet the expenses of offerings and worship to the image of Śokkanār which the Premier had caused to be set up in the temple and the king complied with their request. It is worthy of note that the chief office of Premier of the country was held by Maḷavarāyan and his great grandfather. In fact, some of the offices in early times were hereditary and persons appear to have been given the necessary training and education to hold them.

The geographical names that occur in the inscription are Tañjai, *i e*, Tanjore, Uṇḍai, *i e*, Uṇaiyūr,<sup>3</sup> Āyirattai, which was also called Mudikondaśōlapuram and of which Palaiyāru formed part,<sup>4</sup> Puliyūr, *i e*, Chidambaram, Ponnamarāvati<sup>5</sup> in the Pudukkottai State, Madurai, *i e*, Madura, Kāladi<sup>6</sup> which is situated in the Travancore State, Tirunelvēli, *i e*, Tinnevely, Kayattānkuṟuchchi, also in the Tinnevely district, Vetchiyūr alias Mummaḍi-sōlanallūr and Śakkarapānīmallūr among villages, and Malalai-kūṟam, Tirumallinādu, Kīl-Vēmha-nādu and Śevvirūkkai nādu among divisions.

### TEXT

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Pū-maruvīya Tiru-madandaiyum Puvi-madandaiyum puratt=iruppa nā-maruvīya Kalai-madandaiyum Jaya-madandaiyum nalañ-chirappa kōl-ā[r\*]nda [sina]-ppu[h]yun=kodu[n̄]-chulaiyum=kulaind=olhippa] vāl-ā[r\*]nda por-[k]nm̄l varī-kkayalgal vilaiyāda irun-kadal-va-
- 2 [lai]vatt=ind=aṟam peruga=kkarun-Kali kadindu śen-kōl nadappa oru-kudai-nī[all]=iru-nīlan=kulira mū-vagai-tTami[u]=muramai[ji]l vilanga nāl-vagai-Vc̄damu[m\*] navinr=udan valara aiy-vagai-vēlvīyuñ=chey-vinaiy=iyarṟa aṟu-vagai-chchamaiyamum aḷagudan tīgala eḷu-
- 3 vagai-[ppāda]lum=iyaludan parava en-diṣaiy-alavuñ=chakkarañ=chella=kKonganar Kalīngar Kōsalar Māluvar<sup>8</sup> Śingalar<sup>9</sup> Telīngar Kinnara[r\*]<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, p 507

<sup>2</sup> *S I I*, Vol IV, No 1342 B

<sup>3</sup> It is a suburb of Trichinopoly and the ancient capital of the Chōḷas

<sup>4</sup> This is evident from No 72 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1924 and from No 9 of the same collection for 1926. The place is bereft of early inscriptions at present.

<sup>5</sup> The inscriptions of this place are registered as Nos 2 to 23 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1909.

<sup>6</sup> This is reputed as the birth place of Śrī Śaṅkarāchārya and is stated to be on the bank of the Pūrṇā river in the Kēraḷa country (see Vidyāranya's *Śaṅkara digvijaya*)

<sup>7</sup> Read *nīḷalil* as in No 372 of *S I I*, Vol IV

<sup>8</sup> *Māḷavar* is the reading in No 300 of *S I I*, Vol V.

<sup>9</sup> *Śingana* is the form in No 300 of *S I I*, Vol V

<sup>10</sup> *Kinnara* may be replaced by *Śinga* as in No 372 of *S I I*, Vol IV, and No. 300 of *S I I*, Vol V



Gujjarar Villavar Magadar Vīkkalar Śemhīyar Pallavar muda-  
liya(r) pā[r\*]ttivar ellām=ūraiv-īdam=arul-ena oruvar-munn-oruvar muraī  
muṛai kadava tan-tīrai<sup>2</sup>

4 ku[na][r\*]nd=irañcha ilaṅ-oli-maṇi-mudiy-Indiran pūttiya polan<sup>3</sup>-kadir-āram  
mārvīr=poliya paṇi-mēlar<sup>4</sup>-rāmaraī=tTisamugan padaitta Manu-neṇi  
talaiyppa maṇi-mudi śūdi=pPonni śūl-nāttu<sup>5</sup>=ppuliy-ānai<sup>6</sup> pōy=agala Kannī-  
śūl nāttir=kayal-ānai kai(y)alāra<sup>7</sup> vēñ-chinav-ivuliyum

5 vḷamum<sup>8</sup> paraparappi<sup>9</sup>=tTañjaiyūm=Urandai[**yu**]ñ=chēn-talal kolutti kāvi<sup>10</sup>-nīlamum  
nīṇṇu kavīn=ilaṇṇa<sup>11</sup> āviyūm=ārum=aṇi-nīr-nalan<sup>12</sup>=aḷittu kūdamu=mā-madilun=  
gōpuramum=ād-arangum<sup>13</sup> māhgaikum mandapamum pala idittu toḷudu=  
vand-adaiyār nīrupar-tan=tōgaiyar=aḷuda kannīr=āru parappi=kkalu-

6 dai-kond=u[lū]du kavadi viḷchē<sup>14</sup>=chChemhīyanaī=chchinam vīriya<sup>15</sup>=pporudu  
śūram<sup>16</sup> pugav=ōtti paṇi-pon-maṇi-mudi parittu=pPānanukku=kudutt-arul  
pād-arūñ-chirappir=parudi-vān=rōyum<sup>17</sup>=ādaga-ppuruṣaiy<sup>18</sup>=Āyirattaliyil<sup>19</sup> śērā-  
Vala[vaṇ] abhiśhēka-mandapattu vīrā(a)bhishēkam paṇni<sup>20</sup> puga[lī] vīrittu  
nālum

7 para rāsar nāma-ttalai piduṅgi - mīlun=ta[ru]kaṇ-mada-sānai<sup>21</sup> mēl-kondu nīr-  
āḷi-vaiyya=muḷidū[m] podu[v-i]ḷitta<sup>22</sup> kūr-āḷi[**yu**]ñ=cheyya-tōlumēy<sup>23</sup> kondu-  
pōy ayyappādāda<sup>24</sup> [a]ru-maraī-tēr=andanar vāl deyva-pPuliyūr=tiruv-  
ellaiyu[t]=pukku<sup>25</sup>=pponn-am[ba]lam poliya āḍuvār pūvaiyudan ma-

<sup>1</sup> The letter *mu* is written below the line

<sup>2</sup> The letter *r* is entered at the beginning of 1 4

<sup>3</sup> No 372 of *S I I*, Vol IV, has *purai* in place of *polan*

<sup>4</sup> Read *malar ita*<sup>o</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *Naṭṭir=pul* is the reading in No 372 of *S I I*, Vol IV

<sup>6</sup> *Ānai* is the Tamil form of *ājñā* through its Prakrit equivalent<sup>1</sup> No 300 of *S I I*, Vol V has *yānai*, which is evidently a mistake of the engraver

<sup>7</sup> *Kayal viḷaiyada* is the reading in No 300 of *S I I*, Vol IV

<sup>8</sup> The *ē* sign of *vē* is entered at the end of line 4

<sup>9</sup> Before *parappi* the letters *para* may be taken as having been wrongly entered or read as *pār*

<sup>10</sup> After *ī* *u*, the syllable *yum* has been omitted

<sup>11</sup> No 372 of *S I I*, Vol IV, has *ilapph*, while No 300 of *S I I*, Vol V, agrees with our text

<sup>12</sup> While No 372 of *S I I*, Vol IV, agrees with our text, No 300 of Vol V has *nīlan* and No 520 of

1011 has *aran* meaning 'protestion'

<sup>13</sup> The word *madamum* has been omitted before *māhgaikum* Cf Nos 300 and 372

<sup>14</sup> *Vit* is the reading in the Truppārkadal inscription See also text line 16, below

<sup>15</sup> No 372 has *chinam iriya* and No 300 *pīriya* No 520 gives *eriyā*

<sup>16</sup> Read *śūram*

<sup>17</sup> It is only *rōy ādaga* in No 372 of *S I I*, Vol IV

<sup>18</sup> Read *purītai*

<sup>19</sup> The reading *Śōraḷavan* is clearly wrong Note that *śērā* rhymes with *vīrā*, but not *śōra*.

<sup>20</sup> The word *paṇni* is replaced by *deydu* in Nos 300 and 372

<sup>21</sup> Read *yānai* as in No 372

<sup>22</sup> Other readings of *ḷitta* are *aḷitta* (300) and *oḷitta* (No 372)

<sup>23</sup> No 300 has *mēl* for *mēy*

<sup>24</sup> The reading *adaiyapaḍada* given in No 300 is an evident mistake

<sup>25</sup> *Pugundu* is the reading in No 520 of 1011

- 8 nnun=tiru-m[ri] kandu ma[na]n=kalippa<sup>1</sup>=kkōla-malar-mēl=A[ya]nnun=  
kulir-tulāy-Mālum ariyā malar-chchēva[di] vanan[ga]<sup>2</sup> vāngu-śiraiy-annan=  
tuyil=oliva vand=eluppum pūn-kamala-vāvi-śūl Ponnamarāpatī[yi]<sup>3</sup> ott-  
ulagan=tāngum=u[ya\*]r<sup>4</sup>-Mīruv aī=kkunandu<sup>5</sup> vaitt-anaiya śōdi-mani-maṇḍapatt=  
irunt<sup>6</sup>
- 9 śōlai-mali pala-naṛ-Chōnādun=tān=iḷanda<sup>7</sup> mālai mudiyun=tara<sup>8</sup> varugavenṛ=  
al[ai]ppa<sup>9</sup> vāna-nīlai kulaiya Vāla[grī]kk<sup>10</sup>=appurattu=ppōpa Valavan  
urimaiyudan<sup>11</sup> pugundu perṛa pudalvanai nin-pēr-enru<sup>12</sup> mun kātti=  
verriy-ariy-anai-kkīl viḷundu toḷud=irappa=ttān=ōdi munṇ=13 iḷanda vemmai=  
10 elān<sup>14</sup>=kariy-agala dān-15ō[u]daka[m] pannī tan-dār-mudi[yu]danē vitta<sup>16</sup> agal<sup>17</sup>  
īdan=tan mār-vēlaiḱku<sup>18</sup>=ttihya<sup>19</sup> ittapadikk=enrum idu pūpīpād-āgaṽ-  
ena=ppongu-ti[ri]<sup>20</sup>-ñālattu=ppū-pālar toḷa<sup>21</sup> vilanguñ=chen-kayal-kond=ūnrun=  
tirumugamum 22pand=iḷanda Chōlapatiy-ennu[m\*] nāmamun=ton-nāgaru=mīla  
11 vaḷangi vīdai-kuduttu vitṭ-arulī [i\*] ōna<sup>23</sup>-kkadaṛ-pārīl vēndarga[lai]kk<sup>24</sup>  
uṛṇadengal<sup>25</sup> [ti]rkun<sup>26</sup>=kadavul=ivan-enṛ=ennī=ttā[lai]y-urṛ=adaiyā[d]ār<sup>27</sup> tandal-  
īdai[yi]r=kalaiy-uṛrena<sup>28</sup> muludun=kētt-arul enṛ=ūtti<sup>29</sup> vanangum Vada-  
Kongannai<sup>30</sup> śiraiyum mīttu<sup>31</sup> kaḷan-koḷ-arū-niru<sup>32</sup>-ttōl-mālai kaḷitt=el-  
vaḷangi-

<sup>1</sup> *Kalittu* is found in Nos 300 and 372

<sup>2</sup> Read *vanangi* as in the other two inscriptions

<sup>3</sup> *Patuyil* is replaced by *patiyaḍaiyandu* in No 520 of 1911

<sup>4</sup> *Ma* takes the place of *uyar* in No 300

<sup>5</sup> *Konandu* (No 300) and *Lunarndu* (No 372) are other forms that occur

<sup>6</sup> Read *irundu* as in the other two inscriptions

<sup>7</sup> *Ilandu* is the reading in No 520 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1911

<sup>8</sup> *Taruga* *iaruga* is the reading in the above

<sup>9</sup> *Muna* is another reading (No 520 of 1911)

<sup>10</sup> *Vānagiri* *l*= is the reading in No 372 of *S I I*, Vol IV, but it is *Vālagiri* in No 300 of *S I I*, Vol V

<sup>11</sup> Nos 372 and 300 have *oḍum* in place of *uḍan* No 520 of 1911 adds *tān* to *oḍum*

<sup>12</sup> *Ena* is the reading in No 520 of 1911

<sup>13</sup> The insertion of *ga* after *n* in No 372 is not supported by the reading of the other two inscriptions, Nos 300 and 431

<sup>14</sup> Of *ye* the *e* sign is at the end of line 9 and *y* at the beginning of the next line

<sup>15</sup> Delete *u*

<sup>16</sup> *Vitta* may be taken as the hardened form of *vinḍa* adopted for metrical purposes

<sup>17</sup> No 372 has *pugaḷ*

<sup>18</sup> Read *vēlulīa* No 520 also reads *vēlaiḱku* Other inscriptions read *māriyanaiḱku* which must be corrected into *māvanulīu*

<sup>19</sup> Read *ttiriyā*

<sup>20</sup> Read *tirai*

<sup>21</sup> Read *ōḷ* as in Nos 372 and 300

<sup>22</sup> The letters *pa* and *ḍi* are entered below the line

<sup>23</sup> Read *ōḍa* as in No 520 of 1911

<sup>24</sup> Read *vēndargalul*

<sup>25</sup> The reading *lī uṛrangal* obtained by deleting *de* in the *S I I*, Vol V, is clearly wrong The engraver has omitted *v* between the *e* sign and *d* of *de* This supplied, the reading would be *uṛrav ḍdangaḷ* It is to be noted that *ḍda* rhymes with *ōḍa*

<sup>26</sup> Read *tirīlun*

<sup>27</sup> No 520 of 1911 has *adaiyār* for *adaiyādār*

<sup>28</sup> Read *uṛrena*

<sup>29</sup> In place of *enṛ* *ētti* No 520 has *ena* *ttai*

<sup>30</sup> Read *Kongan* as in No 520 of 1911 instead of *Loṅga(n)nai* of the *S I I*, Vol V The text may also be read *Konganai*

<sup>31</sup> There seem to be mistakes in the passage immediately following *mīttu*

<sup>32</sup> Read *tiru*

- 12 y-arulha pin[n\*]=oru-nāl marr-āra-mulangu muraśa=kkadar-rānai-[mun] pugundu  
Ten-Konga[n\*] vand=itta dendanukku min-ponga-chchāndiya<sup>1</sup> ābaranan=  
taklad-e[na] vaḷangi ā[rā]da<sup>2</sup> peru-nanbip<sup>3</sup>=avaṇ śīrayu=mittu Tirumāl<sup>4</sup>  
yiru<sup>5</sup>-marngu Śandira-Śūriya[r\*] śēvikka śen-kat-karu[mā]-l-kal[hk]rīl<sup>6</sup>  
varu-Mutkat<sup>7</sup>-kadavul-ena māda-Maduraiyir-
- 13 tān pōndu [pu]vanī[yi]lē <sup>8</sup>kūda-iru-Kongarai[yun=ku]mbidu-konda[vaṛkku] tollai-  
ppuvi[kku]m=inangāmar=tān<sup>9</sup>=chonna ellaiḱku=nirpa isāndittu perpa<sup>10</sup>-kkond-  
ivanṇu<sup>11</sup> śēyyād=oliyil iyamakku<sup>12</sup> veru<sup>13</sup>-vēl-virund=ākkudu[m=u]may-ena  
vitt-arulī munṇa[m\*] namakku mudī-vaḷangu[n̄']=[chē]vadī-kkī inna-
- 14 m vaḷipaduvōm=ennādu pin[n=o]ru-nāl kāva[la]nadu Puna[1\*]-nād-e[n\*]nūn=  
kaḷyāl=ēval=edir-śellād<sup>14</sup>=irai marutta Senni vidu tūśiyum pēr-aniyum  
[okka-chchu]rund=odunḱ vāśiyum vāranamum tērum=adaṛ-karu[va]-kkā-  
lānum<sup>15</sup> vett-unna=kkan[n-i\*]randu-mayan[ga-k]kaḱ-[k\*]kondu<sup>16</sup> vēlā-valaiyattu  
vīlnd=avan pōy mey
- 15 nadunga a[m]b-arundum=ā[r\*]tta-kadal-mandalikar<sup>17</sup>-udal vem-parund<sup>18</sup>-un[na] a-  
kkaḷattil ānaiyin ven-maruppuṇ=kaḱḱun=ku(n)raitt=engal Mīnavarku pāl  
kudam-ām=enṇu tān vīrar-kōn<sup>19</sup> [m]āga-mugaḱu tadavī maḷai madu-  
kkum kāga-nedum-pandar- d-āḍalum kūḱaiyum pāḍalun=  
landum kēttun-kalitta ōḱal-karun-kūn-
- 16 dal vell-eyiril śēvvāy periya śūlakhavallī<sup>20</sup> paḷi kolga ena vāḷitti ven-  
ṇu<sup>21</sup> vagaiyil miḱaiy=olīya vēndalar=kkonru<sup>22</sup> śīnan=tanīyā=kkor-  
rava<sup>23</sup>=nedu-vāl uyarku śen-kurudī-nīr=itt=olī-śeyḱu tegu-pulattu ven-  
kavaḱi<sup>24</sup> vitta vīra-muḷud=eduttu=ppāḱum parani tan pār-vēndar kēṭ-  
pikka āḱun=tirumañ-

<sup>1</sup> Read *chattiya*<sup>2</sup> *Yarita* is the reading in No 520 of 1911<sup>3</sup> *Natpill* is the reading in the above<sup>4</sup> The metrical line commencing with *Tirumāl* occurs as under in No 520 of 1911 "*Tirumālu Nān-  
muganuñ=chēvil ka=chchen I at*"<sup>5</sup> Read *iru*<sup>6</sup> Read *kaḱṛṛu*<sup>7</sup> Read *Muḱkaṭ*<sup>8</sup> This has been read as *kūṭṭuk* by mistake in *S I I*, Vol V, No 431<sup>9</sup> Read, *ān*.<sup>10</sup> There seems to be an engraver's mistake here which is not apparent Perhaps *m=ēṇpa kḱond* or  
*mēr/ond* is intended<sup>11</sup> Read *ivāṇu*<sup>12</sup> Read *Iyamanuḱlu*<sup>13</sup> Read *ver vēl*<sup>14</sup> Another variant is *lollād* (No. 520 of 1911)<sup>15</sup> Read *lāl ālum*<sup>16</sup> Instead of *kann vandu**kkaiy kkoḱu*, No 520 of 1911 has *kaḱḱu bayan kḱondu* which

is metrically a better reading

<sup>17</sup> *n kudal* is a variant (No 520 of 1911)<sup>18</sup> The metrical line *vem parund*, etc., *lulattil* is better expressed in No 520 of 1911 which gives the  
reading *vem parundum pēyum virund unna aḱḱulattu* It is clear from this that there is an omission of  
*m pēyum virund* in our text<sup>19</sup> No 520 of 1911 gives the variant *tam vīran-tōl* for *tān vīrar lōn*<sup>20</sup> *Śūlaḷlavallī* is replaced by *śūlattaḱ vēl* in No 520 of 1911<sup>21</sup> For *verru vagaiyil* No 520 has *venṇum pagaiyan*<sup>22</sup> Read *lonṇum*<sup>23</sup> The syllable *va* is omitted in No 520 of 1911<sup>24</sup> *Kaḱaḱ* is synonymous with *unṇā iṛagu* and *ieḱ iṛagu* (*Purapporū*, VI 26).

- 17 jana-nīrgal<sup>1</sup> man-kulira āng-avan <sup>2</sup>tinaī-kkattanattu karpu tanakk=ānāy  
ōng<sup>3</sup>-urimai-kkulāmm=oru-kai-tisai<sup>4</sup>=kondum=uri-mani-ppattan-katti mudī  
śūtti mārbiḷ [a]naittu Valavanavan=mudal-dēviy=enru pēg<sup>5</sup>-perra<sup>6</sup> vañji  
mudalāya pey-valaiyār pongu-punar-kum[sa]ba<sup>7</sup> mudalāya polavar<sup>8</sup>  
puga[ḷ]
- 18 mangala[n̄]gal ettum maṇi-kk[ai<sup>4</sup>]-talatt=ḷ[n̄]dī kodī-konda neṇṇi nīraitta  
<sup>9</sup>ggōpurau=chūḷ Mudikondasōlapura-mandapattu puguttu<sup>10</sup> tisātorum  
śom<sup>11</sup>-por-cheya-tta[mbam] nātti vāgai-kkadīr vēl vada-vēndar tam pāda[m]-m=  
ēga=ttalaiy-aniya<sup>12</sup> vīra-kkaḷal=anindu vilangiya maṇiy-ani<sup>13</sup>=vīrasimhā-  
sanattu
- 19 vaḷan-keḷu-kavarīy=iru-marung=asaippa kadal-enna muḷangun=kali-nall-iyānai vada-  
pula-vēndar<sup>14</sup> maṇi-ppuyam piriya ilangu-kulaiv-aruv[ai]yar<sup>15</sup> toḷudu nīr=  
ēttum<sup>16</sup> Ulagumulududaiyārodum vīr-irund=aruḷiya śrī-kō-Mārapan[ma\*]r-  
āna Tribhuvanachchakravarttīgal śrī-Śōnādu konu Mudikon-
- 20 daśōlapurattu vīrar-abhiśhēkam pannu aruḷiya śrī-Sundara-Pāndiyadēvarku  
yāndu 20-vadu nāl 374-nāl Kīl-Vēmba-nāttu=tTirunelvēlī=kkōyir-  
palliyarai-[k\*]kūdattu=ppallippita[m\*] Maḷavarāyanil eḷundaruḷiy=i[ru]ndu Udaī-  
yār-Tirunelvēlī-udaiyar=kō[yi]r=patī-pā[da]mūla=p-
- 21 [pa]tt-ud[ai]=ppa[n̄]ch ā[chā]riya-dēvarkanmīgal śey[ya]-ttiruvāy-moḷund=arulina-paḍi  
[K]āḷadī=chChankaran A[lagiya]p[e]rma[n̄-āna] Ma[la]varāyar pū[ḷi]ttu  
i-kkōyilīl āśrayalingam-āga eḷundaruḷivitta Śokkanār(r)kku tiruppa[ḍimār]r-  
ulittu vēndum nīva[n̄]dangalukkum i-
- 22 var pīrandā Śadaiyattu-nāl viśēsha-pūjai śeyya amudupadī śāttuppadīy-  
ulittu vēnduvanavukkum Mulli-nāttu Irājarāja-chchaturvvē[ḍi]mangala-  
ttu pīḍagai Kayattānkuṇuchchiyil kār<sup>17</sup>]-paśānam vilaiyu[m\*] nīlattu  
mandala-mudanmai[k]ku ivar pitākkal appāt[t\*]ar Maḷava[r]-
- 23 āyarku jīvitamāy [pi]nbu ivarku mandala-mudanmaikku jīvitamāy varu-  
giṇa nīlattu talai-varuśai<sup>17</sup> nīlattilḷ i[v]v-ūr kadamaiy=iṇukkun=kōlāl  
onṇ-araī<sup>18</sup>-vē[ḷi] nīlam irubad-āvaḍin edirām-āndu-mudal antar[ā]yamum  
uḷudān-kudiyum utpada=ddēvadāna iraiy-ilhiyāy iruppadāga i-

<sup>1</sup> Nīrīl manan is the reading in No 520 of 1911

<sup>2</sup> There must be a better reading for the passage that follows *tinaī*

<sup>3</sup> Read *ōngum*

<sup>4</sup> No 520 of 1911 has *oduḷḷaḷḷai* for *oruḷai tisai*

<sup>5</sup> Read *pēr-*

<sup>6</sup> *Kuḷḷitta* is a variant

<sup>7</sup> Read *ḷumba*

<sup>8</sup> Read *palavar*

<sup>9</sup> Delete the first *g* and read *gōpurañ=*

<sup>10</sup> Read *pugundu*

<sup>11</sup> Read *śem*

<sup>12</sup> Read *anaiya* as in No 520

<sup>13</sup> *Maṇiy ani* is replaced by *kadīr maṇi* in No 520 of 1911

<sup>14</sup> The letters *lam* are inserted in No 520

<sup>15</sup> Read *aruṇaiyar*

<sup>16</sup> *-ēḷṭa* is the reading in No 520 of 1911

<sup>17</sup> Read *varīśai*

<sup>18</sup> Read *araī*

- 24 da-ppera vēnum-enru ivar namakku-chchonnamaiyil i-ddēvar̥ku-tiru-ppadimāṛṛ-  
ullittu vēndun-nivandangalukkum ivar pira[n\*]da Śad[ai\*]yattu-nāl viśśha-  
pūjai śeyya amudupadī śittu[p]padī ullittu vēnduvanavukku[m] Mulli-  
nāttu Rījarāja chchaturv vēdimangalattu pīdā-
- 25 gai Kayattān[ku]ruchchiyil kār-paśānam vilaiyum nilattu man[da]la-mudan-  
maikku ivar pītākka[l] appāṭṭa[r] Malavarāyarku jivitamāy pinbu  
ivarku mandala-mudanmaikku jī[vi]tamāy varugira nilattu talai-varuśai<sup>1</sup>  
nilattī[lē] ivv-ūr kadamaṇṇ-irukkum=kōlāl onr-arai-vēlī nilam iv-
- 26 v-āndu-mudal<sup>1</sup> antarāyamum uludān-kudiyum utpada dēvadānay=iraiy-ihyā[y]y-  
iruppadāga ittu variyilār elutt-itta ul-variyum nam ōlaiyum tara-  
[ch]chonnōm kai-kkōndu tiruppadimāṛṛ-u[\*]litta nivandangal sella=ppaṇnu-  
gav=enrum ip[paḍi] Śandir-Ādittavar=chelvad-ā
- 27 ga kalliluñ=chembulum vettivittu=kkolgaṇ-enru tiruvāymoḥind-arulnapadikkū  
ivai Tirumallī-nāttu=tTadanganuchchirūr-udaiyān Śōran Uyyanin-  
rāduvān-āna Kurukulattaraśan eluttu — ivai Miḷalai-kkūrṛattu Kīl-  
kūrū Vetchiyūr-āna Mūmmūdiśō-
- 28 laṇallūr Vēdanūrudaiyān Araiyan Śivallavan-āna M[āḍa]varājan] elu[t]tu ||  
Ivai Śevvirukkalai-nāttu=chChakkarapāṇinallūr Arai[yann<sup>2</sup>] Viradamudi-chchān-  
āna Pallavarājan eluttu ||<sup>3</sup>6-

## TRANSLATION

(Lines 1 4)—Hail 'Prosperity' The goddess of Wealth abiding on the lotus flower and the goddess of the Earth, residing in his arm, the goddess of the Arts abiding on the tongue and the goddess of Victory, growing in their excellence, the angry tiger filled with strength and the fierce bow, hiding themselves, being shattered, the scaly fish sporting on the shining golden mountain (*i e*, Mēru), Virtue increasing abundantly on the earth surrounded by the expansive ocean, the righteous sceptre swaying (*in all directions*) driving away the black Kali (*age*), the wide earth becoming cool under the shade of (*his*) single parasol, the three kinds of Tamil<sup>4</sup> glowing in order, the four kinds of the Vēda<sup>5</sup> being learnt (*by students*) and growing simultaneously, the five kinds of sacrifices<sup>6</sup> being performed in accordance with (*established*) practice, the six kinds of faiths being<sup>7</sup> finely expounded, the seven kinds of music<sup>8</sup> spreading along with *iyal*, (*his*) disc moving as far as the eight quarters, all kings such as the Konkana, Kalinga, Kōsala, Māluva, Śingala, Telīga, Kinnara, Gurjara, Villava, Magada, Vikkala, Śembiya and the Pallava, bringing with them the tributes due, and rushing before one another and praying for places to be assigned for their residence, the beautiful garland set with lustrous

<sup>1</sup> Read *varisai*

<sup>2</sup> Read *Araiyan*

<sup>3</sup> In continuation of this is engraved an inscription of Tribhuvanachakravartin Kōṇērnamakondān

<sup>4</sup> These are *iyal*, *īśai* and *nāḍagam*

<sup>5</sup> These are the Rīg, Yajus, Sāman and Atharvan, the upa Vēdas are also four, *īz*, Āyur, Dhanur, Artha and Gāndharva

<sup>6</sup> *Vēlu* means *yāga* or *yajña* The reference is apparently to the five *yajñas*, *viz*, Brahma, Daiva, Bhūta, Pitṛi and Manuṣa

<sup>7</sup> These are Bhairava, Vāmā, Kālāmukha, Māviraḍa, Pāsupata and Śaiva There are six other *Śamayās*, *viz*, Lōlāyata, Bauddha, Jaina, Mīmāṃsā, and Bhāṭṭāchārya or Māyāvāda

<sup>8</sup> As *paḍal* is here distinguished from *iyal* (prose), it must have reference to *īśai* (music) As such, the seven kinds of music correspond to the seven *śāstras*, *viz*, *Nishāda*, *Rishabha*, *Gāndhāra*, *Shadja*, *Madhyama*, *Darata*, and *Pañchama* Cf. *Elu vagai paḍal* with *ēl īśai* in *Ēlisaṃmōgan* and *Ēlisaivallabhi*

gems put on by Indra<sup>1</sup> shining in his breast, (*the Pāṇḍya*) was crowned to widen the path of Manu who was brought into existence by Brahmā residing on the dew-settled lotus flower

(Ll 1 8)—Causing the tiger to be removed from the country surrounded by the Ponnai (i e, the Kāvēri), and the fish to spread in the country surrounding Kannai<sup>2</sup> (i e, Kanyākumārī), sending forth (*his*) angry steeds and elephants and setting on blazing fire (*the cities of*) Tañja<sup>3</sup> and Uṇḍai<sup>3</sup> (i e, Tanjore and Uṇaiyūr), and causing the *lāvi* and *nīlam*<sup>4</sup> to lose their bloom, destroying tanks, rivers and other water sources, breaking down several halls, ramparts, towers, theatres, palaces, and pavilions, and causing to flow rivers of tears shed by the queens of kings who were not friendly to him, and ploughing (*their lands*) with asses and sowing seeds of *lavadi* and fighting with the *Śembiyan* (i e, the Chōla) so as to deprive (*him*) of his anger and driving (*him*) out to enter the forest, taking (*his*) golden crown set with gems and bestowing (*it*) on the Bāna<sup>5</sup>, performing the anointment of heroes in the anointing hall of the unfriendly Valavan<sup>6</sup> (i e, Chōla) at Āyirattai<sup>6</sup> the glory of which is hard to be extolled and whose golden walls touch the sunny sky, (*and thus*) extending (*his*) fame, (*he*) daily cut off the fearful heads of enemy kings Mounting again on (*his*) fierce rut-elephant, (*he*) removed the commonness of the whole of the sea-girt earth (*Then*) carrying only (*his*) sharp disc and (*his*) well-formed shoulders, (*he*) entered the sacred limits of the holy Puliūr (i e, Chidambaram) where live Brāhmanas studying the rare Vēdas without the least doubt, saw the sacred form (*of Natarāja*) united with (*his*) consort, finely dancing in the golden hall, and (*his*) mind being filled with extacy, (*he*) prostrated at the flowery feet (*of the god*), which could not be known (*even*) by Brahmā who resides on the beautiful lotus flower and by Vishnu who wears a cool garland of *tuḷūy*

(Ll 8—11)—At Ponnamarāvati<sup>7</sup> which is girt with tanks bearing lotus flowers where the bees (*by their humming*) rouse from sleep swans with bent wings, staying in a pavilion (*set with*) lustrous gems presenting the appearance of the world-supporting Mūru brought and placed there (*he*) invited (*the Chōla king*) to go (*to him*), saying that (*he*) would give (*back*) the Chōla country covered with gardens and water streams, and the wreathed crown which he (i e, the Chōla) had lost (*On hearing this*), the Valavan, who, being shorn of his high state, had gone beyond

<sup>1</sup> The smaller Śiṅṅamanūr plates make mention of the wearing of the garland of Indra and of securing one half of his throne among the achievements of unnamed mythical Pāṇḍya kings Similarly the Sanskrit portion of the Bigger Śiṅṅamanūr plates refer to a Pāṇḍya king's wresting the garland of Indra and of another's sitting on his throne The Tamil portion also speaks of a Pāṇḍya sovereign appearing on the throne of Indra with his necklace The Viṭṭal udi plates refer to a Pāṇḍya sharing with Indra one half of his throne and his garland In the historical introductions of the inscriptions of Rājendra Chōla I, it is said that he took from the king of Ceylon the garland of Indra which a Pāṇḍya king formerly deposited with him

<sup>2</sup> The Pāṇḍya king is often referred to as *Kannai* / *āṭalan*

<sup>3</sup> These were the capitals of the Chōla kings For references to Uṇḍai, see *Śirupānarruppaḍai*, line 83 and *Puṇḍanūru*, vv 39, 58, 69, 352

<sup>4</sup> *Lavi* and *nīlam* are the names of flower plants

<sup>5</sup> See note 14 on p 10 above I am indebted to Rao Sahab C M Ramachandra Chettiyar, Coimbatore, for drawing my attention to *Puṇḍapporuḷḷebāmālai*, VI 26

<sup>6</sup> Bāna means also 'a bard' We cannot be certain if a Bāna chief or a bard is meant In the later records of Pāṇḍya kings, there figure chiefs bearing the name or surname Māvali Vānarāyaṇ

<sup>7</sup> With the existing traces the word may be read as 'Śōra Valavap' or 'śrā Valavan' The latter, which rhymes well with '*īraḷḷiśṭā*', means 'of the enemy Valavan' If the former reading is adopted, it may be taken as the proper name of the hall But it would mean 'the thief Valavan' and it seems unlikely that the anointing hall of the Chōla king was so termed

<sup>8</sup> Āyirattai was a place of considerable importance in mediaeval Chōla times

<sup>9</sup> Ponnamarāvati was the scene of two battles during the war of Pāṇḍya succession in the 12th century A D

Vālagiri, returned with his queen<sup>1</sup>, and presenting his son before (the Pāṇḍya) saying 'he is yours', fell down (i.e., prostrated) at his victorious lion throne, extolled and begged (the Pāṇḍya)<sup>2</sup> Making a libation of water which removed the heat caused by his (i.e., the Chōḷa king's) flight and prior loss of territory, and saying 'this shall always be the deed of support (pṛīṭipāḍu) for having given back to his (i.e., the Chōḷa king's) son a wide ground along with cool-weathered crown' and giving him a royal writ<sup>3</sup> (tṛimugam) impressed with the fish which shine on the shoulders of kings ruling the earth girt with surging waves, together with the surname Chōḷapati which he had formerly lost and his ancient city, (the Pāṇḍya king) gave him leave to depart

(Ll 11—13)—Considering (the Pāṇḍya king) to be god in removing the faults of kings in this world surrounded by the roaring ocean, the North Kongu king bowed to him and extolling him begged to be heard fully how he was fettered and had undergone suffering in the war with those who did not join him (i.e., his enemies) (On hearing it, the Pāṇḍya) rescued him from prison, removed the garland from his glorious shoulders and showed him the way (out) One other day when the South Kongu king, entering the van of the ocean like army resounding with the noise of the war drum, made salutations, he (the Pāṇḍya king), considering (him) as fit (for it), gave him a shining ornament which (he himself) had worn and out of excessive love removed his captivity also Like the three-eyed god (i.e., Śiva), he (the Pāṇḍya), mounted as it were on a red-eyed huge bodied black elephant (and worshipped on either side by the two Kongu kings) just as the god Vishnu<sup>4</sup> is worshipped by the Sun and the Moon, entered Madura, the city of palaces, and received simultaneously in the world the salutations of the two Kongu kings<sup>5</sup> Not agreeing to the ancient (limits) of (their) kingdom he made them remain within the limits prescribed by himself,<sup>6</sup> and then despatched them saying that if any failed to do as bidden, he would make him a feast for the god of Death with his trident

(Ll 13—16)—On a subsequent day, when the Chōḷa king, (resolving) not to remain submissively under the feet of him who formerly gave him his crown, refrained from executing the commands and refused to pay tribute, actuated by the proud thought that Punalnādu belonged to its ruler, and sent forth a van guard and large army, (the Pāṇḍya) cleared them

<sup>1</sup> The word *urimai* generally means 'possession'. It has also the special significance of 'wife'. Though it may not be improper to translate the phrase '*urimaiyudum priguḍu*' as 'entered with confidence', it seems better to render it as 'returned with his queen and son' who were his only possession now, having been deprived of his crown and country.

<sup>2</sup> The passage "*taṇṇar mudiyudanē uṭṭaṇṇal idan taṇṇar mūrēṭṭaṭṭu tṭiṭṭa iṭṭapṛīṭipāḍu enruṇṇu idu pṛīṭipāḍu ugar ena*" Here *uṭṭaṭṭu* is a mistake for *uṭṭiṭṭu* and *tṭiṭṭa* is a mistake for *tṭiṭṭa*. A different reading is *murtanaiṭṭu* which has also to be corrected into *murtanaiṭṭu*. In either case, the meaning is 'legitimate son' and corresponds to the Sanskrit '*aurasa putra*'. The word '*pṛīṭipāḍu*' may be rendered into 'deed of support'.

<sup>3</sup> It is worthy of note that the order of the king was impressed with the royal crest.

<sup>4</sup> That the two Kongu kings went attending on the Pāṇḍya is made evident not only by the comparison instituted with Vishnu attended by the Sun and the Moon but also from what follows, i.e., '*lūṭṭaṇṇi Koṇṇa rayam kumbiḍu lonḍu*'. They were despatched to their country only after returning to Madura.

<sup>5</sup> Madura is known as 'Nān māda Kūdal'.

<sup>6</sup> Though, perhaps for administrative purposes, the Kongu country was divided into two divisions 'North' and 'South', there appear to have been more divisions in it. Pērūr is described in the *Dēvāram* as being in Mī Kongu, i.e., West Kongu. The division Maḷa Kongu occurs in the Sīmpamanūr plates.

<sup>7</sup> From this passage it is clear that the Kongu country was simultaneously administered by at least two kings and that the extent of each one's territory was also settled. Sundara Pāṇḍya brought about a repartition

off and cut to pieces the horses, elephants, chariots and the fighting proud infantry (*At seeing this*), he (*the Chōla king*), his two eyes becoming dim, fell down on the ground and fled (*from the field*), his body quaking with fear. The fierce kite ate the (*dead*) bodies of the *mandalās* (*lying stretched like*) the noisy ocean, the water of which the clouds were imbibing<sup>1</sup>. The chiefs of heroes cut off the white tusks and trunks of elephants in the field thinking they would serve as milk-pots to their king *Minavan* (*i.e.*, the *Pāndya*). Finishing the conquest, the king made the following invocation to the goddess —“Let her who wears the *arḷḷa* garland and huge trident, who has white teeth, red mouth and fearful black locks, who is ever pleased at seeing the dances and hearing the sounds and songs of \_\_\_\_\_ under the canopy of crows which touching the top of the sky, reaches the very region of the clouds, receive this war-oblation”

(Ll 16—20) —The victor, whose anger was not abated by killing kings that had not given up unpermissible excesses, who for keeping up the life of his long sword gave it the water of red blood and made it shine (*forth*), who sowed white seeds of *karadī* in the field of battle, who made his vassals hear the *paranī*<sup>2</sup> composed to celebrate all his heroic deeds, who made the earth cool with the water of his sacred bath, who, taking from his harem<sup>3</sup> a multitude of wedded<sup>4</sup> queens whose constancy to him (*ever*) remained un-impaired, and putting them on elephants' back, fastened to them fillets of gems, crowned and embraced them to his breast. Celebrated damsels like the prime queen of *Valavan* bearing bangles holding in their jewelled hands the eight kinds of signs such as pots filled with water which the poets describe as auspicious<sup>5</sup>, he entered the pavilion at *Mudikondasōlapuram* surrounded with towers whose tops were fitted with flags, set up golden pillars of victory in all the directions and put on the heroes' ankle-rings linked with the ornament of foot-chain, his feet being worshipped by northern kings holding shining javelins and wearing *vāḡai*-garlands. King *Māravarman* *alias* the glorious *Sundara-Pāndyadēva*, the emperor of the three worlds, after taking the *Chōla* country and performing the anointment of heroes at *Mudikondasōlapuram*, was pleased to be seated on the lion-throne ornamented with lustrous gems, attended with the waving of lusty fly-whisks on either side, along with *Ulagamulududaiyāl* who was praised by damsels wearing *kulaḷ*<sup>6</sup> and who never part from the jewelled shoulders of northern kings having armies of fine fat elephants sounding like the roaring of the ocean.

(Ll 20—28) —In the 20th year and 374th day of (*the reign of the king*) when he was pleased to remain on the reclining seat of *Maḷavarāyan* in the hall of the bed-chamber of (*his*) palace at *Tirunelvēlī* in *Kīl-Vēmba-nādu*, the *dēvalaṇṇus* wearing silk garments and observing five-fold precepts, attached to the feet of the god in the temple of *Udayār-Tirunelvēlī-uḍaiyār* having orally expressed that, for meeting the daily scale of expenses of *Śokkanār* which *Śankaran Alagiaperumāl* *alias* *Maḷavarāyan* of *Kālādī* had worshipped and had subsequently been pleased to set up as an *āśrayaḷinga* in this temple and for offerings and unguents required during the special worship to be conducted on the day of his natal star *Śadaiyam*, one and a half *vēḷi* of first rate land as measured by the rod used in this village for determining taxes, from out of

<sup>1</sup> Comparison is intended between the cloud and the kite as well as the ocean and the dead bodies.

<sup>2</sup> *Paranī* is a poetical composition in praise of a chief who, at the head of battle, has killed 1 000 elephants. Many such pieces are referred to in the historical introductions of Tamil kings and these have not come down to us.

<sup>3</sup> Provisionally, I have taken the word *ṭṭaiḷ kaḷḷanam* to mean a harem.

<sup>4</sup> The word *urimai* is used in the sense of 'wife, queen'.

<sup>5</sup> These marks are —*chāmara* (fly whisk), *pūrṇa kumbha* (pot filled with water), looking glass, *tōḷḷi* (elephant gourd), *muraṣa* (drum), lamp, flag and double fish.

<sup>6</sup> *Kulaḷ* means an ear ornament.



the lands of Kayattāṅkuruchchi, a hamlet of Rājaiyā chaturvēdimangalam in Mulli-nādu yielding crops in *kār* and *paśānam*, which was at first given as *ḡṛita* to Malavarīyar, the grandfather of his father for the premiership of the kingdom, and which subsequently became a *ḡṛita* to this (*Malavarāyar*) for his premiership of the kingdom, should be entered tax free and (*its*) *antarāyam*, *uludānkudi*, etc., should be given as *dāḍāna* from the year opposite to the 20th year, and Malavarīyar having reiterated the same to us (*i.e.*, the King), we declared that, for the expenses of the daily requirements of this god and for the requirements of offerings and unguents during the special worship to be conducted on the day of his natal star Śadavam, one and a half *vīḷi* of first rate land as measured by the rod used in this village for determining taxes from out of the lands of Kayattāṅkuruchchi, a hamlet of Rājirāja chaturvēdimangalam in Mulli-nādu yielding crops in *kār* and *paśānam* which was given as *ḡṛita* to Malavarāyar the grand father of his father for the premiership of the kingdom and which subsequently became a *ḡṛita* to this (*Malavarāyar*) for the premiership of the kingdom, shall be entered tax free and (*its*) *antarāyam*, *uludānkudi*, etc., given as *dāḍāna* from this year and that a copy of the entry in the tax-register as well as our order shall be issued (and therefore) receiving this, let the expenses of daily requirements, etc., be met, and let it be so inscribed on stone and copper so that the same may be conducted as long as the moon and the sun last. This is the signature of Śōrin Uva-mnāḍuvān alias Kurukulattaravai of Tadonmuncherūr in Tirumallinādu. This is the signature of Vēdanūrudai in Aravan Sivallavai alias Māḍavarīyar of Vetchūr alias Mummadiśōlanallūr in Kīl-kūru a subdivision of Mīlalaiūru. This is the signature of Aravan Viradamudichehān alias Pallavarīyan of Sakkarapannallūr in Sevvirul kai-nādu.

## NO 11—JAINAD STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE PARAMARA JAGADDEVIA

By DHIRENDRA CHANDRA GANGULI, M.A., Ph.D., BENARES

The sub joined inscription belongs to the reign of the king Jagaddēva of the main branch of the Paramāra family, who held sway over Mālava in the latter part of the 11th century A.D. No other inscription of this monarch has hitherto been noticed. The epigraphic records of the Paramāras do not even mention his name. The new inscription is engraved on a slab of stone now lying detached on the floor of a *mandapa* attached to a temple in the village of Jainad about six miles north-east of Adilābād, in H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions. There are remains of another temple in the vicinity, and close by is a heap of carved slabs, which are reported to have been brought to this locality from a tank in the neighbourhood. Mr Muhammad Yasin, Taluqdar of the District, brought this record to the notice of Mr G Yazdani, M.A., Director of Archaeology, H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions. Mr Yazdani made a short notice of this inscription in the *Annual Report* of his Department for the year 1925-26. Its transcription with short introductory notes, prepared by Mr C. R. Krishnamachari, and a facsimile have been embodied as Appendix B of the *Annual Report* of the above mentioned Archaeological Department for the year 1927-28, but Mr Krishnamachari's reading is not free from errors. I edit this inscription with the permission of Mr Yazdani, who very kindly sent me an ink-impression of it.

The inscription contains 28 lines of writing covering a space 1' 6½" long and 1' 1" broad. Some letters in lines 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 12, 17, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, are badly broken, and a number of letters at the beginning of the line 28 are completely effaced.

The characters are Nāgarī of the 11th century. Attention may be drawn to the forms of *sth* (in *sthira*, l 2), *shn* (in *Vishnu*, l 4), *l-h* (in *lshina*, l 9), and *bh*. The signs for *sch*, *śa*, and *kh*, and those of *h* and *dy* are so much alike that sometimes it is very difficult to distinguish.

The language is Sanskrit, and the whole inscription with the exception of *ōm namaḥ sūryāya* at the beginning is written in prose. There are altogether 28 verses in different metres. As regards orthography the sign for *v* denotes both *v* and *b*, sometimes dental sibilant is used instead of palatal (e.g., *prasasti* for *praśasti*, l 10, *āsibhiḥ* for *āśibhiḥ*, l 20, *suddhō* for *śuddhō*, l 25). The consonant following the superscript *ṛ* is doubled, as for example, *raṇṇi*=*vr̥ṇi*, *bhānur*=*mr̥natyayam* (l 1), etc.

" The inscription records that Jagaddēva's father was Udayāditya, and his paternal uncle was the king Bhōja (v 6). Jagaddēva is stated to have invaded the country of the Andhra king, and inflicted a severe defeat on him (v 7). He uprooted the king of Chakradurga (v 8), and slew many soldiers of the king of Malahara at Dōrasamudra (v 9)<sup>1</sup>. He also won victory over the Gūrjara warriors near the Arbuda mountain (v 10). He conquered the king Karna (v 12).

Bhōja referred to above was evidently the great king of the same name, who ruled in Mālava from about 1000 to 1055 A.D. The history of Bhōja is well known to us from other sources. The latter part of his reign was unhappy. Shortly before 1055 A.D., the Kalachuri Karna and the Chaulukya Bhīma I made an alliance against him, and invaded Mālava from the east and the west. When the battle was progressing, Bhōja suddenly died of a malady, and Mālava was taken possession of by the Kalachuris and the Chaulukyas<sup>2</sup>. In that difficult period, Jayasimha, the son of Bhōja, sought help from the Chālukya Sōmēśvara I, king of Kalyāṇi, and with the aid of the latter's son Vikramāditya (VI) succeeded in regaining his throne by ousting Karna and Bhīma from Mālava<sup>3</sup>. Since that time Jayasimha remained a staunch friend of Vikramāditya, who was under his father, the governor of Banavāsī in the third quarter of the 11th century. Vikramāditya was deputed by his father to protect the interest of his empire in the south. The Eastern Chālukya Rājārāja, the king of Vēngī, died in 1062 A.D. His son Rājēndra II (later on Kulōttunga Chōla I) was too young to govern his kingdom. Vikramāditya intended to avail himself of this opportunity of conquering Vēngī, and organised a vast army for that purpose. Jayasimha, who was indebted to Vikramāditya for his past services, seems to have joined him in this expedition in order to help his cause. The allied armies advanced towards Vēngī and threatened the Eastern Chālukyas. The young Rājēndra could not resist their onslaught, and Vēngī fell in the hands of Vikramāditya and Jayasimha. In that predicament Vijayāditya VII, the younger brother of the deceased Rājārāja, took up the cause of his nephew, and appealed to the Chōla Virarājēndra (A.D. 1062-1069) for assistance. The Chōla king responded to his prayer and marched towards Vēngī at the head of a large army. He confronted his enemies on the bank of the Kistna near Bezwāda (Vijayavādī). In the action that followed the Karnātas and the Paramārās were severely worsted, and the cousin (or younger brother) of Jayasimha with many other generals lost their lives. Vēngī was reconquered by the Chōlas, and Virarājēndra appointed Vijayāditya to rule it on behalf of Rājēndra-Chōla<sup>4</sup>. The Tiruvengādu inscription<sup>5</sup> of the second year of the reign of Virarājēndra tells us that he defeated the army sent into Vēngainādu by Vikramāditya. The Karuvūr inscription<sup>6</sup> of the fourth year of his reign records that 'he despatched (the banner of) the ferocious tiger into all directions and cut off the beautiful heads surrounded by garlands (won) on battle fields, of Vāran, of the [Kērala], (who wore) large ankle-rings, (and) of the younger brother (or cousin) of Ja(na)nātha of Dhārā'. The Manimangalam

<sup>1</sup> [See note 5, p. 58 —Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> Merutunga's *Prabandha chintāmaṇi*, by Tawney, pp. 73-75.

<sup>3</sup> Bilhana's *Vikramānka charita*, *Sarga* III, v. 67.

<sup>4</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 193.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

inscription<sup>1</sup> of the fifth year (1067 A D ) of his reign gives us a more detailed information It states that ' having moved (his camp), he declared —“ (We) shall not return without regaining the good country of Vīṅgai, which (we had formerly) subdued You,<sup>2</sup> (who are) strong, come and defend (it) if (you) are able ’ ”—That army which had for its chiefs Jananāthan, the *Dandanāya* / a Rājamayan, whose *mast* elephants trumpeted in herds, and Mupparaśan ’

Jananātha, referred to above, is in all probability identical with Jayasimha, who was at that time on the throne of Dhārā<sup>3</sup> Others, mentioned, seem to have been officers of Vikramāditya In the latter part of his reign, Jayasimha had to encounter a catastrophe, which was more severe than the previous one After the death of Sōmēśvara I, his son, Sōmēśvara II, ascended the throne of Kalyāṇi in 1068 A D He soon entered into a quarrel with his younger brother Vikramāditya<sup>4</sup> When the Chālukya empire was threatened with a fratricidal war, Jayasimha turned against Sōmēśvara II, and probably intrigued with Vikramāditya for the overthrow of the Chālukya king This seems to have provoked Sōmēśvara to declare war against Mālava He made an alliance with the Chaulukya Karna (A D 1063-1094), the successor of Bhīma on the throne of Gujārāt, for the destruction of the Paramāra sovereignty, and in order to help him in his military operation despatched his general Gāṅga Udayāditya, and his feudatory, the Hoysala Ereyangr, with a large contingent Jayasimha made a strenuous effort to defend his kingdom against this incursion of Karna and the Karnātas but utterly failed In the fierce battle that followed he lost his life, and Mālava was easily conquered by the invaders During this cataclysm Udayāditya, a scion of a junior branch of the Paramāra family, who was probably a subordinate chief in the Bhilsa District, drove the invaders from Mālava with the help of the Chāhamāna Durlabha III, king of Śākambharī, and himself became the king of the country<sup>5</sup>

The Nāgpur stone inscription,<sup>6</sup> dated 1104 A D , composed by Udayāditya's son Naravarman, describes Udayāditya as the ' *bandhu* ' of Bhōja The inscription under discussion states that Bhōja was the ' *pitṛivya* ' (father's brother or cousin , or any elderly male relation) of Jagaddēva, son of Udayāditya

Critical examination of these two evidences leads me to suggest that Udayāditya was not the brother of Bhōja but a cousin This gains support from an inscription<sup>7</sup> of the 15th century, which records Gōndala and Śūravīra as the father and grand-father respectively of Udayāditya. The last known date of Udayāditya is 1086 A D<sup>8</sup>

The *Rās Mālā*<sup>9</sup> relates that Oodayadit had two wives, one belonging to the Solunkhee dynasty and the other to the Waghela clan By the Solunkhee queen he had a son named Jug Dev, and by the Waghela queen another son named Rmdhuwul Prince Jug Dev was an intrepid warrior, and his fame as a general spread all over India He had three wives The first was the daughter of Rāja Rāj, the Dak Chowra ling of Took-Toda, which, since Rāja Rāj himself was blind, had

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid* , p 69

<sup>2</sup> This is addressed to the king who held Vīṅgī

<sup>3</sup> [Mr K V Subrahmanya Ayyar is of opinion that there is no warrant to take Jananātha figuring in inscriptions of Virarājendra as the king of Dhārā (above, Vol XXI, p 226, n 3 and p 242 and n 2) —Ed ]

<sup>4</sup> *Vikramānāla charita*, Introduction, p 33, ed by Bühler

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol II, p 185, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p 164, *E C*, Vol V, Ak, No 120a, Vol VII, Sh, No 64, Vol IV, part II, p 19, Somēśvara's *Surathotsava*, *lau prasasti*, v 20, *Prithvīrāja vijaya*, *Sarga V*, vv 76 78, above, Vol I, p 276, author's *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, pp 127 132

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol II, p 185

<sup>7</sup> *J I S B*, Vol IX, p 549

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid* , 1914, p 241

<sup>9</sup> *Orbe's Ras Malā*, Vol I, pp 117 ff.

been under the regency of his son Beerj. The second was the daughter of Sidh Rāj Jesingh Dev, the king of Gujarāt, and the third was the princess of the house of Rājā Phool of Bhojnagar. Rindhuwul married the daughter of Gumbheer, a chief of Gord. Udayāditya, influenced by his Waghela queen, made Rindhuwul his heir-apparent. Jug Dev, through the jealousy of his step-mother, was reduced to poverty. He left Mālwa, and, in order to make a living, accepted military service under Sidh Rāj in Gujarāt. Within a very short time he became a favourite of his master on account of his valour and faithfulness. On one occasion he sacrificed his son, and offered his own life and that of his wife to ensure the safety of Sidh Rāj from some impending peril. Sometime afterwards, learning that Sidh Rāj was making preparations for the invasion of Mālwa, he resigned his office, and left for Dhārā in order to defend his native country. He was received with great affection by his father, who subsequently appointed him his successor superseding Rindhuwul. Soon afterwards Udayāditya died, and Jug Dev ascended the throne of Mālwa, which he occupied for fifty years.

According to Mērutunga,<sup>1</sup> Jagaddēva entered the military service of Paramardīn (a title of Vikramāditya VI), king of Kuntala, and was highly honoured by the Chaulukya Siddharāja.

The above statements of the Gujarāt chroniclers are marred by gross chronological inaccuracies. Udayāditya could not have been a contemporary of Jayasīma-Siddharāja, who ascended the throne in 1094 A.D.<sup>2</sup> Even then Jayasīma was a minor, and his government was under regency.<sup>3</sup> Jagaddēva certainly did not rule for fifty-two years, since Udayāditya's another son, Naravarman, ascended the throne of Mālwa sometime before 1094 A.D.<sup>4</sup>, and enjoyed it till 1133 A.D., when he was succeeded by his son Yaśovarman.<sup>5</sup> Naravarman, in his Nāgpur stone inscription, does not make any mention of Jagaddēva, and states that he was preceded by his brother Lakshmadēva, who succeeded to the throne of Udayāditya.<sup>6</sup> Lakshmadēva is not referred to in any other inscription of the Paramāras. It cannot be said definitely whether Lakshmadēva and Jagaddēva were identical person. But that Jagaddēva occupied the throne of Mālwa sometime between 1086 and 1094 A.D. cannot be disputed. Two Hoysala inscriptions,<sup>7</sup> one of them being dated 1196 A.D., describe him as the king of Mālwa.

The inscription under review narrates the military achievements of Jagaddēva. The king is said to have won victories over the Gūrjaras near Mount Abu. The verse 10 states that 'even to-day (i.e., at the time of composing the inscription) the sound of the flood-tide of the tears of the wives of the Gūrjara warriors indicates the twang of the bow of Jagaddēva, which is nothing but the announcement of the valour of Jayasīma.' This signifies that Jagaddēva fought under Jayasīma against the king of Gujarāt, and the battle took place long time before the inscription was composed. In these circumstances, Jayasīma, who was a friend of Jagaddēva, can reasonably be identified with the king of the same name, who was the son of Bhōja. Jayasīma, as has been referred to above, drove Bhīma of Gujarāt along with the Kalachuris from Mālwa with the help of Vikramāditya. Jagaddēva might have pursued the conquest further, and inflicted another defeat on Bhīma on the foot of the Mount Abu.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tawney, *Prabandha chintāmani*, p. 186, cf. Sōmāśvara's *Kīrtikaumudī*, *Sarga* II, v. 99.

<sup>2</sup> *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 174.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 171.

<sup>4</sup> *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1923-24, p. 135.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 351.

<sup>6</sup> *Above*, Vol. II, p. 185.

<sup>7</sup> *E. C.*, Vol. VI, *Tarikh-e Taluq*, No. 45, *ibid.*, Vol. II, No. 349, p. 168.

<sup>8</sup> [If the translation given by me in p. 63, n. 1, is correct then Jayasīma referred to in v. 10 should be looked upon as an enemy and not a friend of Jagaddēva and thus cannot refer to the Paramāra Jayasīma. The mention of Gūrjaras would tempt one to identify him with Jayasīma Siddharāja of Anahilapāṭaka. This might, however, give rise to some chronological difficulty if it was true that Jayasīma was still a minor at the time of his father's death.—Ed.]

the great highways over Andhra and Chakradurga. Andhra was the name of the intermediate region between the lower courses of the Kistna and the Godavari, the capital of which was Chakradurga. Chakradurga is evidently identical with Chakrakōṭa which is situated in the modern P. N. S. District. During this period Andhra was under the sway of Kulōttunga-Chōla, and Chakradurga was ruled by a Nizama dynasty.<sup>1</sup> Jagaddēva probably led these expeditions during his own reign. The inference is drawn to the fact that the Paramāra Javasiṃha was accompanied by his son (or younger brother) in his expedition against the Andhra country.<sup>2</sup> Jagaddēva who was the cousin and general of Javasiṃha, may be considered as identical with the latter.

After the invasion of Andhra, Jagaddēva might have followed Javasiṃha in his campaign against Chakradurga. Kulōttunga-Chōla, when he was a 'Yuvarāja' (i.e., before 1070 A.D.), defeated the king of Dhārā at Chakrakōṭa. King of Dhārā, referred to, was, during that period, Javasiṃha.<sup>3</sup>

Karna, the adversary of Jagaddēva, appears to have been the king of Gujarāt of the same name, who ruled from 1061 to 1094 A.D. After the death of Udayāditya, Karna probably made an attempt to reconquer Mālava but was discomfited by Jagaddēva.

The fact of Jagaddēva's invasion of Dōrasamudra is reported also by the records of his enemies. Dōrasamudra, modern Halebīd, in Mysore, was the capital of the Hoysala dynasty, the early rulers of which were subordinates to the Chālukyas of Kalyāni. They were enemies of both Vikramāditya and Jagaddēva. The Hoysala Erevanga, on behalf of the Chālukya Sōmēśvara II, and in alliance with the Chaulukya Karna killed Javasiṃha in battle, and conquered Mālava. The dates of the inscriptions of Erevanga range from 1062 to 1100 A.D.<sup>4</sup> He had three sons Ballāla, Viṣṇuvardhana, and Udayāditya. In the latter part of the 11th century, the Hoysalas made an attempt to throw off the yoke of subordination of the Chālukyas. But Vikramāditya determined to keep them under control. He appears to have sought the help of Jagaddēva. Jagaddēva lent his service to the Chālukya king, and being accompanied by the Karnāṭa army, proceeded to Dōrasamudra, and besieged it. The present inscription records that he succeeded in killing a large number of soldiers of the king of Malahara at Dōrasamudra. Malahara appears to have been the ancient name of Malabar.<sup>5</sup> The Hoysalas, though suffering a preliminary reverse, eventually succeeded in repulsing their enemies. In this terrible struggle the sons of Erevanga, i.e., Ballāla, Viṣṇuvardhana, and Udayāditya played magnificent parts. An inscription, dated 1196 A.D., relates that "Ballāla drove back in battle the force which came to

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. IX, pp. 178 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> The late Pt. Bahadur Hirahī suggested that the verse of the inscription (KSL, No. 750) means that King Vikramāditya conquered the king Dhārānt Chakrakōṭa (above, Vol. IX, p. 179, fn. 2). But Drs. L. D. Barnett, and W. C. D. Hunter of the London University, advise me to accept the interpretation of Hultzsch, that Kulōttunga-Chōla defeated the king of Dhārānt Chakrakōṭa. [The actual reading found in Kulōttunga's inscription is *Salharaṇaṭṭaṇṭa Dhāraṇaṭṭaṇṭa* or *Dhāraṇaṭṭaṇṭa* which means 'Dhāravarṇa or Dhāravarṇa (i.e., Dhāravarṇa) at Salharaṇaṭṭa'—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> *I. C.* Vol. VI, introduction, p. 11, *ibid.*, Vol. V, Al, No. 102a. [It is uncertain if the date given at the top of the inscription before the invocator verse is the date of the record. Only if this were so, Erevanga's inscription is taken as A.D. 1100.—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> Malahara is now known as the ancient name of Malabar. *Malalārāṭhōṇṭa* in v. 9 seems to be the derivation of the Kanarese epithet *Malapūṭaṇṭa* a title assumed by the Hoysala rulers. *Malapūṭa* or *Malapūṭa* was the name of a hill tribe to the family of whose chiefs the Hoysalas probably originally belonged.

<sup>6</sup> *I. C.* Vol. VI, introduction, p. 14. *Ja* in Malahara is the genitive termination in Kanarese. This way of termination is common in the later Sanskritised forms occur even in earlier inscription, cf. for example *Ja* in the Malabar inscription of Samudragupta where *Ja* is to be taken as the original *Sal* a derivative of *Sal*—Ed.]

<sup>7</sup> *I. C.* Vol. VI, TL, No. 45.

attack him, so that even the Mālava emperor, Jagaddēva, whose proud elephant he made to scream out, said 'Well done horseman', to which he replied, 'I am not only a horseman, I am Vira-Baliāla', and by his slaughter excited the astonishment of the world" The Śravana-Belgoḷa inscription,<sup>1</sup> dated 1159 A D, states that "Vishṇu, powerful like Yama, striking with his hand, drank up all at once the rolling ocean, the army of the Mālava king, Jagaddēva, and others sent by the emperor (i.e., Vikramāditya VI)" The Belur Taluk inscription,<sup>2</sup> dated 1117 A D, registers the fact that "in Dōrasamudra they (Vishṇu, and Ballāla) defeated the army of Jagaddēva, painted the goddess of Victory with the blood of his elephants for vermilion, and captured his treasury together with the central ornament of his necklace" The Hoysala Narasimha I's inscription,<sup>3</sup> dated 1164 A D, records that the three brothers, Ballāla, Vishṇu, and Udayāditya destroyed the army of Jagaddēva in Dōrasamudra The earliest known date of the record<sup>4</sup> containing the report of Jagaddēva's defeat is 1100 A D

Jagaddēva seems to have later on entered into a quarrel with Vikramāditya, as the result of which the latter had to surrender the northern part of his dominion to the Paramāras A pillar bearing an inscription<sup>5</sup>, dated 1087 A D., of the reign of Vikramāditya VI, is lying in the village of Sitabaldī, 6 miles to the east of the city of Nāgpur Though there is nothing in the inscription to indicate that the kingdom of the Chālukyas extended up to Nāgpur in that period, the existence of the pillar there strongly suggests to that effect If this proves to be true, Jainad, where the new inscription was discovered, was evidently within the dominion of the Chālukyas about that time Jainad is situated few miles south of the Penganga As the stone, bearing the inscription, is an ordinary slab, there is less likelihood of its being carried there from a great distance In all probability, it belonged to one of the temples in that locality If my suggestion proves to be true, it is to be maintained that the Paramāra kingdom extended at least up to the Adilābād District in the latter part of the 11th century The Nāgpur stone inscription,<sup>6</sup> dated 1104 A D, likewise suggests that Vikramāditya VI lost his hold over that part of the country sometime before that time This new acquisition of territories was, in all likelihood, made by Jagaddēva

Jagaddēva was a handsome person The Paramāra Arjunavarman, in his *Rasikasamjivnī*,<sup>7</sup> states that his predecessor, Jagaddēva, was very graceful, and that his beauty is described by Nachirāja Sāmalavarman, the king of east Bengal, married Mālavayadēvī, the daughter of Jagaddēva<sup>8</sup>

The object of the inscription is to record that Padmāvatī, the wife of Lōlārka, erected the temple of Nimbāditya, in the city, the name of which is not mentioned Lōlārka was the minister of Jagaddēva, and appears to have been enjoying that position since the time of Udayāditya His father was Gunarāja, and his grand-father was Mahēndu whose wife was Śungā All of them belonged to the Dāhima family ||

The poet Asvatthāmā composed the verses of the inscription

#### TEXT.

[Metres vv 1, 20, *Anushtubh*, vv 2, 3, 7-12, 14, 15, 18, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, vv 4, 16, 17, 19, *Sragdharā*, vv 5, 6, *Upajāti* and v 13, *Mandākṛntā*]

१ .[ओ] नमः सूर्याय ॥ अवालेपि रवेर्वारि निम्ब(स्व)पुष्पोक्षमैर्य ॥ प्रत्यय  
पूरयन्मानुर्विरत्ययसुपास्यतां ॥१॥ त वन्देमहि चारुणीजल-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, Vol II, Ins at Śravana Belgola, No 349, p 108

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, Vol V, Bl, No 58

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, Vol IV, Ng, No 30

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, Vol V, Ak, No 34 [In this inscription Jagaddēva is not described as the king of Mālava —Ed]

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol III, p 304

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol II, p 185

<sup>7</sup> P 8

<sup>8</sup> J A S B, Vol X, p 127.

- 2 निधेर्वेलावनानीस्थिरस्थानं स्थाणुमभेद्यमाद्यममितच्छायातिमात्रोच्छ्रय । उन्मी-  
लन्ति व(व)ह्निः, प्ररोहमभये यस्य त्रिलोकीच्छान्मध्य-
- 3 व्योम[दिग]न्तरालमतुला, गार्वाशिखापज्ञया, ॥२॥ तद्भूमंगविचेदित भगवतो  
भर्गस्य भव्याय वो मूयाकृताकृतो किमन्ये पाणो ध-
- 4 तु पश्यतः । दग्धु [त्री]णि पुराणि पन्नग[श]तेर्ज्यावक्षिता लभितं यत्राविर्मवति  
स्य भास्वरगरव्याजेन विण्णोर्व्वपु ॥३॥ आसीदागोर्व्वचोभिः सक-
- 5 लसुनिजनेर्मानितो मे[दिनीन्द्रे] राजा मुद्रा वहन्नि गिरमिव(व)नुनिधेर्व्वो(र्व्वो)धित-  
योदुवादैः । विगोमित्रप्रतापव्यपनयनिपुण, प्राप्तजन्मा
- 6 वसिष्ठध्यानाभूमध्व[ज्ञा]त्रो त्रिभुवनविदित, सत्यमार प्रमार ॥४॥ तदन्वये  
सान्वयनामधेय, श्रीमान् जगदेव इति क्षितीय । अमृद-
- 7 भूपालदिगन्तराल[नि]र्गतागनिर्गद्भुजन्मसोयं(यम्) ॥५॥ यन्वीटयादित्यनृप, पिता  
सीधेवः पितृव्य म च भोजराज, । विरेजतुर्यो
- 8 वसुधाधिपत्यप्राप्तप्रतिठाचिव पुष्पवन्तो ॥६॥ अन्त्राधीगृहीदृगः पतिपरित्यक्ताचिर  
यत्रमूवोत्पृच्छुराग्रमृगित-
- 9 भुवि चीणा, त्वलन्त्योध्वनि । नीयन्ते नवननीतकोमलपदास्तान्प्रभेः पक्ष्यै-  
र्दक्षालव(व)नमस्तु(स्तु)धे, परिमरचोणीलतायेणिभि ॥७॥ क्षी-
- 10 डोच्चाटितचक्रदुर्गनृपतेरद्यापि यस्याज्ञया दण्डनीतगजेद्रदानमलिलैर्व्यस्ता प्रम(श)-  
स्ति परा । निर्व्याहति पठन्ति कण्ठगुठित, कै,
- 11 केन्निनादेर्नदा गेलीपान्तवसुन्धरासु विपिनोत्सर्गयु मृगाहना ॥८॥ मध्ये टोमसुद्र-  
मद्रिगिराकारा कपालावलीमालोपय
- 12 [ह्विरटे]द्रदन्तसुसलप्रान्तस्पृमा<sup>१</sup> प्रेयसां । साक्रदे प्रतिमन्दिर भलरचोणीसंचितो-  
दरे शूल [प]लवयन्ति वा[प्य]मलिलैर्वहिरिण व-
- 13 क्षमा ॥९॥ आचर्य जयसिंहविभ्रमकया स्त्राध्यायसध्यावनध्वानं यस्य धनुर्ध-  
(ह्व)नि नरपतेर्व्यञ्जन्ति विस्तारिण, । अद्याप्यर्धुदपर्व्वतीदर-
- 14 दरीदारेयु रात्रिदिवं क्रदहूर्णरवीरवर्गवनितावाप्याम्बु(स्तु)पूरोर्भयः<sup>२</sup> ॥१०॥ एक-  
त्राहुतयुवमूर्धनि धनुःसन्धानधीर, कार, कीर्ति कदल-
- 15 य[त्र]यत्रविरतो यस्यासिर्व्वक्षपः । अन्यत्राम्बु(स्तु)धिवीचिकाचिवसुधामध्ये मधुस्य-  
न्दिभिः सूक्तैः सत्कवय, गतं व्यवसिता, स्तोतु तथाप्यक्षमा, ॥११॥

<sup>१</sup> Read *durad endra*<sup>२</sup> Read *kshorisa*<sup>३</sup> Read *sandhyā*<sup>४</sup> Read *aprasara*<sup>५</sup> Read *taṭhpa*<sup>६</sup> [See note 1, p 63 —Ed ]





28 — — — — — — — — — — ॥१६ ॥ नमता जगता  
 श्रीचैः सगम हृदयगमा । सञ्जनन्यस्तमोरियममत्यन्तकवे । क्षति ॥२०॥

## TRANSLATION

Om Salutation to Sūrya !

(V 1) Let the object fulfilling sun be worshipped faultlessly on Sunday, even at an unusual hour with the flowers and shoots of the *Nimba* tree

(V 2) We reverence the tree-like Śiva who is indivisible and first born, who possesses a great extension of shade and is lofty and stands firm in the range of the wood on the shore of the western ocean, the matchless sprouts of whose branches blossom forth at the time of growing in the shape of the three worlds in between the sky and all its quarters

(V 3) May the movement of the eye brows of the lord Śiva, who looks at the bow (*held*) in his hand with its sprout-like fingers bent, on which (*bow*) when hundreds of serpents had provided it with a string, the body of Viṣṇu manifested itself in the guise of a radiant arrow, in order to burn the three cities—be (*the cause of*) your prosperity

(V 4) There was a very powerful king named Pramāra, known in the three worlds much regarded by sages through blessings, roused from sleep with men, a fluttering word by the kings bearing his seal on their heads, who was born of fire through the meditation of Vasiṣṭha, and was adept in defying the valour of Viśvāmitra

(V 5) In his family was born Jagaddēva, the lord of the earth, whose name was true to its sense, and the exertions of whose arms were applied to render all the quarters kingless (*i.e.*, free from enemies),

(V 6) whose (Jagaddēva's) father was Udayāditya, and whose uncle was the king Bhōja. These two kings (*Udayāditya and Bhōja*), having secured the stability as sovereigns of the earth, shone like the sun and the moon

(V 7) Abandoned for ever by their lord, the deer eyed (*ladies*) of the Andhra king, with their butter soft feet, stumbling down, helpless as they were, on the roads, the ground of which was trampled by the hoofs of the horses of his (Jagaddēva's) army, are led by the rows of creepers (*growing*) on the sea-shore supporting them (*as it were*) with their copper coloured twigs

(V 8) He in sport uprooted the king of Chakradurga, and at his command, even now, the streams on the slopes of the mountain, and the female bees in the midst of the forests, recite without ceasing, in different notes coming out of their throats, his all surpassing eulogies, fixed with (*the libation of water in shape of*) the ruddy fluid of powerful elephants of his army.

(V 9) In every house the weeping widows of his enemies, having seen in Dōrasamudra the peak-like heaps of the skulls of their lords, who came in contact with the pointed club-like tusks of his best elephants, increase with tears the acute pain in the heart of the chief of Malahara<sup>2</sup>

(V 10) It is a matter of great wonder, that, even now, the great flood-tide of tears of the wives of the Gūrjara warriors, weeping day and night in the cave-entrances of the Arbuda mountain,

<sup>1</sup> This portion is badly mutilated.

<sup>2</sup> [See above, p. 58, n. 5—Ed.]

indicates fully the twang of his bow, as if it were the deep sound of the recitation of *mantras* in the form of the stories of the valour of Jayasimha<sup>1</sup>

(V 11) On the one hand, in front of the wonderful conflict, his hand, capable of totally destroying his enemies, and skilled in fitting the bow, does not stop acquiring fame, on the other hand, the poets by hundred in the land which has the waves of the ocean as its girdle, are engaged in praising him with honey-oozing hymns, but even then are unable (to *tether the vastness of his glory*)

(V 12) It was he who subdued the king **Karnā** and produced<sup>2</sup> the only fitting lake which rivalled the ocean in collecting beautiful gems in the cavern of the universe. The swans, even now, having heard the hundreds of learned men discoursing together sitting close to it (i.e., the lake) continue without fear, the celebration of his victory

(V 13) There was born in the renowned family of **Dāhīmas** an illustrious personage named **Lōlārka**, who, ever since his very childhood, had been dear to the world, who was a repository of fame and excellent valour, who was bravery incarnate, and was a minister of **Udayāditya**, the lord of the earth, and the conqueror of the world

(V 14) His grand-father was **Mahēndu** by name, who, having obtained the only beautiful lady **Śungā**, referred to with ever new words of praise and (bearing *auspicious*) marks on her face shone by the sacrificial glamour, and even now gives expression to his pure brilliance in this world with his accumulated fame shining (white) like the tusks of elephants, *lunda* flowers, and lotuses

(V 15) His father was **Gunarāja**, who, on account of his excellence, was the leader of the warriors of the (three) worlds, was ever praised by the four lotus-like mouths of **Brahmā**, who (Gunarāja) was mature, was like **Arjuna** alone capable of standing (any) test in a battle, witnessed by thousands of warriors, and who, having increased his valour, became ever dear to **Udayāditya**

(V 16) His armies are known by many waving banners with various designs, by white umbrellas arranged in a line, by loud beatings of (war-) drums that could drown even the sound of thundering clouds at the time of the destruction (of the universe), by the horses glittering incessantly like a heap of diamonds, and by the riders with lances, swords and nooses

(V 17) Tall like a *Śāla* tree, with his face representing the moon, with his eyes broad like the petals of lotuses, his shoulders bulky, arms long, and chest like the stone of the **Kālika**-mountain, he was clearly recognised by these marks among many princes whose ears resembling young shoots were deafened by the neighing of the multitudes of his horses

(V 18) He was, to the satisfaction of **Jagaddēva**, truthful and pure-hearted, and ever since his childhood he had been paying obeisance to **Śiva** every day. He maintaining the great and steady royal prosperity, without (the privilege of the use of) waving chowries (only), crushed forcibly the inimical kings

(V 19) His wife named **Padmāvati**, resembling **Lakshmi** in beauty, with lotus-like face, with a pair of eyes wide like petals of a lotus, famous in all the three worlds, built this palace (i.e., temple) of **Nimbāditya** in this city, the corruptions of which were removed by forec

(V 20) May this heart-touching composition of the poet **Asvatthāman** secure association of the ears of the (people of this) world with its responsibility placed upon the learned

<sup>1</sup> [The proper translation of the verse seems to be — "It is strange that even to day the extending waves of the flood of tears of the wives of the **Gūṛjara** heroes weeping night and day in the cave entrances of the **Arbudā** mountain, indicate the twang of the bow of this king which was (on the other hand) the evening thunder in the study of the accounts of **Jayasimha's** valour" The *Śmṛitis* enjoin that the study of the *Vēdas* should be stopped when there is an evening thunder, cf. *Yajñavalkya Smṛiti* (T. S. S.), I 144 — Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> I.e., dug out

No 12 —A NEW COPPER PLATE OF DHRUVA II OF THE GUJARAT RASHTRAKUTA  
BRANCH, DATED SAKA 806

By A S ALTEKAR, M A, D LITT, BENARFS

The grant of Dhruva II of the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūta branch, which is here being edited for the first time, has been neither referred to nor published so far. The set of copper plates on which the grant has been engraved belongs to Mr Pratapbhai H Barot of Santa Cruz, Bombay, who very kindly forwarded them to me (through Dr D R Bhandarkar of the Calcutta University) for decipherment and publication.

The plates are three in number. Their size, which is fairly uniform, is 11 8" × 8 3". The thickness is about 1". The edges of the plates have been raised into rims in order to protect the characters engraved. The plates are strung together by means of a ring passing through holes perforated at the centre of the upper sides of the plates, about 3" from the rims. The ring, which is  $\frac{3}{8}$ " in thickness, has an inner diameter of 2". Its ends have been soldered together by means of a seal, being 2" in height and 1½" in diameter at the bottom. Countersunk in its surface is a seated figure, 1" in height, holding hooded snakes in either hand. This is undoubtedly to be identified with the figure of Garuda, which is found on many other copper plate grants of the Rāshtrakūtas. The seal bears no writing.

The grant is engraved on the inner sides of the first and third plates and on both the sides of the second. The whole of the record does not seem to have been engraved by one and the same mason. The first plate and the first side of the second one are by the same hand, the latter has no doubt more lines with greater number of letters in each than the former, but this is probably because the mason had at this stage realised that unless economy in space was made, the record could not be finished in three plates. The second side of the second plate and the third plate show a distinctly different and less elegant duct of engraving and are almost certainly by a different engraver.

The plates are in a fairly good state of preservation. In a few cases, some letters have been damaged but they can be made out from the traces left behind. The surface of the plates has been dressed fairly well, but in a few cases there still remain natural depressions, due to which in some places marks have appeared in the ink impression which look like letters or medial vowels. Thus at the end of l 26, the plates have clearly *-machirūsvapadē* only, but the ink impression shows *machirāt=svapadī* owing to a depression on the surface to the left of *sva* which looks like *t*. In ll 36 and 39 the mason has correctly engraved *param* and *mayā* respectively, but owing to a depression on the surface after the letters *ra* and *ma* the facsimile show *parām* and *māyā* respectively. In l 56 the letter *vi* in *vidyul lōlān* appears like *di* in the facsimile owing to the same cause.

In this document the engraving of individual letters is distinct, but every line is full of several blunders because the mason did not obviously understand what he was copying. Otherwise he would not have written *sūvyā mutās-cha māvaḥ* for *sūrya sutās-cha gāvaḥ* in l 61. The climax in this respect is reached at the end of the l 40 and the beginning of l 41 where the mason has engraved *bhagarach chudh-ādhrashthānē* for *bhagavad Buddh ā*. It would appear that the copy issued from the secretariate was written in a careless handwriting, the masons, who engraved the document, could not make out all the letters and wrote what they believed to be written on the manuscript before them. The State Record Office did not care to revise and correct the innumerable mistakes committed during engraving.

In Gujarāt during the 9th century two scripts were current, one was the proto Dēvanāgarī and the other was the lineal descendant of the 'Valabhī' alphabet. The characters of this

record belong to the first variety. The signature of Dhruva II, who issued the plates, is, however, engraved in south Indian old Kanarese characters as is the case with the sign manuals of Karkka and Dhruva I of the Gujarāt branch on their Nausirī<sup>1</sup> and Baroda<sup>2</sup> plates respectively. There can be no doubt that in these records, as in the present one, the masons are imitating the actual duct of the handwriting of the donors. It is therefore clear that even as late as 881 A D, the date of the present record, the members of the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūta royal family were accustomed to write in a script which was current neither in northern India, nor in Gujarāt, nor in Mahārāshtra but in Karnātak. This circumstance is in my opinion very important for determining the home of the Rāshtrakūtas of Mālkhed. If the original home of the family were in northern India as Fleet had first suggested,<sup>3</sup> or in Mahārāshtra as Mr C V Vaidya opines,<sup>4</sup> we cannot understand how the princes deputed to rule over Gujarāt could have been using south Indian old-Kanarese script as their mother script.<sup>5</sup> It is true that as early as 770 A D, the Rāshtrakūta empire had embraced practically the whole of Karnātak including the State of Mysore. But if the royal family had originally belonged to Mahārāshtra or to northern India, its members deputed to rule over Gujarāt and domiciled there for more than a century, would not have continued to use for their sign manual a script current neither in Rājputāna, nor in Mahārāshtra, nor in Gujarāt, but in the far-off Karnātak. Karkka was carrying on the administration of the empire at Mālkhed for a long time during the minority of Amoghavarsha I. He and perhaps his son Dhruva I may therefore have picked up the old Kanarese script, prevailing at Mālkhed, and even used it for their sign manuals in their grants. But by the time of the present grant the Gujarāt branch had long ceased to have any intimate connection with Mālkhed, and the donor of the present grant, Dhruva II, would not have used old Kanarese characters for his signature, if the former had not been the mother script of the family, carefully preserved by its members even after their domicile in Gujarāt for more than a hundred years.<sup>6</sup> The fact that Krishna III of the Imperial Rāshtrakūta house should have used in his Jura inscription<sup>7</sup> Kanarese characters and language to proclaim his victories to the people of Bundelkhand, would also show that the Rāshtrakūtas of Mālkhed originally belonged to Karnātak, rather than to Mahārāshtra or Telangana or Northern India. The whole question of the home of the Rāshtrakūtas of Mālkhed cannot be discussed here<sup>7</sup>, attention is merely drawn to the light which the sign manuals of the present and some other records of the Gujarāt branch throw on the subject.

A few points of palaeographical interest may be noted here. *Om* at the beginning of the record is denoted by the usual symbol. Two forms of the letter *ra* have been used side by side, cf *rājasu rāja simhah*, l 3, the same is the case with the letter *sa*, cf *sa* in *Śatakratu*, l 7, with the *śas* in *Śatakratu-sadriśah* in l 8. The form of the letter *lsha* is highly cursive in some cases, cf *lshas* in *vandhavya daksha* and *lshana rana* in l 14, in other cases, however, the constituent elements of this conjunct can be clearly distinguished, cf *lalshīmāmān*, l 24. The record contains final *t* and *m*, but the sign of *virāma* has been written in two different ways. In *bhūt*, l 11, and *sant*, l 14, *t* is denoted by a vertical with a slight notch or protrusion on the left, in *vallabhō-bhūt*,

<sup>1</sup> *J B B R A S*, Vol XX, pp 135 ff

<sup>2</sup> *Ind Ant*, Vols XII, pp 158 ff, and XIV, pp 169 ff

<sup>3</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I, pt II, p 384. In *ante*, Vol VII, pp 223-6 he abandons this view and suggests that Lātūr may have been their home.

<sup>4</sup> *History of the Medieval Hindu India*, Vol II, pp 152-53

<sup>5</sup> The fact that the signature of the present donor in his Bagumrī grant, dated 867 A D (*Ind Ant*, Vol, XII, pp 181 ff) and in Dantidurga's grant of the same year (*Ante*, Vol VI, pp 287 ff), is in proto Devanāgarī characters is obviously due to no attempt being made there to copy the precise script used by the kings.

<sup>6</sup> *Ante*, Vol XIX, pp 287 ff

<sup>7</sup> See Altekar *The Rashtrakutas and their Times*, pp 21-5

l 20, and *dad̐yāt*, l 62, a different symbol of two curves, the larger being above the smaller, is used to denote the same. This very symbol but in the reversed form, the smaller curve being above the larger, has been used to denote *m* in *chitram* in l 37 while in the case of *m* in *kumudānām* in l 71, the *vuāma* is written as in modern Dvānīgārī. When the same words like *vasya* and *tasya* occur consecutively twice in ll 64 and 65, the numeral 2 is used after the word to indicate that it is to be repeated in reading. The *avagraha* has been denoted in one place only by the modern Dvānīgārī symbol in *d̐yō=chūṭa*, l 47.

The language of the record is Sanskrit throughout. Engraver's blunders apart, there are only a few mistakes in *sandhi* as noted in the next paragraph. The formal part of the record is in prose, the rest of it is in poetry excepting the letter *ōm* at the beginning and the words *tathā ch=ōktam Rāmabhadra* in ll 64 65.

Orthography calls for a few remarks only. (1) *Va* has been throughout used for *ba*. (2) Consonants in conjunction with a preceding *r* have usually been doubled (cf. *°r=ḡḡōvīndarājō*, l 3, *°r ānt ārtti*-, l 5, etc.) with a few exceptions (cf. *°r=bhṛityaish*, l 9, *sārtha* and *Pārtha*, l 25). (3) The *anusvāra* is preferably indicated by a dot, if the following letter is a dental, it is usually changed into *n*, but in no place has it been changed to a *ṇ* or *ṅ* before a following guttural or palatal. (4) The rules of *sandhi* are usually observed, but there are a few exceptions. In vv 19 and 20 the last letters of the first verse halves have been coalesced with the first letters of the second verse halves, and in l 21 we find a *sandhi* made between the last letter of the v 15 and the first letter of the v 16.

The date of the record is given in words in ll 49 50, but the expression giving it is defective. After making the necessary grammatical corrections the expression reads as follows: *Śaka nṛpa kālātīta samvatsara śatīshu śhaḍ uttarīshu*. The most important word denoting the number of centuries has been omitted by inadvertence. There can be, however, no doubt that the expression was intended to be *°samvatsara śatīshu=ashtasu śhaḍ-uttarīshu* and that the record was issued in Śaka 806. This date falls between the latest date of the grantor, known at present, Śaka 799 (supplied by the plates of Dantivarman<sup>1</sup>), and the earliest known date of his successor, Śaka 810, supplied by his Bagumrā plates<sup>2</sup>. Astronomical calculations also confirm this conclusion for the *Dhanus sankrānti* of Śaka 806 (elapsed) did actually take place on the second day of the bright half of Mārgaśīrsha as stated in the record. The year had an intercalary month, and so *Dhanus sankrānti* occurred in Mārgaśīrsha instead of Pausa, as is usually the case. The corresponding date according to the Christian Era is the 23rd of November 884 A D. The record thus supplies a new date for Dhruva II, the significance of which will be soon brought out.

The object of the present charter is to inform us that when Dhruva Dhārāvarsha, son of Akalavarsha, was encamped at Śrīkṛhṇa(ta)ka, i.e., modern Kara, he granted a village named Dhadayāsaha, to the Buddhist vihāra of Kāmpilya. It may be pointed out that this is the same vihāra, which had received a donation seven years earlier from Dantivarman, a younger brother of the present grantor<sup>3</sup>. It is tempting to suggest, as has been done by Dr D R Bhandarkar, that Kāmpilya of this record is identical with the ancient Kāmpilya, situated in Farrukhābād district of U P, but such is not the case. Kāmpilya of U P is of hoary antiquity, while Kāmpilya of this record is said to have been founded by a Buddhist monk of the same name. The former is situated in Farrukhābād district, but Kāmpilya of this record was situated in the ancient district of Kāntāragrāma, which is identical with Katargām, situated on the

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, Vol VI, pp 287 ff

<sup>2</sup> *Ind Ant*, Vol XIII, pp 65 ff

<sup>3</sup> *Ante*, Vol VI, pp 287 ff

outskirts of Surat. We must therefore look for our Kāmpilya in Surat district. Our record informs us in ll 40 and 41 that Kāmpilya *tīrtha* was situated on the Maddāpī, flowing in Kāntāgrāma district. This Maddāpī river seems to be the same as the Mindhōlā river, which flows in Surat district and joins the Arabian Sea about 10 miles to the south of Surat. I would suggest, not without some hesitation, that Kāmpilya *tīrtha* of our record, situated on the Maddāpī in Kāntāgrāma district is very probably the village Kāphā situated on the southern bank of the Mindhōlā, about 25 miles east of Katargām. Kāphā may be an *apabhramsa* of Kāmpilya, or Kāmpilya may be a Sanskritised form of the Prakrit name Kāphā.

Buddhism was on the decline in the western presidency at the time of Yuan Chwang's visit, and it is interesting to note that we come across very few grants recording donations to Buddhist establishments subsequent to the departure of this Chinese traveller. Kāmpilya monastery of Gujarāt probably represented one of the last strongholds of Buddhism. Our record states that 500 monks were residing in this monastery in 884 A.D. Whether this number 500 is a real number, or whether it is a conventional one like that of the disciples of the Buddha mentioned in Buddhist sacred literature, is difficult to determine.

No information is available about the monk Kāmpilya who was the founder of this monastery. The grant was made at the request of the monk Sthiramati,<sup>1</sup> who seems to have been the presiding abbot of the monastery in 884 A.D.

The opening verse of the record contains a salutation to the gospel of the Buddha. The next 31 verses give the genealogy of the Rāshtrakūṭa line. Of these vv 2-16 describe the rulers of the main line, and the rest those of the Gujarāt branch. Only a few points need be mentioned about the account of the main line supplied by this record. The genealogy begins with Gōvinda I, his father Indra and grandfather Dantivarman being left out. None of the verses in this record is a new one, and except in the case of Dantidurga, no specific historic exploit is described in connection with any of the emperors of the main line. The account is brought down to Amoghavarsha I. Krishna II of the main line, who had succeeded his father before the issue of this grant, is passed over, probably because his accession being recent, the secretariate in Gujarāt had not yet got any verses ready in his eulogy. The hostility between the two houses had ceased by this time, and therefore that would not have been the cause of the omission of the name of Krishna II, especially when we remember that his father, who was the cause of the war, is duly mentioned in the record.

The account becomes more specific with v 17 when the history of the Gujarāt branch commences. Here also none of the verses is new, they all occur either in the Baroda plates of the donee's grandfather<sup>2</sup> or in his own Bagumrā plates<sup>3</sup>. A few points, however, deserve to be discussed in order to remove some current misunderstandings about the history of the Gujarāt branch. Like most other records, this document also does not mention the prince Gōvinda (a younger brother of king Karkka), who had issued the Kāvī plates in 827 A.D.<sup>4</sup> This circumstance had led Dr. Hultzsch to suggest that he was a usurper against Karkka and is therefore passed over in the charters issued by his successors.<sup>5</sup> Dr. Bühler's view was also the same, he thought that the omission of Gōvinda's name was intentional and was meant as punishment for

<sup>1</sup> The syntax is rather peculiar here. The text reads as *Sthiramati nāmnā bhikṣuṇ=ācāryya cha*. From what precedes and follows this clause, we expect here a clause in dative, stating that the monastery was presided over by so and so. Instead we have an absolutive clause, meaning 'being inclined, i.e., induced (to make the gift) (ācāryya) by the monk Sthiramati,' who was obviously the chief of the establishment. [A *viya* may also mean 'to choose' or 'to bring into possession', *ācāryya* here probably signifies 'being accepted'—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 153 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 145.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 181 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 197.

his disloyalty.<sup>1</sup> This opinion of these two distinguished scholars seems to be untenable. It is now shown by the v. 26 of the Simjān record of Amoghavarsha that he was born at Śrībhavna or Śrībhon in southern Gujārāt in c. 808 A.D., when his father was encamped there at the end of his northern expedition. He was thus a boy of about 6 at the time of his accession. His uncle Karkka was his guardian in his minority. He had to fight hard to reinstate his cousin when the feudatories had rebelled against him, it is therefore clear that he must have spent most of his time at the imperial capital Mālkhed, down to 827 A.D., when the Kāvī plates were issued, if not till a later date. Karkka therefore had naturally to elect a deputy to rule Gujārāt on his behalf during his long and continuous absence from his own capital. He had no doubt a grown up son, Dantivarman by name, who is mentioned as the *dātala* in his Baroda plates of 812 A.D.<sup>2</sup> But since Karkka was succeeded not by Dantivarman but by Dhruva, it is clear that Dantivarman predeceased him and died very young. V. 20 of the present record further suggests that Dhruva was born to Karlka probably in his old age after he had spent many a sleepless night owing to his anxiety for having a son. In c. 820 A.D. it is therefore clear that Karlka had no son old enough to be deputed to govern Gujārāt and therefore his choice naturally fell on his younger brother Gōvinda who was old enough to be entrusted with office as early as 812 A.D.<sup>3</sup> It is worth noting that the Kāvī plate of Gōvinda do not mention his succession at all.<sup>4</sup> He was merely a princely regent appointed by his brother. The later records of the Gujārāt line omit his name, because he was a collateral who had never ascended the throne, and not because he was a usurper. In his Kāvī plates Gōvinda devoted as many as full four verses to the praise of his elder brother Karkka, and two of these, which contain a genuine and heartfelt tribute to his administration, do not occur in any grant either of Karlka himself or of any of his successors.<sup>5</sup> Is it likely that a usurper or a rebel would go out of his way to describe in glowing terms the administration of the king whom he had ousted? Nor could Gōvinda have been a rebel against Amoghavarsha I. It is true that the Kāvī plates take the genealogy of the main line to Gōvinda III and omit altogether the reigning sovereign Amoghavarsha I. But this omission must be regarded as accidental, for if Gōvinda had been a rebel against Amoghavarsha, he could not have been an admirer or friend of his elder brother Karkka, who was Amoghavarsha's guardian responsible for his restoration. It is clear that all the known facts can be best explained on the assumption that Gōvinda of the Kāvī plates was Karkka's deputy, governing the Gujārāt kingdom on behalf of his brother, while he was absent at Mālkhed during Amoghavarsha's minority.

Vs. 20-31 describe the reign of Dhruva I, Akilavarsha I, and his son, the grantor, Dhruva II. All these three kings were engaged in a continuous war with a king named simply as Vallabha in this and other records. This Vallabha can be none other<sup>6</sup> than Amoghavarsha I of

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. XII, pp. 158 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See Torl hādī plates *ante*, Vol. III, p. 57.

<sup>4</sup> [Similarly this inscription also does not explicitly mention the succession of Dhruva I but we cannot infer from it that he never succeeded.—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> Cf. one of these (after the necessary corrections) —

*Saurajya jalpē chalitē prasāṅga-mā idarānam iśṭarajanīna samipatī prapyaṁ Balēḥ pūṣṭam-aśvabāhūra lēḥiḥ, idanīm tu nripasya tasya* || v. 32

<sup>6</sup> This ruler cannot be the Rāṣṭrālīṭa chief Parabala, mentioned in the Paṭhāri pillar inscription dated 861 A.D. (*ante*, Vol. IX, pp. 248 ff.). This record no doubt mentions that an elder brother of Parabala's grandfather had conquered Līṭa, after conquering a Karnaṭka army, and that Parabala himself had inflicted a crushing defeat on a king called Nāgavaloka. The record, however, does not mention Vallabha as an epithet either of Parabala or of any of his ancestors. The conquest of Līṭa ascribed to the unnamed elder brother of Parabala's grandfather, supposing it was real, must have taken place much earlier than 835 A.D. after which this war occurred, for Parabala himself was ruling in 861 A.D. The name of the opponent of Parabala himself was Nāgavaloka, and there is no evidence to show that it was an epithet of any member of the Gujārāt branch.

the main Rāshtrakūṭa line, who was a contemporary of all these three rulers. *Prithuvīallabha* and *Valḍivāṇallabha* appear as his *vallabha* ending epithets in his Sanjān plates and Nilgund inscription.<sup>1</sup> It would appear that the cordial relations existing between the main line and the Gujarāt branch came to an end soon after 835 A.D.<sup>2</sup> Either Amoghavarsha was ungrateful, or Dhruva I became too overbearing, puffed up by the consciousness that it was his father who had restored Amoghavarsha to the throne. A war ensued between the two in which Dhruva lost his life. A. 23 of this record no doubt says that the armies of Vallabha were routed out in battle, though Dhruva had to lay down his life as the price of the victory. But this statement cannot be accepted at its face value, for v. 25 admits that Dhruva's son and successor Akālavarsha had to restore his paternal kingdom. Akālavarsha's task was not an easy one, for some of his followers had deserted him after his father's death on the battlefield. His victory, supposing it was a real one, did not make matters very easy for his son and successor Dhruva II, the grantor of the present charter. For v. 28 informs us that he was attacked by a mighty Gurjara force, one of his brothers joined the enemy, and Vallabha, i.e. Amoghavarsha, refused him help. Pāṇḍit had suggested<sup>3</sup> that the Gurjaras, who had attacked Dhruva II, were the Chavāṇas. This now has to be abandoned, for v. 41 of the plates of Dhruva II, dated 867 A.D. mentions the mighty Mihira, famous for his cavalry, as the opponent of the Rāshtrakūṭas.<sup>4</sup> This Mihira can be none other than Pratihāra ruler Bhōja I. It is therefore clear that the old historic hostility between the Pratihāras and the Rāshtrakūṭas continued during the reign of Amoghavarsha. Bhōja tried to take advantage of the estrangement between the Gujarāt branch and the main line by launching an attack on Gujarāt. This record no doubt claims that the invasion of the Gurjaras was repelled single handed by Dhruva. He was however too small a ruler to achieve this feat, and it is not unlikely that realising the disastrous consequences of the annexation of Gujarāt to the Gurjara Pratihāra empire, Amoghavarsha may have eventually hurried help to his rescue. At any rate we know from the Bagumrā plate<sup>5</sup> that Dhruva's successor Kṛṣṇa was receiving help against the Gurjara Pratihāra from Amoghavarsha's successor Kṛṣṇa II. The same probably may have been the case in Dhruva's time after the conclusion of peace between him and Amoghavarsha.

The relationship between Dhruva II and his successor Kṛṣṇa II is obscure, and the present record throws some light upon it. Dr Bhagwanlal had thought it not impossible<sup>6</sup> that this Kṛṣṇa may have been a son of Dantivarman, a son of Karkka who is mentioned as the *dātaka* ruler Baroda grant dated 812 A.D.<sup>7</sup> It is however very improbable that a son of Dantivarman who was a grown up prince in 812 A.D. could have ascended the throne more than 72 years later than that date—is shown now by this grant—after the succession had passed to his brother's line for three generations. Dantivarman, mentioned in the Bagumrā record, is almost certainly the younger brother of Dhruva II, who was ruling as his governor in 867 A.D. as shown by his charter.<sup>8</sup> The Bagumrā plates no doubt suggest that Kṛṣṇa Akālavarsha, the successor of Dhruva II, who had issued that charter, was a son of Dantivarman, the son of Karkka. But this grant is very corrupt and omits altogether Dhruva I, Kṛṣṇa I and Dhruva II, who had undoubtedly ruled over Gujarāt after Karkka. It would appear that one of the *tādapatras*, which contained an account of the three missing rulers, was lost in transit when the manuscript

<sup>1</sup> *Ante* Vol. VI, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> Baroda plates of Dhruva I, dated 835 A.D., do not mention the war with Vallabha.

<sup>3</sup> *Ird. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 181.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 170 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 67 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 127 B.

<sup>7</sup> *Ird. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 158 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 67 ff.



was sent to the engraver for engraving, and no one subsequently cared to correct the mistakes. This would become clear from the last line of verse 19 of that record which, after making the necessary corrections, runs as follows [*Babhū*]a sūnuh kṛī Dantivarmanah prabala pratāpah. It is obvious that there is a lacuna in this verse after the word *sūnu* in its 11th line. Other records of the Gujarāt branch show that this verse ended as *Babhūa sūnur-Dhruvārāja nāmā*, and describes the birth of Dhruva I, the son and successor of Karla. It would appear, as suggested above, that one of the *tūlapatras*, which commenced with the word *Dhruvārāja nāmā* and contained an account of the next three rulers, was lost when the document was despatched by the secretariate to the mason. The extremely corrupt text of the plates convincingly proves that no responsible officer cared to revise the document, as engraved by the mason, and so the omission of the three rulers remained unattended. The plates therefore do not show that Kṛishna Akālavarsha, who succeeded Dhruva, was a son of Dantivarman, who acted as *dūta* in 812 A.D.<sup>1</sup>

Was he then the son of Dantivarman, a younger brother of Dhruva II, who was ruling under him in 867 A.D. as conjectured by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar,<sup>2</sup> and had this Dantivarman's reign intervened between the reigns of Dhruva II and Kṛishna II, as postulated by Dr. Hultzsch?<sup>3</sup> The present record makes both these views very improbable. It shows that Dhruva II was ruling down to Śaka 806, and so the interval between the last known year of Dhruva and the first known year of his successor Kṛishna II, viz., Śaka 810, is no longer of 21 years but is reduced to the short period of less than four years. It is therefore very improbable that Dantivarman could have ruled during this interval. It may be further pointed out that the Bagumrā plates of Kṛishna Akālavarsha II simply mention the name of Dantivarman, without stating that he had ascended the throne.

The verse 19 of the grant quoted above is followed after one fragmentary and two complete verses, by the name of Kṛishna Akālavarsha, who had issued the grant. This undoubtedly lends support to the view that Dantivarman was Kṛishna's father as suggested by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. But we must note that there is a clear lacuna after the words *babhūa sūnuh* and that they were really followed by *Dhruvārāja nāmā* as shown above. It is therefore difficult to maintain that the Bagumrā plates show that Kṛishna Akālavarsha was a son of Dantivarman. As a matter of fact the name of Dantivarman remains as an isolated and disconnected name in that very corrupt document, and its existence cannot be satisfactorily explained. The present record mentions a hitherto unknown son of Dhruva II, Karla-rāja by name, who was the *dūta* of the grant. He must have been a grown up prince in Śaka 806, and since he is not designated as a *yuvārāja*, it is clear that he had another elder brother living at this time.<sup>4</sup> It is difficult to believe that a son of Dantivarman, who was loyal to Dhruva II, could have succeeded to the throne after ousting these two sons of the latter within less than four years after the issue of this grant. The names of the son and grandson of Dhruva I were Kṛishna Akālavarsha and Dhruva II respectively. It is therefore not improbable that according to the family tradition the eldest son of Dhruva II may have been named after his grandfather Kṛishna Akālavarsha and may have been none other than Kṛishna Akālavarsha of the Bagumrā plates.<sup>5</sup> This view cannot be yet regarded as proved, but it may be found to represent real history when

<sup>1</sup> [That Bhagvanlal's view was untenable was proved by D. R. Bhandarkar long ago (above, Vol. VI, p. 287). Kielhorn also does not appear to have accepted this view (see above, Vol. VIII, Appendix II, p. 9).—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> *Ant.* Vol. VI, p. 287.

<sup>3</sup> *Ird. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 66.

<sup>4</sup> Since Śaka 806 was the sag end of Dhruva's reign, his successor being known to be ruling in Śaka 810, it is not very probable that Karla, a, though the eldest son, may not have been designated here as *Yuvārāja* because his *yuvārājyabhishēka* had not yet taken place.

<sup>5</sup> [The point that Dhruva II had two sons is not at all proved. It is not impossible that Karla was not appointed *Yuvārāja* by this time.—Ed.]

a well preserved and well revised charter of Krishna Akālavārsha II of the Gujarāt branch is discovered

Of the places mentioned in this record, Kāmpilya, Kāntāragrāma and Maddāpī river have been already discussed. From a very detailed map of Mahuvā and Bardoli Talukas, supplied very kindly to me by Dr S M Pagar, the Subhā of Naosari Prant, it is clear that the village Dhadayāsaha, given by this charter, is the same as the village Dhundesā, situated in the Mahuvā Taluka of Naosari Prant of the State of Baroda. According to the charter, the Pūravī river and the villages Lingatadāgikā, Padhamastana and Vadavallī were situated to the south, west, north and east respectively of Dhadayāsaha. These are to be identified with the Pūrnā river, Śankaratalaōrī, Patrōn and Valōd respectively, which are situated to the south, south west, north and east respectively of Dhundesā. Lingatadāgikā has obviously changed its name to Śankaratalaōrī in subsequent centuries. Śrīkhēnaka is obviously a mistake for Śrīkhētaka, which is the same as modern Kaira. The identification of Sōmēśvara-tīrtha, where Dhruva had bathed before making the grant, is difficult, according to the information kindly supplied to me by Muni Vijaya Indra Sūri, there are two other Sōmēśvara-tīrthas besides the well known one at Prabhāsa. The second one is situated at Siddhapura, near Pītan in northern Gujarāt, where the rivers Ganges, Jumna and Sarasvatī are supposed to meet, and the third one at Karnāl near Chandod in Baroda district on the confluence of the rivers Orsang and Narmadā. The first two of the above Sōmēśvara-tīrthas were very probably not included in the dominions of Dhruva, the last mentioned one may therefore probably have been the place where he had bathed on the occasion. Kavarikā and Suhilā, which are mentioned in the record as headquarters of districts of the same name, cannot be identified.

#### TEXT <sup>1</sup>

[Metres —vv 1, 13, 15, 32, 35 and 36, *Anushtubh*, vv 2, 5, 7, 9, 14, 18, 19 and 21, *Vasantatilakā*, v 6, *Gītā*, vv 8, 16, 23, 27, 29, 31 and 39, *Āryā*, vv 10 and 17, *Sragdharā*, vv 11 and 20, *Upajāti*, v 12, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, v 22, *Indravamsā*, v 28, *Pūthvī*, vv 33 and 34, *Indra vajrā*, v 37 *Śālīnī* and v 38, *Pushpātāgrā*]

#### First Plate

- 1 श्री<sup>2</sup> स्वस्थसु भगवती(ते) सुगतशोसनाय ॥ स वीध्याद्देधसा धाम यं(यन्)  
नाभिकमल कतं(तम्) । हरच यस्य कान्तेन्दुक-
- 2 लया कमलकतं(तम्) ॥[१\*] आसीद्वि(द्वि)पत्तिमिरमुद्यतमण्डलाग्रो ध्वस्तान्न-  
यन्नभिसुखी रणशर्व्वरीधु । भूपः शुचिब्वि(ब्वि)-
- 3 ध्रुविवास्तदिम(ग)न्तकीर्तिर्गोविन्दराज इति राजसु राजसि(सि)हः ॥[२\*]  
दृक्ष। चमूमभिसुखी(खी) सुभटादहासामुग्ना-
- 4 मितं सपदि येन रणेषु नित्य(त्यम्) । दृष्टाधरेण दधता भृकुटि(टिं)  
ललाटे - खड्गं कुल(लं) च हृदय च निजं च सत्वं(त्वंम्) ॥[३\*] त-
- 5 स्यात्तजो जगति विभ्रुतशुभ्रकीर्तिरार्तार्तिहारिहरिविक्रमधामधारी । भूप-  
स्त्रिविष्ट(ष्ट)पटुपातुक्षतिः कतग्रो.(त्रः)

<sup>1</sup> From the original plates

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>3</sup> नृ looks like क्ष in the facsimile owing to the slipping of the instrument

- 6 श्रीकृष्ण(र्क)राज इति गोत्रमणिर्व्व(र्व्व)भूव ॥[४<sup>\*</sup>] तस्य प्रभित्त(न्न)ताट-  
(करट)च्युतदानदत्ति(न्ति)दत्त(न्त)प्रहारक(क)चिरोल्लि(मि)तात्त(न्म)-
- 7 पीठः । त्वा(न्मा)पः नि(न्ति)तौ प(च्च)पित'गनुभृत्तनृजः मद्र(द्रा)द्रकृट-  
कनकाद्रिखेन्द्रराज. ॥[५<sup>\*</sup>] तस्योपाज्जितम्-
- 8 हसस्तनयश्च(य)तुदधिवत्तम(य)मानि(लि)न्या. [१<sup>\*</sup>] भोक्ता भुवः गतक(क)तु-  
सदृशः श्रीदत्ति(न्ति)दुर्गराजोभूत् ॥[६<sup>\*</sup>] काची-
- 9 स(श)ह(र्क)रत्ननराधिपचीनपा(पा)श्रीहर्षवज्रविभेदविधानदत्त(धम्) । न(क)-  
रत्न(र्क)क(व)नमचिन्त्या(न्त्य)मजेयमत्ये(न्त्य)भृ-
- 10 त्ते(त्वे.) कियद्भिरपि यः सहसा जिमा(गा)य ॥[७<sup>\*</sup>] तस्मिन्दिव प्रयाते  
वत्तभराजे "क्षतप्रजाया(या)ध । [श्री<sup>\*</sup>]कार्धराजभूनुर्म-
- 11 ह्रीपति श्रीक्षप्पराजोभूत् ॥[८<sup>\*</sup>] राहप्पमात्तभुजजातव(घ)नावलेपमामे(जौ)  
विजित(त्य) निशितामिनताप्रहार ।
- 12 पाले(लि)ध्वजावने(लि)गुभामचिन्त्या यो ह्ति राजाविराजपरमे'शा(शु)रता  
ततान ॥[९<sup>\*</sup>] येन श्रेतातपचप्रद्वतरविक-
- 13 र्पा(द्रा)तम(ता)पासलीन जस्मे नाभीरधृलीधवलि(लि)तभिरभा वत्तभास्य.  
सदाज्ञौ । श्रीमहोविन्दराजो जि-
- 14 न(त)जगदन्तितर्ल्वणवेधव्यटच म(चस्त)म्यासीनू(त्सू)नुरेक च'र'दले(लि)तागति-  
सत्तेभकुम्भ. ॥[१०<sup>\*</sup>] तस्यानु-
- 15 जः श्रीभुवराजनामा महान्भावोप्रहतप्रत्य(ता)प' [१<sup>\*</sup>] प्रसाधिताशेपनरेन्द्र-  
चक्र क(क)मेण वा(वा)लाहप(व)-
- 16 पुर्व्व(र्व्व)भूव ॥[११<sup>\*</sup>] जाते यच्च च राद्रकृटतिलके मद्रू(सङ्ग)पचूडा'मर्गौ  
गुवी(र्वी) तुष्टिरयाखिलस्य जगतः सु-
- 17 स्वामिनि प्रत्यह(हम्) [१<sup>\*</sup>] सत्य सत्यमिति प्रशासति सति क्षामाससु-  
प्रा(द्रा)त्ति(न्ति)कामासीदभूपरे गु-
- 18 णाभूतनिचौ(धो) सत्यव्रताधिष्कि(ष्ठि)ते ॥[१२<sup>\*</sup>] रक्षता येन नि.शेप(प) चतुर-  
शोधिसयुतं(तम्) । राज्य

<sup>1</sup> Here we have the alternative form of the letter श

<sup>2</sup> The horizontal bar of प in च is missing

<sup>3</sup> Meore requires श्री to be omitted here The letter has been wrongly transposed from कर्कराज to क्षाराज.

<sup>4</sup> Here we have the alternative form of श

<sup>5</sup> This form of च is quite common in this plate

<sup>6</sup> Owing to the slipping of the instrument दृ looks like भृ.

## Second Plate, First Side

- 19 धर्मेण लोकाना(नां) कृता हृष्टि[:\*] परा हृदि ॥[१३\*] तस्यात्मजो  
जगति सप्रथितोऽकीर्तिर्गोविन्दर(रा)ज इति गोत्रललाम-
- 20 भूतः । त्यागी पराक्रमधनः प्रकटप्रताप[:\*] सन्तापिताहितजनो जनव-  
क्षमोभूत् ॥[१४\*] तत्पुत्रीन गते नाक-
- 21 माकपितरिपुत्रजे । श्रीमहाराजशर्वाख्यः त्यातो राजाभवद्गुणे<sup>1</sup> ॥[१५\*]  
र(अ)र्थिषु यथार्थतां यः समभीष्ट-
- 22 फलावासिलब्ध(व्य)तोपेयु<sup>2</sup> । हृदि निनाय परमामभोधवर्षाभिधानस्य ॥[१६\*]  
राजाभूतत्पितृव्यो रिपुभयविभवोद्भूतम(भूत्यभा)-
- 23 वैकहेतुर्हस्तीमानिन्द्रराजो गुणवृत्तिकरातथमत्कारकारी । रागादन्थान्त्यु(न्त्यु)-  
दस्य प्रकटितविनया यं नृपा[:\*] सेव-
- 24 माना राजश्रीरेव चक्रे सकलकविजनोद्गीततथ्यस्वभाव(वम्)<sup>3</sup> ॥[१७\*] श्रीकर्क-  
राज इति रक्षितराज्यभारः सारः कुलस्य तनयो
- 25 नयशालिशौर्यस्त(र्यः) ।<sup>4</sup> तस्याभवद्दिभे<sup>5</sup>(भ)ववदितवं(ब)धुसार्थः पार्थः सदैव धनुषि  
प्रथमः शुचीनां(नाम्) ॥[१८\*] सेच्छाष्टहीतविषयान्द्र(न्दृ)-
- 26 ढसह(घ)भाजः प्रोद्धतहस्तरशुष्किकराष्ट(ष्ट)कूटानु(न्)<sup>6</sup> । उ(त्)खातखड्गनिजवा(वा)-  
हुव(व)लेन जित्वा योमोघवर्षमचिरा[त्]<sup>7</sup> स्वपदे
- 27 व्यधत् ॥[१९\*] पुत्रीयतस्तस्य महानुभावः कृती क्षत्रज्ञः क्षतवीर्यवीर्यो(र्यः)<sup>8</sup> ।  
<sup>9</sup>वशीकृतशेषनरेन्द्रद्वन्द्वो व(व)भूव सुगुह्यु(र्ध्व)वराजनामा ॥[२०\*]
- 28 चन्द्रो जडो हिमगिरिस्सहिम[:\*] प्रकल्पा वातधलस्य व(त)प[न\*]स्तपनस्वभावः ।  
चार.<sup>10</sup> पयोनिधि<sup>10</sup>रिति तैस्समस्य नास्ति - येनोपमा
- 29 निरुपमस्तत एव गीतः ॥[२१\*] व्र(व)क्ष्माण्डमेतत्किमिति प्रजासृजा न  
मत्प्रभाणेन पुरा विनिर्म्मि(र्मि)तं(तम्) । एव विचिन्त्य ध्रुवराजकीर्ति-

<sup>1</sup> Here not only are the usual *dandas* omitted, but a *sandhi* is made between the last letter of v 15 and the first one of v 16

<sup>2</sup> Owing to a natural depression on the plate, there appear in the facsimile three vertical lines at the end of this verse, really there are only two in the original

<sup>3</sup> The usual *danḍa* at the end of the half verse is omitted and a *sandhi* is made with the letter following

<sup>4</sup> The medial *ē* mark is quite clear on the original, though not in the facsimile

<sup>5</sup> Here also the *danḍa* at the half verse end is omitted and a *sandhi* is made with the letter following

<sup>6</sup> Owing to a natural depression on the plate surface, the facsimile shows a faint trace of त्, on the plate, however, no त् has been engraved

<sup>7</sup> Here also the *danḍa* at the half verse end is omitted and a *sandhi* is made with the letter following.

<sup>8</sup> The letters ध्व are damaged but they are clear on the original plate

<sup>9</sup> र is damaged but clear on the plate

<sup>10</sup> Metro requires us to read पयोधि

- 30 विधातुरासीत्सुतरामसूयिनी ॥[२२\*] रणसि(शि)रमि खद्रधातेव्वक्षमदड पग-  
पुखीछत्थ । स(श)स्तेयतय्यदेहः <sup>1</sup>स्वर्गमगादेक
- 31 एवासो ॥[२३\*] तस्याशेषनराधिपद्वयशमः स्वर्गलोकगतकीर्तिः । श्रीमान-  
कालवर्षस्तुनयः समभृत्कुलालेभ्यः(म्यः) ॥[२४\*] यक्षभ-
- 32 दण्डक्रान्त विघटितदुष्टानुजोवियगोण । पितृपर्यागतमचिरान्मण्डलमध्यामित  
येन ॥[२५\*] प्रियवादी सत्यधनः श्रीमान-
- 33 गुजीविषत्सलो मानी । प्रतिपन्नसोभकारः शुभतुंग शुभकरः सुहृदाम् ॥[२६\*]  
तस्मिन्स्वर्गो(गी)भूते गुणवति गुणवान्गुणा-
- 34 धिक्प्रोतिः [1\*] समभृत्पुत्रराजमसौ धृतराजरेनुष्टिक्प्रोक्ते ।[२७\*] इतोभि-  
सुखमाप[त\*]अव(व)लगूळराणां य(व)ल <sup>2</sup> इतो विमुक्तप्र-
- 35 भो विक्षतिमागता या(वां)धवाः । इतोनुजविकुर्वितं शमभगात्समस्त भयादङ्गो  
स्फुरागमेभूत निरुपमेन्द्र <sup>3</sup>श्रद्धस्य ते ॥[२८\*] गूळरव(व)ल-
- 36 सतिव(व)लवत्सुय्युपहृष्टितं च कुपेन । एकाकिर्नव विहितं पराशुख  
लीलया येन ॥[२९\*] यथाभिपिक्तमात्रः परं यश-
- 37 स्वागशीत्यतोवाप । शुभतुंगजोतितुंग पद [य]टाप्रोति नो चित्रम् ॥[३०\*]  
तेनेदमनिलविद्युच्चक्षलभालोवय जीवितमसार [1\*]
- 38 चित्तिदानपरमपुण्यः प्रवर्तितो धर्मदायोय(यम्) ॥[३१\*] स च समधि-  
गतानेपमहाशब्द(ब्द)महासामन्ताधिपतिधा(र्धा)रावर्षत्रीधुवरा-
- 39 जदेव. सर्वानिव समनुवो(वो)धयत्वस्तु वः सविदित(तम्) ॥ यथा भया<sup>4</sup>  
श्रीखेपा(ट)धाकटकावस्थितेन<sup>5</sup> मातापितोरात्मभवे(चै)हि-
- 40 कासुषिकपुण्ययोगिभिर्हृदये चिरंतनकवरिकापर<sup>10</sup>विषयभङ्गा(ज्ज)सांप्रितोयकोतीरया-  
सप्रतिवि(व)चमहापी<sup>11</sup>सरित्तोरे भग-

<sup>1</sup> The letter स्व is damaged but quite clear on the plate

<sup>2</sup> The letter स is damaged

<sup>3</sup> This *danḍa* is unnecessary Read यन्मिती

<sup>4</sup> Letters 'सु' 'सु' are clear on the plate

<sup>5</sup> Read समुद्यत हृष्टित

<sup>6</sup> Owing to a depression on the plate surface, the letter र appears like रं No medial ḍ sign has, how-  
ever, been engraved

<sup>7</sup> Letters गशी are faint in the facsimile, but clear on the plate

<sup>8</sup> Owing to a natural depression on the plate surface, the letter स appears like सा The medial ण mark  
has, however, not been engraved at all

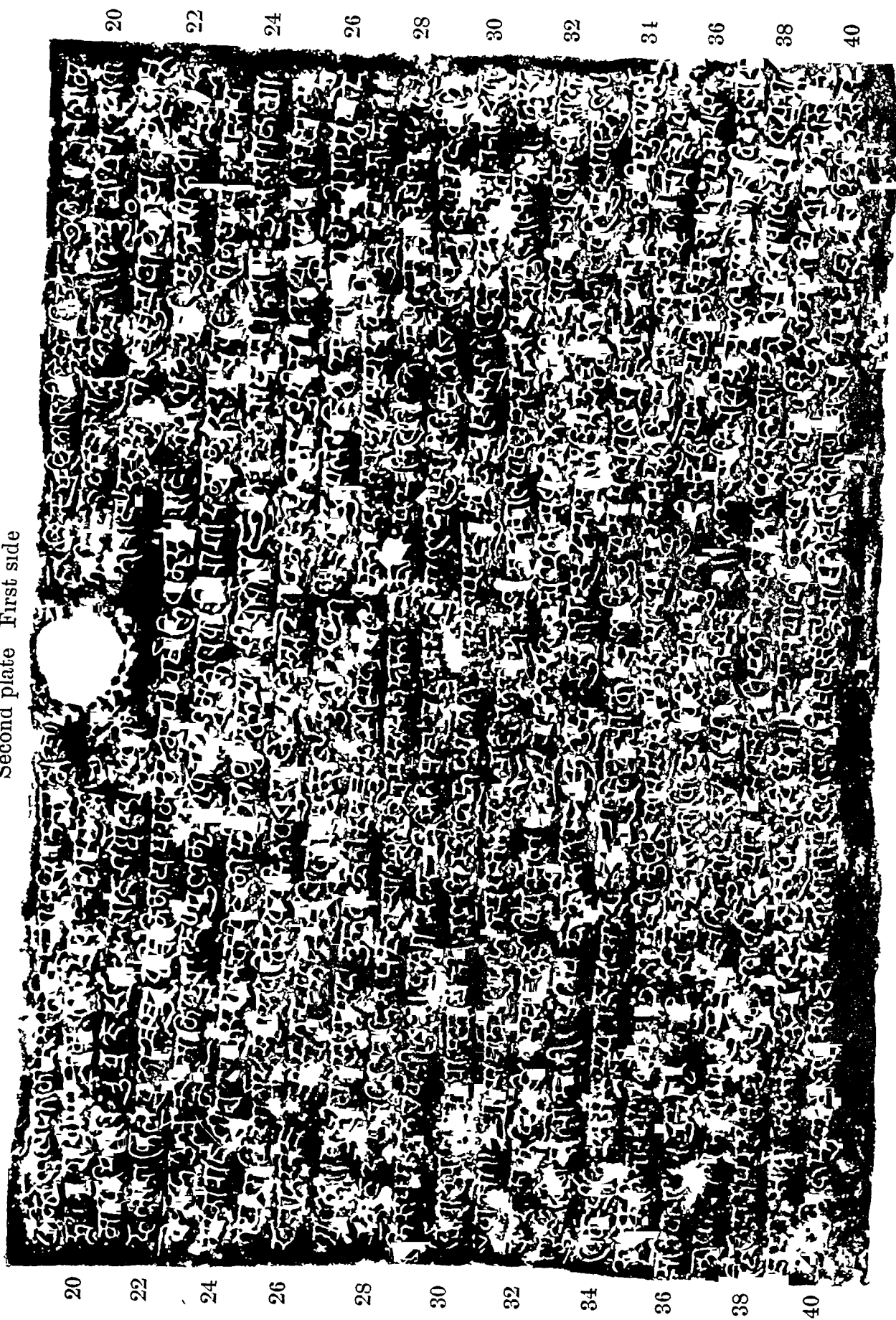
<sup>9</sup> The letter न has been only half engraved

<sup>10</sup> [ Reading may be *Kavari-dhara* —Ed ]

<sup>11</sup> [ Reading of this name is doubtful —Ed ]

A NEW COPPER PLATE OF DHRUVA II OF THE GUJARAT RASHTRAKUTA BRANCH, SAKA 806

Second plate First side



42  
44  
46  
48  
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42  
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46  
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52  
54

## Second Plate, Second Side

41 वसुधाधिष्ठाने<sup>1</sup> पचशतानि तीर्थानां विनयित्वा<sup>2</sup> कापिल्यमुनिना कारित-  
महाविहा-

42 रा<sup>3</sup>थतनाय कापिल्यतीर्थकसंज्ञकाय स्थिरमतिनाम्ना भिक्षुणावज्यं च श्रीमते  
43 बु(बु)द्धभट्टारकाय सहिलाविषयान्तर्वर्ती घड्यासहामिघात(न)ग्रामो यस्याधा-  
44 टनानि पूर्वतो वडवल्ली ग्रामसीमा ॥ दक्षिणतः पुरावी सरित् ।।।  
पश्चिमतो लिन्व<sup>4</sup>(ह्र)-

45 तडागिकाग्रामसीमा ॥ उत्तरतः पद्मशृण ग्रामसीमा ॥ एवमथ  
चतुराश्रट-

46 नोपलक्षितः सोई(ह्र)ङ्कः स(सो)परिकारः स(स्व)सीमापथ्य(र्य)न्तः कल(र)सहितः  
सहस्रमा-

47 लालुलः सज(द)ण्डदशाव(प)राधः सहिरण्यादेयो<sup>5</sup>उचाटमटप्रपञ्चा<sup>6</sup> वातोडरी-  
48 यः सर्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयो ॥<sup>7</sup> आचन्द्राकर्णवक्षतिपर्वतसमका-  
49 लीनः पूर्वदत्तदेवदायन्न(त्र)ह्नदायरति(हि)तोभ्यन्तरसिद्धा शकटपकालातीर(त)-  
स्व(सं)-

50 वत्सरशतेषु [अष्टसु\*] षडु(डु)त्तरेषु मार्गशिरसु(शु)षड्वितीयाया(यां) भगवति  
सवितरि धनुषि संक्रा-

51 न्ते महापर्वणि सोमेश्वरसगमतीर्थे जालोद्योद<sup>8</sup>कातिसर्गेण गन्धपुष्पध्व-  
52 पनि(नै)वेद्यादिप्रियोपवर्तनार्थं तथा कालात्ययात्स्व(दध)ण्डस्तुटितसस्कारार्थं  
च वि-

53 हारस्य प्रतिपादितस्त[स्य\*] सतमुचितया<sup>9</sup> देवद्वयस्थित्या सिन्धुविषेय-  
श्रीमिन्नु-

54 स्त(स)धस्य प्रतिजाग्रतो भुंजतो भोजयतः क्षप्रतः कर्षयतो न परिप्रत्यना

55 कार्य्या [॥\*] तथागामिष्टपतिमिरसदशजैरन्यैर्वा सामान्यं भूमिदार(न)फार(ल)-

<sup>1</sup> Read भगवदुडा°.

<sup>2</sup> Read विनय्य.

<sup>3</sup> Space for two letters has been left out at the beginning of this line. [No space is left out, the first three letters are to be read as \*riyāya° —Ed]

<sup>4</sup> [This conjunct letter appears to be mva in the impression —Ed]

<sup>5</sup> Avagraha in the modern form occurs at this place only in this record

<sup>6</sup> Read प्रवेग्यो

<sup>7</sup> These dandas are superfluous

<sup>8</sup> Read either जालोद्योद° or जालोद्योद°

<sup>9</sup> Read समुचितया



## Third Plate

- 56 मित्यवधार्यं -<sup>1</sup>विद्युलोलान्धनित्वान्वेस्व(श्च)र्याणि तृणाग्रलङ्गनजलवि(वि)न्दुचच-  
 57 ल जीवितमोकलय स्वदायनिर्विशेषोयमभ्रदायोनुमन्तय. पालयितव्यः<sup>2</sup> ॥  
 58 यथाज्ञानतिमिरपटलाद्वतमतिराच्छि(च्छि)<sup>3</sup>द्यादाच्छिद्यमान(न) वागुभोदेत स  
 पचभिर्भृष्टापानकै-  
 59 रूपपातकैश्च सयुक्त. स्यादित्युक्त<sup>4</sup> च भगवता वेदव्यामेन व्यामेन ॥ पष्टि-<sup>5</sup>  
 र्वर्षसहस्राणि स्व-  
 60 र्गं तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छ(च्छे)त्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्वेव नरके वस्ये<sup>6</sup> ॥[३२\*]  
 अग्नेरपत्य(त्य) प्रथम(म) सुवर्ण(गणो) भूव्ये(व्ये)-  
 61 प्लावी च्चव्य(र्य्य)सु(सु)ताशा(श्च) मा(गा)व<sup>7</sup> । लोकान्मयस्तेन भवन्ति दत्ता  
 यः काचने गां च मही च दद्यात् ॥[३३\*] यानीह  
 62 दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रेर्दानानि धर्मायेयगम्कराणि । निर्मायवोन्ताप्रतिमानि  
 तानि को नाम साधुः  
 63 पुनराद्दीन ॥[३४\*] विन्व(न्व्या)ट(ट)वीषतोवासु शुष्ककोटरवासिन. ।  
 कृष्णाद्वी हि जायन्ते भूमिदय ह-  
 64 रन्ति पे(पे) ॥[३५\*] व(व)रुभिर्व्यसुधा भृक्ता<sup>8</sup> राजभि<sup>9</sup> भगवादिभिः ।  
 यस्य २<sup>१०</sup> यदा तू(भू)मिस्तस्य २<sup>११</sup> तप(दा) प(फ)ल(लम्) ॥[३६\*] तथा  
 65 चोक्त(क्तं) रामभद्रेण ॥ सव्वा(व्वा)नैतान्ता(न्मा)विन<sup>१२</sup> पार्थिवेन्द्राव(न्) भूयो २<sup>१३</sup>  
 यावते रौ(रा)मभद्रः । सामान्योय धर्मचा(से)-  
 66 तुर्नृपाणां ता(का)ले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥[३७\*] इति कमलदलाङ्गु(भु)-  
 वि(वि)न्दुलोला मि(त्रि)यमनुचिन्त्य भु-  
 67 यजीवित [च] ॥<sup>१४</sup> अतिविमलमनोभिरात्मनीर्न हि पुरुषे परकीर्तयो विलो-  
 प्याः ॥[३८\*] श्रीक-  
 68 कंराजनामा तदात्मपे(जो)वापि टापको दूतः । याचकवक्र(क्त)विष्वान्ता-  
 (न्स)तापशीलोऽरिमु-  
 69 दानाम् ॥[३९\*] स्वस्वतो(स्तो)यं श्रीधुवराजदेवस्य<sup>१०</sup> ॥<sup>११</sup> लेखित चैत-  
 70 न्मरा(या) वलभौ(भि)वास्तव्यसहासन्निविध्रहाचपटलाधिपतित्रीदीन्देत(न) श्रीम-  
 71 दवल्लोकितात्मजेनेति ॥

<sup>1</sup> Owing to shallow engraving, the letter वि appears like दि in the facsimile

<sup>2</sup> Read पालयितव्य ॥

<sup>3</sup> Owing to a natural depression on the plate surface, an anusvara appears over the letter छि, whereas in fact has been engraved

<sup>4</sup> The letter ल्यु has been damaged

<sup>5</sup> Read पष्टि र्य्य<sup>१०</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Read वस्ये ॥

<sup>7</sup> The letter म् is damaged

<sup>8</sup> The numeral 2 is used to indicate that the preceding word is to be repeated in reading

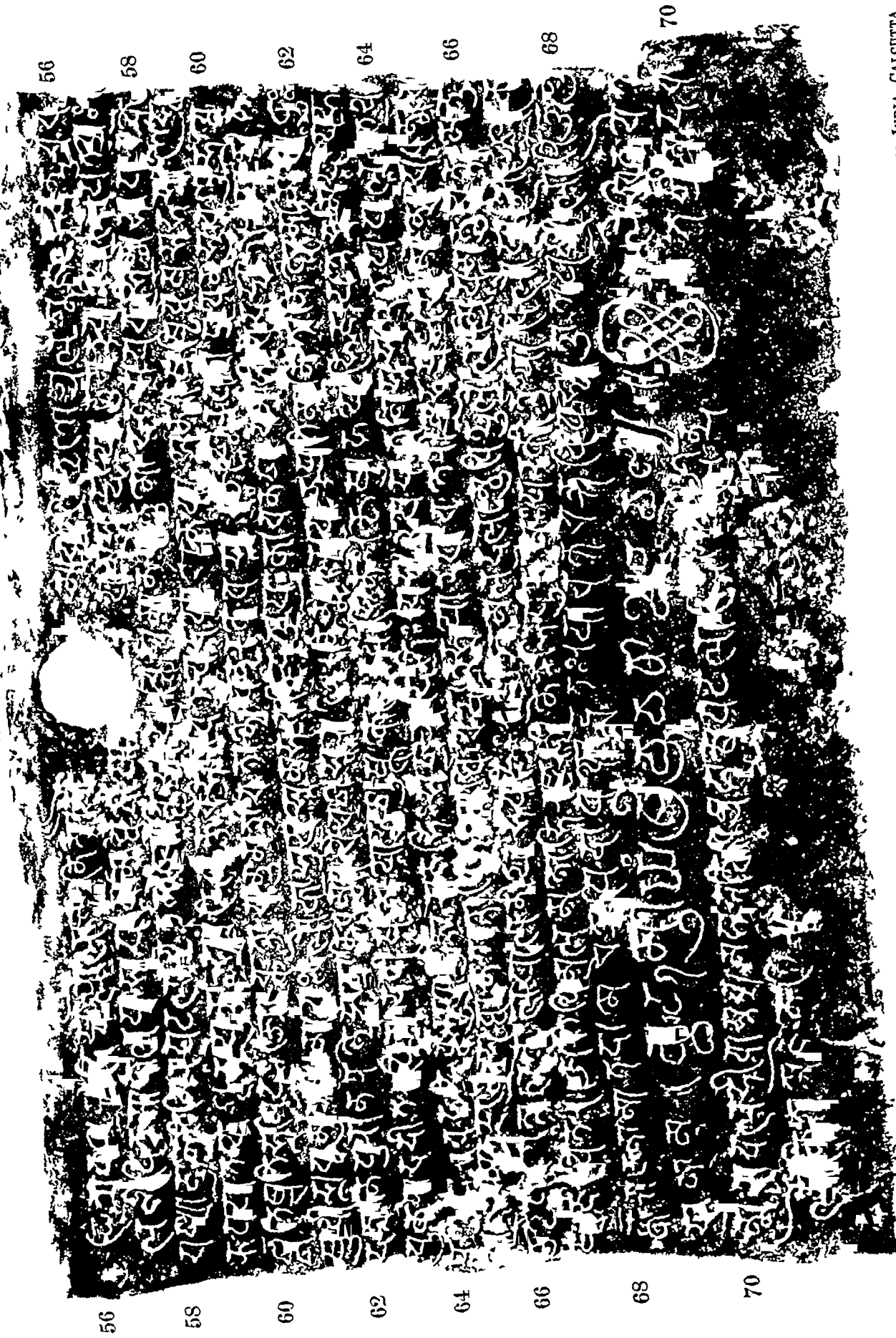
<sup>9</sup> Here two dandas are wrongly engraved instead of one

<sup>10</sup> The signature is in old Kanarese characters

<sup>11</sup> After the signature and before the word लेखित is engraved an ornamental design.

A NEW COPPER PLATE OF DHIRUVA II OF THE GUJARAT RASHTRAKUTA BRANCH, SAKA 806

Third plate





## NO 13 —BRAHMANAPALLI GRANT OF KARKKA SUVARNNAVARSHA SAKA 746

By B BHATTACHARYYA, M A , PH D , BARODA

The copper-plate grant described here consisting of **three plates** joined together by means of a circular ring to which is attached a seal, was purchased from a resident of Barodā and is now preserved in the Library of the Oriental Institute at Barodā This is one of the unpublished records of Karkka Suvarnnavarsha of Gujarāt and is unquestionably of great historical value for the State of Barodā, if not for the Bombay Presidency , indeed, this as well as other copper-plates granted by the same king refer to grants of lands and villages all situated in the territory of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad of Barodā, and some of the old names can with little difficulty be identified with the names of villages now in existence

The plates measure 11" by 8" and are of about  $\frac{1}{4}$ " in thickness with the rims fashioned thicker than the rest for the protection of the writing A hole is bored at the top through the middle of all the three plates, and through this hole passes a massive ring, slightly oval in shape,  $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick and  $4\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter, which holds them together On the ring appears a seal circular in shape and  $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter on which is embossed a figure of Garuda without any legend The plates and the writing are very well preserved and the letters are very distinctly incised The first and the third plates are incised on one side only while the second is engraved on both sides The script of the record resembles that usually found in the inscriptions of the Valabhī rulers The language of the record is Sanskrit throughout With the exception of the symbol at the commencement, the portion recording the grant (ll 52-68) and the concluding lines (ll 77 80) the rest of the inscription is in verse The signatures of the king **Suvarnnavarsha** and his overlord **Amōghavarsha** appear at the end and are in distinctly different characters which are more akin to the Southern script than the Northern The verses of this grant occur in other grants, particularly the Nausārī plates<sup>1</sup> of the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūta prince Karkka I and also in the Kāvī plates<sup>2</sup> of the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūta prince Gōvinda The weight of the plates including the seal is 9 lbs

With regard to **orthography** the following are worthy of note (i) the use of the guttural nasal instead of *anusvāra*, (ii) the almost invariable change of the *visarga* to *s* when followed by *p*, (iii) the doubling of *d* and *dh* in conjunction with a following *y* or *v* and (iv) the substitution of *ṛhivāmūliya* for *visarga* in all cases when followed by *l*

The **object** of the present inscription is to record the grant of the village **Brāhmanapallikā** in the **Māhishaka-vishaya** of forty-two villages, which is bounded by the villages of Kavalōikā in the north, Likkavallī in the south, Nābada in the east and Dhādiyappa in the west The date of the inscription is the **full moon day of Vaisākha of the Śaka year 746, Mahāvai-sākhaparvan** and probably corresponds to Sunday, the 17th April, 824 A D The *Dūtaka* was **Durgarāja** and the name of the officer who drafted the order was **Nārāyana**, the *Sāndhivagrahaka* or the Minister of Peace and War The grant was ratified by the Emperor **Śrīmad-Amōghavarshadēva**, son of **Śrī-Jagattungadēva** At the end of the inscription are given the sign manual of Karkkarāja the donor, as well as that of his overlord Amōghavarsha

The present record refers itself to the reign of **Karkka-Suvarnnavarsha**, son of Indra belonging to the **Gujarāt Branch of the Rāshtrakūta family** Indrarāja, the brother of Gōvinda III, is here spoken of as becoming the lord of Lāta which was given to him by Gōvinda

<sup>1</sup> *J B B R A S*, Vol XX, pp 135 ff

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant*, Vol V, pp 145 ff.

According to Bühler<sup>1</sup> 'Lāta' corresponds to what is now known as Central and Southern Gujarāt—the country between Māhi and Konkana, but he held from the traceable localities mentioned in the Kāvī and Barodā inscriptions that Lāta was confined in the 9th century to much narrower limits. But we know from the Nausārī plates that the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭas ruled over a tract of country lying between the two rivers Māhi in the north and the Narmadā in the south.

Indrarāja had two sons, namely, Karkharāja and Gōvindarāja. Karkka had given several grants of land during his life time and four of them including the present have so far come to light, namely, the Barodā plates<sup>2</sup>, the Nausārī plates<sup>3</sup>, the Surāt plates<sup>4</sup> and the present one which may be called for the sake of convenience as the Brāhmanapalli grant. The Barodā plates are dated in Śalā 731, the Nausārī in Śaka 738, the Surāt in Śaka 743 and the Brāhmanapalli in Śaka 746. It appears, therefore, that Karkka ascended the throne some time before Śalā 731 and continued to rule till 746 or a little later. But from the above it cannot be assumed that Karkka's reign was entirely uneventful or even continuous for in the Śalā year 735 we find his younger brother Gōvindarāja<sup>5</sup> giving away a village near Barodā as a *bhūpālī* who then ruled over Central Gujarāt in the same year. The second grant made by him is dated in Śalā 749 or fourteen years later. Now, this gives rise to a chronological tangle which has not been satisfactorily explained by any writer of Gujarāt history up till now. The discovery of the present inscription which is the last in the Karkka series of grants, so far known, makes it all the more imperative to examine the question more thoroughly.

Two explanations of this unique circumstance may be offered. Several inscriptions of the Gujarāt Branch of the Rāshtrakūṭas state that Karkka restored the line of one of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mānyakhēṭa from the hostile elements and placed the rightful owner Amōghavarsha on the throne<sup>6</sup>. This event must have taken place some time in 736 Śalā (A. D. 814)<sup>7</sup> because we find the name of Amōghavarsha mentioned in a charter of Śalā 738<sup>8</sup> which is probably the best during his rule so far obtained. Karkharāja who was ruling over Gujarāt naturally had to leave his own kingdom to assist Amōghavarsha of the main line of the Rāshtrakūṭas and probably during his absence he directed his younger brother to look after his dominions. He must have subsequently come back, and we find him issuing a second charter in the year Śalā 738<sup>9</sup>. The inscriptions issued by his younger brother both in Śaka 735 and 749 testify to his great devotion and loyalty towards his elder brother Karkharāja<sup>10</sup>.

The other explanation that can be offered in solution of the difficulty above referred to, is by assuming that the younger brother definitely became hostile in about 737 Śalā towards his elder brother when he had not quite settled down and with the help of adventurers overthrew him by treachery. Karkka thus was obliged to go back to the south to seek the help of the Rāshtrakūṭas of the main line at Mānyakhēṭa. He must have then discovered a conspiracy to deprive the legitimate claimant Amōghavarsha from obtaining the throne, amongst his relatives. He naturally supported the rightful claimant and by his prowess set him up on the ancestral throne, and as a mark of favour obtained from Amōghavarsha the necessary help to overthrow his

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> *J. B. B. R. I. S.*, Vol. XX, p. 130 II 60-61.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 156 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *J. B. B. R. I. S.*, Vol. XX, pp. 131 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 133 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Torī hīṇ plates (above, Vol. III, pp. 53 ff.)

<sup>7</sup> Kāvī plates of Govindarāja, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, 141.

<sup>8</sup> See e.g., Barodā plates of Dhruvarāja I, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 199 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

निगमयति जित्वा योऽसौ ययमपि चिरमपि ययमपि ॥

<sup>10</sup> [ Dr. Altekar places this event between A. D. 817 and 821 (above Vol. XXI, p. 131.—Ed.) ]

<sup>11</sup> The Nausārī plates *J. B. B. R. I. S.*, Vol. XX, p. 135.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> [ Dr. Altekar also has come to a similar conclusion, above, p. 69.—Ed. ]

brother Gōvīndarāja who had unrighteously obtained the kingdom of Gujarāt Till we are in possession of further details it will be futile to draw any definite conclusions and the historians are left to judge for themselves which of the two alternatives will be more acceptable

A third explanation that both the brothers Karkka and Gōvīnda ruled at the same time is hardly admissible because in that case this fact would have been mentioned in the charters issued by both Both these brothers give away land near about Barodā, and Vatapadraka is mentioned as either the principal village or a surrounding village in the charters attributed to both, and it is not possible that the kingdom of Gujarāt should be so divided as to permit two brothers to rule at the same time over two different tracts

Another point to which attention of historians may be drawn is the significance of the sign manual of the two kings Karkka and his overlord Amōghavarsha, for this has a direct bearing on the question of the relation between the Gujarāt Branch of the Rāshtrakūtas and the Rāshtrakūtas of the main line of Mānyakhēta It may be noted in this connection that the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūtas persistently call themselves as *Mahāsāmāntādhipati* and sometimes as the ruler of the *Lātīya* or *Lātēśvara-mandala*<sup>1</sup> But it is in the present inscription that we find the earliest example of the practice of putting in the joint signatures of the *Sāmānta* and his overlord This proves beyond doubt that in so far as the present inscription is concerned, Karkka acknowledged the suzerainty of king Amōghavarsha of the main line In the earliest inscription of Karkka which is dated Śaka 734 there is the signature of Karkka but not of his overlord In the next two inscriptions issued in Śaka 738 and 743 there is also one signature of Karkka but no signature of the overlord who in these cases is Amōghavarsha In the Tōrkhēdē inscription<sup>2</sup> of Śaka 735 his brother Gōvīndarāja calls himself a *bhūpāla* and Buddhavarasa as his *Mahāsāmānta* who was enjoying an estate called the *Siharakkhī* Twelve which was given to him by Gōvīndarāja No signature either of Gōvīnda or Karkka or the overlord appears in the inscription Though ostensibly a negative point, the omission of signatures in the grants issued by the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūtas from Śaka 734 to 746 is nevertheless significant, particularly because in the grant under consideration the signature of the overlord makes its first appearance Be it noted, however, that the name of the paramount sovereign does occur in inscriptions, though not the sign manual

All the inscriptions issued by the Gujarāt Branch of the Rāshtrakūtas have a special topographical interest for the State of Barodā, as most of the villages granted by the kings are situated in the Barodā State It will be out of place here to take up all the inscriptions issued by the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūta kings and make an attempt to identify the villages mentioned therein, as this is clearly beyond the scope of this paper I, therefore, propose to deal with the grants of the land specially made by Karkka in his inscriptions<sup>3</sup>, so far available, and make an attempt to identify the places in order to correct some of the old inaccuracies

<sup>1</sup> *Ind Ant*, Vol XII, p 158

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol III, pp 53 ff

<sup>3</sup> I do not take into account the places mentioned in the Surāt Plates, as according to the editor, Dr Altekar, all these are situated in the Navasārī District of the Barodā State But these identifications are open to doubt since we feel that Karkka's territories were confined to the country situated between the Māhi and the Narmadā If we accept Dr Altekar's identifications we shall have to conclude that Karkka extended his sway much beyond the Narmadā so as to include Navasārī within his kingdom But for this, there is no evidence in the inscriptions of the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūtas except the doubtful identification of Nāgasārīkā with Navasārī, the river Pūrāvi with Pūrṇā and the river Vāṇīkā with Vāṇī Creek 30 miles further south of Navasārī The village Ambāpātaka which is described as contiguous to Nāgasārīkā (*Nāgasārīkā pratibaddha*) is identified with Āmadpur, which is on the other side of the Pūrṇā river at a distance of 5 miles And I do not see any reason why the Vāpī is given to the Jaina Āchārya when the donor is 30 miles away from the place Frankly, I have grave doubts as regards the correctness of these identifications, though I am not able to offer anything better (See above, Vol XXI, pp 133 ff) [Dr Altekar says that in Gujarāt fields are often known after the names of the wells irrigating them and hence Hiranyayōgā Dhāshu vāpī is the name of a field —Ed]



- 2, रमुद्यतमल्लग्री ध्वस्तिन्नयनमिसुखो रण्यशर्वरीषु । भूप, शुचिर्विधुरिवास्त(म)-  
दिगन्तकीर्तिर्गोविन्दराज
- 3 इति राजसु, राजसिद्धः(सिंहः) ॥[२\*] दृष्ट्वा चमूममिसुखो सुभटादृष्ट्वासा-  
सुन्नामित सपदि येन रणेषु नित्य ।
- 4 दष्टाधरेण दधताः मुकुटि ललाटे, खड्गं, कुलं, च, हृदयं च निजं, च  
सत्त्व ॥[३\*] खड्गं करायामुत्ततश्च शोभा भा-
- 5 नो मनस्तः सममेव यस्य । महाहवे नाम निशम्य सद्यस्त्रय रिपूणा  
विगलत्यकाशे ॥[४\*] तस्यात्म-
- 6 जो जगति विश्रुतदीर्घकीर्तिरार्तार्तिहारिहरिविक्रमधामधारी । भूपस्त्रिविष्ट-  
[५\*] नृपानुकृतिक्लृप्तः श्रीकर्करा-
- 7 ज इति गोचमण्यिभूव ॥[५\*] तस्य, प्रमिन्नकरटच्युतदानदन्ति । दन्तप्र-  
हारश्चिरोक्लिखितासपोठः ।
- 8 आपः क्षितौ क्षपितश्चतुरभूतगूणः, सद्राद्रकूटकानकाद्रिरिवेन्द्रराजः ॥[६\*]  
तस्योपार्जितमहसस्त-
- 9 नयश्चतु[६\*]दधिवलयमालिन्या[ः\*] । भोक्ता भुवः शतक्रतुसदृशः श्रीदन्ति-  
दुर्गराजोभूत् ॥[७\*] कांचीशकेरलनराधिपचेल-
- 10 पाण्ड्यश्रीहर्षवज्रटविभेदविधानदक्ष । कार्नाटक क्षलमचिन्त्यमजेयमन्यैर्भृत्यैर्क्षिय-  
क्षिरपि यः सहसा जि-
- 11 गाय ॥[८\*] अभ्रूविभङ्गमगृहीतनिश्चातश्चक्षुमश्रान्तुमप्रतिहताक्षमपेतयत् । यो  
वक्षसः सपदि दण्ड-
- 12 बलेन जित्वा राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतामवाप ॥[९\*] आसेतोर्विपुलोव(प)लाव-  
लिलसक्तीलोर्मिभालाजलादा-
- 13 प्रालेयकलकितामलशिलाजालानुपाराचला ॥[१०\*] द्वापूर्वापरवारिराशिपुलिनप्रा-  
न्तप्रसिद्धावधेय्येनेयं ज-
- 14 गती स्वविक्रमबलेनैकातपनीकता ॥[१०\*] तस्मिन्दिवभ्रयाति वक्षभराजे क्षतप्र-  
जावाधः । श्रीकर्कराजसू-
- 15 नुर्महीपतिः श्रीक्षणाजोभूत् ॥[११\*] यस्य स्वभुजपराक्रमनिःशेषोत्पादितारि-  
दिकचक्रं । क्षणस्यैवाक्षयं
- 16 चरित श्रीक्षणाजः<sup>३</sup>स्य ॥[१२\*] शुभतुङ्गपुङ्गवुरमप्रह्वरेणुर्द्ध्वरविकिरणं ।  
शोभेपि नभो निखि-

<sup>1</sup> The *danḍa* is superfluous Read *dant's danta* .

<sup>2</sup> *Visarga* superfluous

<sup>3</sup> Read=*tushār ūchatāt* । 'ā *pāriva*°



- 17 ल प्रावृत्कालायते खट ॥[१३\*] दीनानाथप्रणयिषु यद्येष्टचेष्टं समीहित-  
मजस्र[<sup>१</sup>\*] । तत्तत्तत्त-  
18 कालवर्षीं वर्षति सर्वार्त्तिनिर्व्वपणं ॥[१४\*] राष्ट्र्यभासभुजजातवन्नाथनिपमाजो  
विजित्य निशितासिल-  
19 ताम्रहरि<sup>२</sup> [१\*] ऋपालिध्वजावलिगुभासचिरेण यो हि राजाविराजपरमेश्वरता  
ततान ॥[१५\*] क्रोधादुत्थातख  
20 ह्रस्वस्ततु(र)चिचयेर्धर्मसमान समन्तादाजाबुद्धतवेरिप्रकटगजघटाटोपसंशोभदत्तं ।  
21 शीर्थं त्वत्तारिवर्गो भयचकितपपुङ्गापि दृष्ट्वे सद्यो दर्पाभातारिचक्रक्षयकर-  
मत(ग)-

Second Plate, First Side

- 22 सद्यस्य दीर्घ<sup>३</sup> रूप ॥[१६\*] पाता यद्यतुरम्बुराशिरगनालक्षारभाजो भुवमव्याद्यापि  
सतद्विजामरमु(गु)रुप्राज्याज्य-  
23 पूजादरो<sup>४</sup> । दाता मानभृद्वर्णोभे(र्गु)णयता योसौ त्रियो वक्षसो भोक्तुं  
स्वर्गफलानि भूरितपसां स्थान  
24 जता(गा)भामरं ॥[१७\*] येन ज्वेतातपचप्रहतरधिकारजोततापासलीनं जन्मे(ग्मे)  
नासीरधूलीधवलितशिरसा  
25 वक्षसाख्यः सदाजो । श्रीमहोविन्दराजो जितजगदहितसिन्धवैधव्यदक्षस्तस्यासी-  
ल्लुपुरेकाः क्षय-  
26 रणदलितारातिसंक्षेपगुम्भः ॥[१८\*] तस्यानुजः श्रीधुवराजनाना मङ्गानुभावोप्र-  
हतप्रतापः प्रसाधि-  
27 ताशेषनरेन्द्रचक्रः क्षमेण वालार्कवपुर्व्वभूव ॥[१९\*] जाते यत्र च राष्ट्रकूट-  
तिलके - सङ्गुप-  
28 चूडामणो शुर्वी तुष्टिरव्याखिलस्य जगतः सुखाभिनि प्रत्यहं [१\*] सत्यं  
सत्यमिति प्रशंसति - स-  
29 ति क्षामासमुद्रान्तिकासासीधर्मपरे गुणानृतनिधौ सत्यव्रताधिष्ठिते ॥[२०\*]  
हृद्योन्वह योर्धिज-  
30 नाय सर्वं सर्वसमानन्दितवन्नुवर्ग<sup>५</sup>ः प्रदाग्रष्टो हरति स्र वैता(गा)-  
आणान्यस-  
31 स्यापि नितान्तवीर्य्यः ॥[२१\*] रचता येन निःशेष चतुरभोधिसंयुत ।  
राज्यधर्मैण - लोमाना

<sup>१</sup> Read *prahārāṣṭ* | *pāṭh*°.

<sup>२</sup> Read *०*दर ।

<sup>३</sup> Read *larggaṣṭ* | *prāṭa*°=

- 32 कृता हृदि परा हृदि ॥[२२\*] तस्यान्जो जगति सप्रथितोऽकीर्तिर्गोवि-  
न्दराज इति गोवलला-
- 33 मभूत<sup>१</sup> ॥[\*] स्यांगी पराक्रमेण प्रकटप्रतीपसन्तापिता हितजनी जनवल्लभोऽभूत् ॥[२३\*]  
पृथ्वी-
- 34 वल्लभ इति च प्रथितं यस्यापर जगति नाम ॥[\*] यश्च चतुरदन्तिमीमांसेकी-  
वसुधा वशे यच्च-
- 35 क्री ॥[२४\*] एकोऽप्यनेकरूपो यो दृश्ये मे देवादिभिरिवात्मा । परमलज्ज-  
लधिमपारन्तरस्वदोऽभ्यां
- 36 एव रिपुभिः ॥[२५\*] एको निर्द्वेतिरहं गृहीतशस्त्रा द्रमे परे वहसो ॥[\*]  
यो नैव विधमकरोच्चितं स्वप्नेपि
- 37 किमुतजो ॥[२६\*] राज्याभिषेककालश्चैरभिविच्य दत्तां राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतां  
स्वपित्रा । अन्यै-
- 38 श्रीहानृपतिभिः<sup>२</sup> ऋषिभिः समेत्य स्तम्भादिभिर्भुजमालादवशुष्यमानां ॥[२७\*]  
एकोनेकानरेन्द्रहृद-
- 39 सहितान्यस्तान्मस्तानपि प्रोत्खातारसिजतामहारविधुरान्वद्धा महीसयुगे ।  
लक्ष्मीमय्यच-
- 40 लो चकीरं विलसत्सौम्यराशिणीं<sup>३</sup> सैसीदङ्गुलिप्रसङ्गजसुहृद्विभूषमोत्यां(ग्या) गु-
- 41 पि(वि) ॥[२८\*] तपुत्रोत्र गतो(ते)नाकमाकम्पितरिपुत्रजे । श्रीमहाराजशर्वाख्य-  
र्योतो राजाभि-
- 42 बहुलैः ॥[२९\*] अर्थिषु यथार्थतां यः समभोष्टफलामिलयतोषेषु ॥[\*] वृद्धि-  
निमित्तं पप-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 43 राममभोधवर्षाभिधानस्य ॥[३०\*] राजाभूतत्पितृव्यो रिपुभयविभवोद्भूतभावैकहे-  
तुलक्ष्मीवानिन्द्रराजो गु-
- 44 णिष्टपनिकरान्तायमत्कारकारी । रागादन्यान्व्युदस्य प्रकटितविनया यं नृपान्ते-  
वमाना राजश्रीरेव चक्रे
- 45 सकलकविजनोद्गीततथ्यसमावं ॥[३१\*] निर्व्यावाप्तिवाना(?)सहितहितजनोपा-  
स्यमानाः सुवत्त वृत्तं जि-
- 46 त्वान्यरात्रां चरितसुन्दर्यान्मूर्ध्नी हिंसकेभ्यः । एकाकी हंसवैरिसेव नैकतिसह-  
प्रातिराज्येशशकुनीटी-

<sup>१</sup> Read 'bhūta' | tyūgi.

<sup>२</sup> Superfluous

<sup>३</sup> One pa's superfluous.

- 47 य सखलं यस्तपन इव । निजस्वामिदत्त - ररक्ष ॥[३२\*] यस्याङ्गमात्रजयि-  
नः प्रियसाहसस्य क्षापालवैपफ-
- 48 लमेव वभूव खैव । मुक्ता च सर्वभुवनेश्वरमादिदेवं नावन्दतान्यममरेष्वपि  
यो मनस्वी ॥[३३\*] श्रीकर्कश-
- 49 ज इति रक्षितराज्यभारः सारङ्गलस्य तनयो नयगालिशौर्य<sup>1</sup> [1\*] स्वस्याभवद्विभ-  
वगन्दितवन्धुसार्यः पार्थ-
- 50 सदैव धनुषि प्रथमः शूचीना ॥[३४\*] दानेन मानेन सदाग्रया वा शौर्येण  
वीर्येण च कोपि भूपः [1\*]
- 51 एतेन तुल्योस्ति न वेति कीर्तिः सकीर्तुका भ्रातृपति यस्य लोके ॥[३५\*]  
तेनेदमनिलविद्युच्चक्षलमालोक्य
- 52 जीवितमसार । क्षितिदानपरमपुण्यः प्रवर्त्तितो धर्मदायोय ॥[३६\*] स च  
समधिगतारोपमहा-
- 53 शब्दमहासामन्ताधिपतिभुवणवर्षश्रीकर्कशराजदेवः सवर्निवः यथासंनध्यमानकाचा-
- 54 द्रपतिविषयपतिग्रासकूटायुक्तनियुक्तकाधिकारिकमहत्तरादीन्समनुदर्शयत्वन्मु
- 55 वः सविदित । यथा मथा सातापिनीराजन्येहिमामुष्मिकपुण्यगोमिदृजये ।  
कङ्क्षिभरवा-
- 56 सख्य 1° कौण्डिन्यसगोत्र 1° वाजिसनेयसन्नक्षचारि 1° भट्टदामोदरसुतनागकु-  
भाराय 1° माहिषकक्षित्वा-
- 57 रिङ्गप्रतिवदन्नाक्षपक्षिकामिधानग्राभो । यस्याघाटनानि पूर्वतो 1° नावडग्रामो  
दक्षिणतो लिङ्गवल्ली-
- 58 नामाऽपरतो घाडियप्पनासा ग्रामः । उत्तरतङ्गवल्लोडकामिधानग्रामः ।  
एवमय चतुराघाटनोपलक्षितः
- 59 सोद्वगः सपरिकारः सदृष्टदशापराधः समूतवातप्रत्यायः सौत्यद्यमानविष्टिकः  
सधोन्वहिरण्य-
- 60 देयोचाटभट्टप्रवेश्यः सर्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयः आचन्द्रार्काण्यैवक्षितिसरि-  
त्यर्षतसम-
- 61 कालीनः पुत्रपौत्रान्वयक्रमोपभोत्य(ग्य)ः पूर्वप्रदत्तदेवन्नक्षदायरक्षितोभ्यन्तरसिद्ध्या श-  
क्यपका-
- 62 लातीतसंवत्सरभतेषु , समस्त पट्टचत्वारिंशदधिकेषु वैशाखशुक्लपञ्चदश्या 1° महा-  
वैशाखपूर्वणि

<sup>1</sup> Road Sauryah | tasya = a°.

\* Superfluous

*[The page contains dense handwritten text in Devanagari script, which appears to be bleed-through from the reverse side of the leaf. The handwriting is cursive and fills most of the page area.]*

[illegible]

- 63 स्नात्वाद्योद(त)<sup>1</sup>कातिसर्गेण ।<sup>2</sup> बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रातिथिपंचमहायज्ञक्रियोत्स-  
र्पणार्थं प्रति-
- 64 पादितो यतोस्योचितया ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या भुंजतो भोजयतकृपतक्षयतप्रति-  
दिशतो

## Third Plate

- 65 वा न केनचित् परिपत्यना करणीया । तथागामिनृपतिभिरभ्यर्च्यैरन्यैर्वा  
सामान्यभूमिदानफलमवेत्य
- 66 विद्युत्क्षोणान्यनिलैश्चर्याणि पृष्ठाग्रलग्नजलबिन्दुचल च जीवितमानस्य स्वदा-  
यनिर्विशेषो-
- 67 यमस्मद्दायोनुमन्त्यपरिपालयितव्यश्च यश्चाज्ञानतिभिरपटलाद्वतमतिराच्छिन्द्यादा-  
च्छिद्य-
- 68 मानक वानुमोदेत ।<sup>2</sup> स पचभिर्भृहापातकैरुपपातकैश्च संयुक्तः स्यादित्युक्त  
च भगवता वेद-
- 69 व्यासेन व्यासेन । षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः [1\*] आच्छेत्ता  
वानुमन्ता च तान्येव
- 70 नरके वसेत् । [३७\*] विन्ध्योऽवोवो(ष्व)तोयासु शुष्काकोटरघ(वा)सिनक्ष्णहयो  
हि जायन्ते भूमिदानं हर-
- 71 न्ति ये ॥ [३८\*] अग्नेरपत्य प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्वेणवी सूर्यसुताश्च गावो(वः) [1\*]  
लोकत्रयं तेन भवेद्वि दत्त
- 72 यक्षाञ्चनं गां च महीं च दद्यात् ॥ [३९\*] बहुभिर्बुधा भुक्ता राजभिः  
सगरादिमिथ्यै(भिः)यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि-
- 73 स्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ [४०\*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्हानानि  
धर्मात्ययशस्कराणि । निर्भाल्य-
- 74 वान्तप्रतिमानि तानि ।<sup>2</sup> को नाम साधुपुनराददीत ॥ [४१\*] स्वदत्तां  
परदत्ता वा यदाद्रज न-
- 75 राधिप । महीं महिमता श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छेयोनुपालनं ॥ [४२\*] इति कमलद-  
लाभुविन्दुलोलां श्रि-
- 76 यमनुचिन्त्य मनुजजीवित च । अतिविमलमनोभिरात्मनौनैर्न हि पुरुषैपर-  
कीर्त-
- 77 यो विलोप्याः ॥ [४३\*] इति ॥ दूतकौत्र श्रीदुर्गराजो(जः) । लिखितं च ।  
सान्निव्यग्रहिवाश्रीनारायणे-
- 78 न ॥ मतम्मम श्रीजगत्तुङ्गदेवसुतस्य श्रीमदभोधवर्षदेवस्य यदु-
- 79 परि लिखित ॥ मतम्मम श्रीमदिन्द्रराजसुतस्य श्रीकाकराजदेवस्य ।<sup>1</sup>
- 80 यदुपरि लिखितमिति ॥

<sup>1</sup> Superfluous<sup>2</sup> Danda superfluous.

## No 14 — TIRUVALANGĀDŪ INSCRIPTION OF RAJADHIRAJA II.

By V VENKATASUBBA AYYAR, B A, MADRAS

This inscription<sup>1</sup> is engraved on the east wall of the first *prākāra* of the Natarāja shrine in the Vatanārāyanēśvara temple at Tiruvālangādu, a small station near Madras on the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway. It was copied in 1905, but in that year the inscription could not be copied in full as it was partially obstructed by later structural additions to the temple. In the subsequent renovation, most of the inscribed stones were lost so that only a portion of the record<sup>2</sup> is now preserved in the temple. On account of its damaged condition, its importance was not sufficiently recognised hitherto, but it now receives elucidation from two inscriptions copied at Pallavarāyanpēttai<sup>3</sup> and Tirumayānam<sup>4</sup> in the Tanjore district. It is of great value since it throws new light on the Chōla, Pāṇḍya and Singhalese history in the third quarter of the 12th century A D.

It is engraved in the Tamil language and script of the 12th century A D and is particularly free from orthographical errors.

The record is dated<sup>5</sup> in the 12th year and 157th day of the reign of the Chōla king Rājākēsarivarman *alias* Rājādhirājadēva (II) and commences with the usual preamble beginning with the words 'kaḍal-śūlnda', etc. The object of the inscription is the grant of 10 *vēli* of land in Rājārājan Paḷayanūr 'situated in Nēnmaḷ nādu, a division of [Aṟumōḷi] dēvavalanādu, free of taxes including *antarāyam* and *pāttam*, to Vēḍavaṇamudāyāṇ Ammaiappan *alias* Annan Pallavarājan of Paḷayanūr, evidently for his services to the State in frustrating the hostile attempts of the Singhalese king Parākramabāhu against the Chōla country.

This inscription is the only record so far known that gives a detailed account of the Singhalese activities in the war of the Pāṇḍyan succession, for which our only source has hitherto been the Singhalese chronicle *Mahāvamsa*, but this is biased in its version, especially as it does not give

<sup>1</sup> No 465 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

<sup>2</sup> In the absence of the original inscribed stones, the impression preserved in the office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, is the only record now available for this valuable inscription.

<sup>3</sup> No 433 of 1924 of the Madras Epigraphical collection, *vide* also above, Vol. XXI, p. 184, where this inscription is published.

<sup>4</sup> No 261 of 1925 of the same collection. This is highly damaged and appears to be a duplicate copy of the present record.

<sup>5</sup> As regards the initial date of this king there is some confusion. Prof. Kielhorn had fixed it between 28th February and 30th March 1163 A D. But a record from Nandalūr (No 571 of 1907), while giving astronomical details couples the 12th regnal year of the king with the cyclic year Hēmajaṁba which corresponded to A D 1177 (above, Vol. X, p. 127). In this case the regnal year intended must be 14th expired or 15th current and not 12 as cited in the record. This apparent difference in date is, curiously enough, reiterated in an inscription recently copied in the Chittoor District (No. 209 of 1932), where the 12th regnal year of this king is also stated to be his 14th year. This would suggest that Rājādhirāja II was a crown prince for two years before he became king.

There are, however, three inscriptions of this king (Nos 571 of 1907, 428 of 1912 and 19 of 1918) which point to A D. 1166 as the initial year. From the Pallavarāyanpēttai inscription we know that Rājādhirāja II was crowned 4 years after his nomination. The initial date of his predecessor, Rājārāja II, is 1146 A D and his highest regnal year is 19 (No 411 of 1909). Rājārāja II must therefore have lived till 1164 or 5 A D. The whole position may now be summed up as follows —

A D 1163 Rājādhirāja's nomination,

A D 1164 or 5 Rājārāja's death and Rājādhirāja's succession,

A D 1166 Rājādhirāja's coronation.

Since both A D 1163 and 1166 work correctly as the initial year, it will be evident that Rājādhirāja II, in some of his records, counted his reign from the year of his nomination and in others from that of his coronation.

any reverses sustained by the Singhalese forces. The present epigraph, however, lays special emphasis on this point, and therefore as a corrective to the *Mahāvamsa* and as a record of contemporary events, it is a valuable document.

It may be divided into two sections. In the first, the services to the country rendered by the Chōla general Vēdavanamudaiyān Ammaṭṭappan *alias* Annan Pallavarājan in counteracting the hostile attempts of the Singhalese king Parākramabāhu are detailed and in the other is registered a grant of land made to him.

The inscription refers to the Singhalese king Parākramabāhu in contempt as *Īlattān*. The record we learn that Parākramabāhu was hostile to the Chōla kingdom from the beginning of his reign and in pursuance of this policy, he made the following three attempts which were successfully foiled by the Chōla king —

- (a) When the war of the Pāndyan succession broke out, Parākramabāhu espoused the cause of Parākrama Pāndya, one of the claimants to the throne of Madura and also sent an army into the Pāndya country which forced Kulaśekhara, the rival claimant to the throne, to flee from Madura and seek the help of the Chōla king. The Chōla army sent to his assistance deposed Vira Pāndya, the son of Parākrama-Pāndya, who was set up on the Pāndya throne by the Singhalese king Parākramabāhu, completely defeated the enemy's forces killing even their generals and finally placed Kulaśekhara on the throne of Madura.
- (b) On the failure of this attempt Parākramabāhu reinforced his strongholds by despatching forces into Ūratturai, Pulaichchēri, Mātōttam, Valikāman and Mattivāl and constructed ships for a naval attack. But the Chōla king frustrated these measures with the assistance of Śrīvallabha, the nephew of Parākramabāhu, by carrying the war into the enemy's territory and destroying a considerable portion thereof.
- (c) Parākramabāhu then tampered with the loyalty of Kulaśekhara-Pāndya to his Chōla ally and won him over to his side. He could not however satisfy both the Pāndya claimants at the same time. The Chōla king, on the other hand, deposed the ungrateful Kulaśekhara and placed Vira-Pāndya, the quondam ally of Parākramabāhu, on the throne of Madura.

This inscription in narrating the first attempt of Parākramabāhu (ll 12-18) corroborates the *Mahāvamsa* in the main except the reverses sustained by the Singhalese forces. The details of the other two attempts (ll 18-36) are, however, new information.

The present record raises an important issue about Śrīvallabha. His position is clearly explained in it. We know that his father Mānābhārana was a rival of Parākramabāhu for the overlordship of Ceylon. Śrīvallabha also appears to have aspired for the Singhalese throne. In the protracted struggle for sovereignty Śrīvallabha was captured<sup>1</sup> by the forces of Parākramabāhu, but he subsequently seems to have escaped from his uncle's custody and sought and obtained shelter under the Chōla king. Parākramabāhu evidently resented this assistance and so commenced his campaign of hostility against the Chōla kingdom. This persistent hostility of the Singhalese king is emphasised in our record in three places (ll 12, 18 and 29). Śrīvallabha is called the nephew (*marumagan*) of Parākramabāhu and is recognised in the inscription as the claimant to the Īlam country (*Īla rāyattukkuṇ-ḥadavarāy* l 21). It is also

<sup>1</sup> The details given in this encounter are also corroborated by the Pallavarāyanpēttai record (above, Vol. XXI, pp 186 ff.) wherein, however, Annan Pallavarājan's part in the fight does not find mention.

<sup>2</sup> *Mahāvamsa* Ch. 72, vv 323-4



stated that he had already gone (*munbē pōndirunda* l 21), thus suggesting his previous arrival in South India, evidently as a refugee seeking shelter under the Chōla and possibly also his assistance for the overthrow of Parākramabāhu. Therefore when his help was sought by the Chōla king, he readily responded, so that if there was a chance he might gain the throne of Ceylon.

The part played by Śrīvallabha, in this connection, has hitherto been considered as that of a traitor<sup>1</sup>. But if it is understood that he was fighting along with his father Mūnābharana for the Singhalese throne against Parākramabāhu, it will be evident that such a charge cannot be levelled against him.

In the rivalry between Vira Pāndya and Kulaśekhara for the throne of Madura, the Chōla king first took up the cause of Kulaśekhara,<sup>2</sup> but when the latter proved a traitor by allying himself with Parākramabāhu, he was deposed and Vira Pāndya was placed in his stead. Though the present record stops with the restoration of Vira Pāndya, now with Chōla help, it is clear that he must also have rebelled<sup>3</sup> soon after, for when Kulōttunga Chōla III continued the war, he fought against Vira-Pāndya<sup>4</sup> and in favour of one Vikrama Pāndya whom he made the ruler of Madura<sup>5</sup>.

It may be pointed out here that the new facts gleaned from this inscription, viz.—that Rājādhirāja took up the cause of Śrīvallabha against that of Parākramabāhu, that the Pāndya king Kulaśekhara turned a traitor to the Chōla king and that Vira Pāndya was again installed on the Pāndya throne through Chōla help—raise the following fresh issues which in the present state of our knowledge cannot be satisfactorily explained.

Did the Chōla king Rājādhirāja II actually send any help to Ceylon to assist Śrīvallabha in his struggle for sovereignty or did he only give shelter to him? Why was Vira Pāndya made the ruler of the Pāndya kingdom and not Vikrama Pāndya after Kulaśekhara turned a traitor? What was the relationship of Vikrama Pāndya to his predecessors and what were his claims to the Pāndya throne?

The territorial divisions, Jayangondaśōla-mandalam (l 8), Arumolidēva-Valanādu (l 36) and Nēnmalī-nādu (l 36) are already known. Palaiyanūr<sup>6</sup>, the native place of Vēdavanam Udayān may be identified with the village of the same name in the Tiruttani taluk of the Chittoor district. This village must be distinguished from Rājārājan-Palaiyanūr (l 36) in the Tanjore district, where 10 *veli* of land was granted to this Vēdavanamudaiyān. The village Elagam

<sup>1</sup> See *A R on Epigraphy* for 1906, para 23.

<sup>2</sup> Why Kulaśekhara proved a traitor is not explained in the record. Probably he was enticed by Parākramabāhu.

<sup>3</sup> His revolt is referred to in the historical introduction of Kulōttunga Chōla III. See *S I I*, Vol III, pp 206ff.

<sup>4</sup> Vira Pāndya seems to have occupied the throne for a second time from about 1175/1182 A.D. Like his predecessor Kulaśekhara he also fell an easy prey to the machinations of Parākramabāhu and thus made himself the bitterest enemy of the Chōla king Kulōttunga Chōla III. He made a desperate attempt along with his son to regain the Pāndya throne till at last he lost his life in the battle at Neṭṭūr. Two records from Tribhuvanam in the Tanjore district (Nos 191 and 192 of 1907) state that Kulōttunga Chōla III who bore the title 'Pāndya' ruled Vira Pāndya. See also *A R on Epigraphy* for 1908, para 64, and *S I I*, Vol III, pp 217-18.

<sup>5</sup> The Chōla rulers played the role of 'king makers'. Kulaśekhara, Vira Pāndya, and Vikrama Pāndya were successively made rulers of the Pāndya country by the Chōla sovereigns.

<sup>6</sup> The Tiruvāṅgādu plates of the Chōla king Rājendra-chōla I record the grant of this village to the Śiva temple at Tiruvāṅgādu. In the *Tēvāram* this village is called Palaiyanūr Āṅgādu (i.e.) Āṅgādu or Tiruvāṅgādu near Palaiyanūr. In one inscription Tiruvāṅgādu is said to be near Palaiyanūr (*S I I*, Vol III, p 134).

<sup>7</sup> This explains why the same inscription is found both at Tiruvāṅgādu (Chittoor district), the native place of Vēdavanam Udayān, and at Tirumayānam (Tanjore district) where the lands presented to him were situated.

(1 29) may be identified with Tiruvēdagam in the Madura *taluk*. The subjugation of this village<sup>1</sup> is also mentioned in inscriptions of Kulōttunga Chōla III<sup>2</sup>. The river Vellāru rises in the Vēlamalai to the west of the Pudukkottai State and falls into the Bay of Bengal to the north of Manamēlkudi in the Tanjore district. Ūrātturāi, Pulaichchēri, Mātōttam, Vallikāmam and Mattivāḷ have already been identified<sup>3</sup>.

## TEXT

- 1 Svasti<sup>3</sup> śrī<sup>3</sup> [||\*] Kadal śūḷnda Pār-mādarum Kalai mādarum adal śūḷnda Pōr mā-
- 2 daruñ=Chīr-mādarum ama[r\*]ndu vāḷa nār-kadal-sūḷ puvī-ēḷum pā[r]-kadal śūḷ pugal  
para-
- 3 ppa ādi-ugamāmenna=chchōdi-mudi punaindaruḷ aru śamayamum aim-būda-  
mum ne-
- 4 riyil nīngu pāriippa=tTennavaruñ=Chēralaruñ Śingalarum mudalāya mannavargaḷ  
tirai
- 5 śumandu vantīndi chchēvippa ūḷi ūḷi oru śenkōḷ eḷu pārum inid=alippa=ch-  
chempon Vira [śi<sup>3</sup>]-
- 6 [unā]sa<sup>3</sup>nattu Ulagudai-mukkōḷḷānadigalōdum vīṇṇirundaruḷiya Kōv=Irāja<sup>4</sup>kēsari  
panmar<sup>4</sup>=āna
- 7 Tribhu<sup>5</sup>vanachchakkaravarttigal śrī<sup>3</sup> Irājādhirājadēvarakk<sup>6</sup> yāndu pannirandāvadu  
nāl nūrṇaimbat-
- 8 tēḷṇāl Tribhuvanachchakra<sup>3</sup>vatti Kōnṇinmaikondān Jayankondaśōḷa-mandalattu  
Mēn-
- 9 malaip Palaiyanūr nāttu=pPalaiyanūr-udaiyār Tiruvālangādudaiyār kōyilḷ dēva-  
kanmikk<sup>u</sup>-
- 10 m śrī<sup>3</sup>-māhāśvarak-kangānu-śeyvūrgalukkum [i\*] Palaiyanūr-udaiyān Vēdavanamu-  
dayān Ammaia
- 11 ppan=āna Annan Pallava[rāja<sup>3</sup>]n ḷḷattān Parākkiramabāku āḷvān-pōdē  
tudangi Śōlarāja<sup>7</sup>ttukku
- 12 [vi]rōdam[ āy ]ruppana pala vadigalāluñ śe[yya p]pārttu idukku uruppā-  
ga=pPāndi-nāttal padai-
- 13 [yu]ravittu [Kulaśākharaṇaiyum Madu]raiyl nīṇṇum Vellārrukku  
vadakaraiyl pō
- 14 dappannu[ na-padiyāl ]<sup>8</sup>m śeyyappārtta-idattu idukku-pparikāramāge  
Kula
- 15 śākharaṇkku [vānduvanavuñ=cheydu muda]ḷgaḷum padaigalum pōgavittu  
ḷḷattān padaiyaiyu

<sup>1</sup> S I I, Vol III, p 210

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol XXI, p 187

<sup>3</sup> Engraved in Grantha

<sup>4</sup> The letters *rāja* and *marā* are engraved in Grantha

<sup>5</sup> The letters *tribhu* are in Grantha

<sup>6</sup> The letters *Rājādhirājade* are in Grantha

<sup>7</sup> *rāja* is engraved in Grantha

<sup>8</sup> The word *vinaiḷḷiḷḷugaḷum* may be inserted before *seyyappārtta*

- 16 m ippaduk[ ku=kkiranavar=āna ] Ila[nkāpura-Da]ndanāyakkānum Jagat-  
tra<sup>1</sup>ya-dDandanā [ya\*]kkanum ullittā-
- 17 raiyū konru [ Madurai- vāśalilē ivargal talaigalai ] taippittu iv-vūrilē Kula-  
śekhara<sup>2</sup>iyum puga-vittu chehe-
- 18 Ii nirkā ku virōdamāy iruppana śeyya ppārttu ivan tan padai-
- 19 nilaiyāna Ūrātturai Pulaichchēri Mātōttam Vallikāmam Mattivāl ullitta  
ūrgalilē paḍaigalū-
- 20 m puguda-vittu paḍavukaluñ cheyvikkara paḍi kōttu idukku pparikāramāga  
Iḷattin maru-maganārāy Ila rāya<sup>3</sup>ttukku-
- 21 kaḍavarāy munbē pōndirunda Śivallavarai aḷaippittu ivārkkū vēnduvana-  
vūñ=cheydu ivaraiyūm i-
- 22 varudanē vēndum paḍaigalum Ūrātturai Vallikāmam Mattivāl ullitta ūr-  
galilē pugavittu=pPulaichchē-
- 23 ri Mitōttam ullitta ūrgalum aḷittu Iḷattānina<sup>4</sup>vāy iv vūrgalil nūṇa ānaga-  
lūn kaikkon-
- 24 du Ila mandalattil kīl mēl irupadin kāda mērpada<sup>5</sup>vun ten<sup>6</sup>vadal muppadin  
kāda mērpada<sup>5</sup>vum aḷittu it-
- 25 turavil ivan manicheharāy=irundāril kolvārai<sup>7</sup>yūn konru piḍippārai<sup>8</sup>yūm piḍittu  
ivargalaiyūm śa-
- 26 rakkiy-<sup>9</sup>kkūkkondala<sup>10</sup>vum piḍitta ānāigalum aḷaippittu ivan namakku kkātti  
Iḷi mandalattu=kkārva-
- 27 m ellāppaḍiyālum ivan aḷiya=chcheyvittapadikkum Pāndiyanār Kulaśēkharar  
tamakku munbu śeyda
- 28 nānmaigalum pīrādē Iḷattānudanē [sa<sup>2</sup>]mbandam pannavum ivanum ivaru<sup>11</sup>n  
kūḍi nūṇu Śōḷa[rīya<sup>2</sup>]ttuk-
- 29 ku virōdamāy=iruppana śeyvavun-kadavadāga mechchayittu idukku uru-  
ppūga=pPāndi nāttu Iḷagattānilum ma[r<sup>12</sup>]ra cheh-
- 30 āmantarilum namakku=chchērvupattu nūṇuḍan śeygīra Irājarāja<sup>13</sup>kkarkuḍi-  
yarāyanum Irājaga<sup>14</sup>mbīra Añjukōt-
- 31 tai-Nādālvānum ullittārai [a]tturaigalil nūṇum Vellāṇṇukku vaḍa-karaiyilē pōda-  
ppanni
- 32 Ila<sup>15</sup>nkāpuri dDandanā [ya\*]kkanum Jagattra<sup>16</sup>ya-dDandanāyakkānum ullittār talaigaḷāy  
Madurai vāśaliṅ taichcha talai-
- 33 gaḷum vāṅgi ppōgadu<sup>17</sup>vittu ellā tti<sup>18</sup>maigalum śeyyakkaḍavadāga kkatuḍi chcheygīra-  
paḍiyūm Iḷattān Kul<sup>19</sup>śekhara<sup>20</sup>=uda-

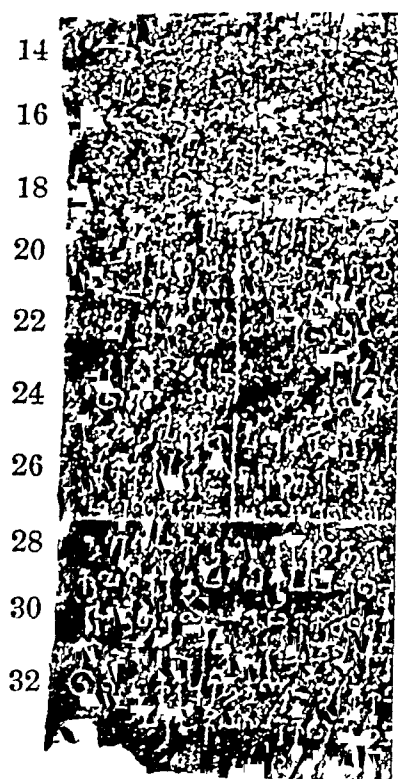
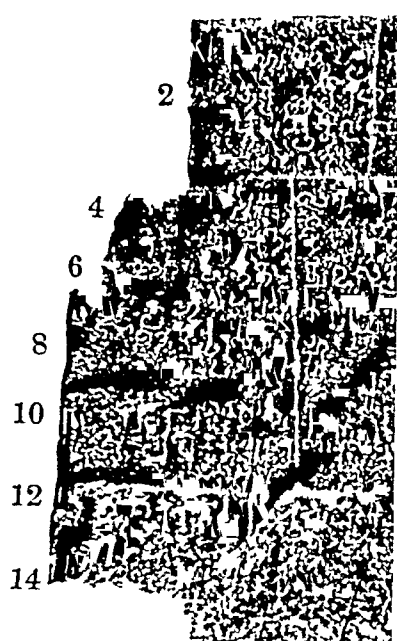
<sup>1</sup> The letter *tra* is engraved in Grantha

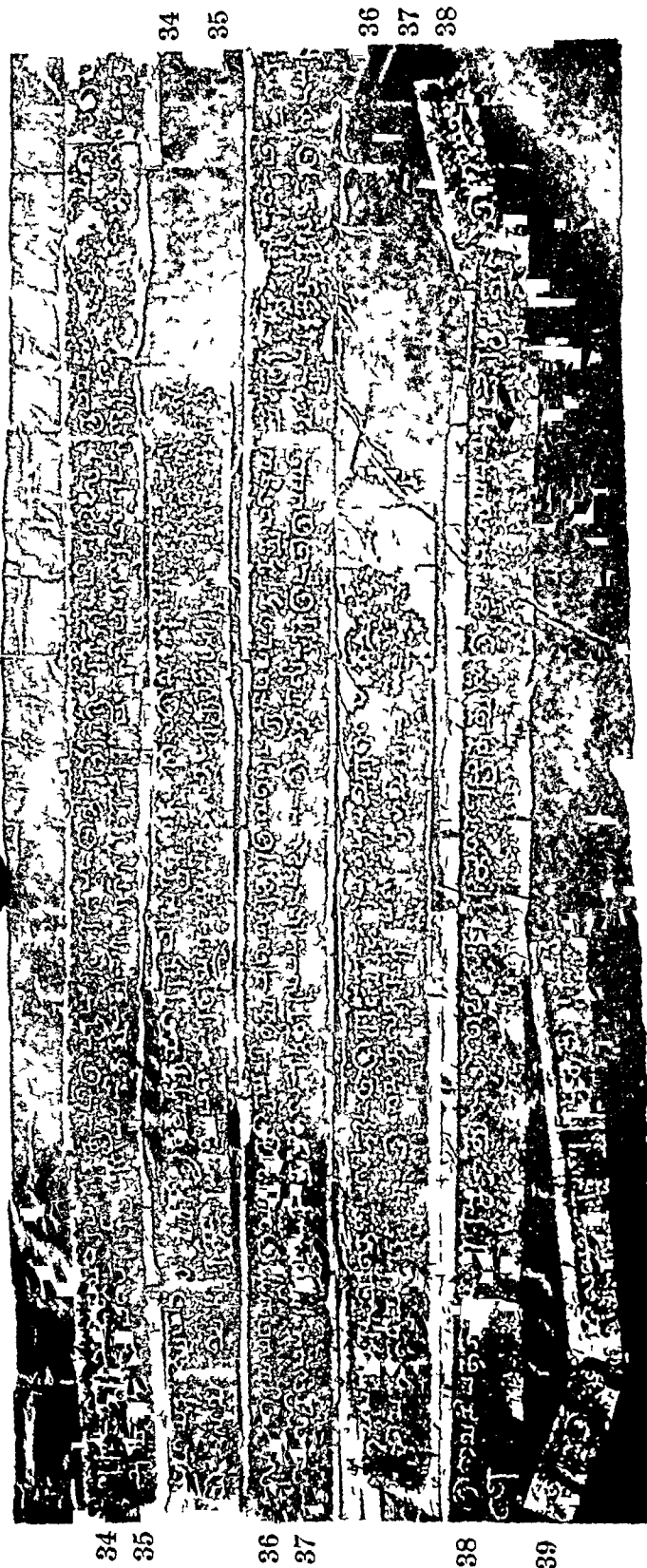
<sup>2</sup> Engraved in Grantha

<sup>3</sup> The letters *rāyasa* are engraved in Grantha

<sup>4</sup> The letters *rāyaga* are engraved in Grantha

<sup>5</sup> The letters *jagattira* are engraved in Grantha.





- 34 n kūda nṇṇu udavi-śeygai śūtti ivarudan śārvupattu-nī rārkkū vara-  
kkāṭṭina ōlaigalum va[stukka]lum va[ḷi]yilē iva <sup>1</sup>paḍiyālum  
Śōlarāja<sup>2</sup>ttukku virōdamāy-irukkaiyālē ivanai
- 35 angu nṇṇum pōkku munbē pḍittu Maduraikku-kkāranavarāna Parākkiramāna-  
Pāṇḍiyar maganār Vira-[Pāṇḍiya]dēvarai Madurai .. ..<sup>2</sup> 1=vaṣṭu<sup>3</sup>-  
vāluṇ kudiraiyāluṇ vāṇḍuvanavaiyāṇṇil namakku checho
- 36 Il checheyavēnduvanavuñ cheyittu allādana ivanē migudippada nēṇḍum  
cheydu śurukku[na\*] nā[ḷai]kkullē Madurai <sup>4</sup>dēva valanāttu Nēn-  
malai-nāttu Irājarāja<sup>5</sup>ṇ-Palaiyaṇūr ilē paḍirṇu-
- 37 vēḷi nilam paṇṇirandāvadu mudal antarāyam pāttam utpada iraiyil-āga  
ittu ippaḍi Udayār Tiruvālangādudaiyā . . Mūvēṇḍavḷāṇ || -Ivai Nila-  
gangarayan eḷuttu || 6
- 38 Ivai Dipattarayan eḷuttu 7 Ivai Kanakarāja'n eḷuttu 8 Ivai Malaiyappi-  
rāja[n\*] eḷuttu 9 Ivai Malava ..
- 39 tu | 10 Ivai Villavarāyan eḷuttu 11

## TRANSLATION

(Lines 1 5)<sup>1</sup>

(Ll 6 10) —In the twelfth year and one hundred and fifty-seventh day (of the reign) of the king Rājakēsarivarmaṇ alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājādhirājadēva, while he was pleased to be seated along with (his queen) Ulagudai mukkoḷḷiḷānadaigaḷ on the golden throne of heroes, (the following order was issued) to the dēvalanmī and Śrī māhēśvara-  
langūni śeyṇār of the temple of Udayār Tiruvālangādudaiyār at Palaiyaṇūr in Mēnmalaip-  
Palaiyaṇūr-nādu, a subdivision of Jayaṅgoḍaśōḷa mandulam (under the royal seal) Tribhuvana-  
chakravattī Kōṇēṇṇamaikoḍāṇ —

(Ll 11-17) —Vēdavanamuḍaiyān Ammaiappaṇ alias Anṇaṇ Pallavarājan of Palaiyaṇūr (acted thus)

When Parākkramabāhu of Ilam, from the time (he) assumed sovereignty acted inimically against the Chōla country by various means and as a part of this move, since he caused an army to enter the Pāṇḍya country and forced Kulaśākhara also to flee from Madurai to the north bank of the (river) Vellāru to counteract this (hostile) action, what-  
ever (assistance) was needed by Kulaśākhara was given (by us, i e, the Chōla king).

<sup>1</sup> This portion is built in before 'paḍiyāluṇ' the letters 'ellap' may be inserted

<sup>2</sup> The gap may be filled up with the aid of the Tirumayānam inscription, with the words 'kōyilil idalkadāra-  
dāga irinukku nām choḷi belangalum iṇḍuvārayum pōgaviḍuvāṇavum [viṣṭu].'

<sup>3</sup> The letter *ḷu* is engraved in Grantha

<sup>4</sup> From the Tirumayānam inscription, a portion of this gap may be filled up with the words 'nairppōḷḷi  
Vira Paṇḍyaēvarai Madurayil pugaviṣṭa paḍikkum irinukku Arumoli'

<sup>5</sup> The letters rājarāja are engraved in Grantha

<sup>6</sup> Engraved in Grantha

<sup>7</sup> The letter *ja* is engraved in Grantha

<sup>8</sup> For translation see above Vol XXI, p 191

commanders (*with*) forces were despatched, the army of Ceylon (*was destroyed*) and its generals Lankāpura-Dandanāyaka and Jagattraya-Dandanāyaka put to death, their heads mounted on the gates of Madura, and (*thereafter*) Kulaśekhara was allowed to enter this city (*i e*, Madura)

(Ll 18 26) —When (*affairs*) stood thus hearing (*the report*) that, with the intent of making (*another*) hostile attempt (*against the Chōla country*), this (*Parākramabāhu*) had assembled forces into his strongholds at Ūratturai, Pulaichchēri, Mātōttam, Vallikāmam, Mattivāl and other places and was also constructing (*a fleet of*) ships (*therein*), (*ie, in order*) to ward off this (*danger*), summoned Śrīvallabha the nephew of the Ceylonese (*king*) and a claimant to the kingdom of Ceylon and (*who*) had already arrived (*here*), did whatever was required for him (*and*) despatched him with the necessary forces to Ūratturai, Vallikāmam, Mattivāl and other villages (*and*) destroyed Pulaichchēri, Mātōttam and other villages, captured the elephants belonging to the king of Ceylon stationed in these places, laid waste in Īla mandalam more than twenty *kādam*<sup>1</sup> (*of land*) from east to west and more than thirty *kādam* from south to north, killed in this place such of his subordinates as had to be killed and captured those who had to be captured This (*Imman Pallavarājan*) sent for these (*captives*) along with the booty and captured elephants and displayed (*them*) to us (*and*) thus (*once again*) frustrated in every way the efforts (*of the king*) of Īla mandalam

(Ll 27 33) —The Pāndya Kulaśekhara disregarding the good done to him before (*by us, i e*, the Chōla king), entered into an alliance with the (*king*) of Ceylon, (*and both*) this (*king of Ceylon*) and this (*Kulaśekhara*) decided to stand together and act against (*the interest of*) the Chōla kingdom As an evidence of this move, (*they*) drove from (*their*) places to the north bank of (*the river*) Vellāru, our allies at Ēlagam in the Pāndya country like Rājarājakkarkudiyarāyan and Rājagambhira Añjukōttai-Nādālvān and other feudatories who were assisting our cause and removed from the gates of Madura, the heads of Lankāpuri Dandanāyaka, Jagattraya-Dandanāyaka and others which had been pinned thereon, (*and in this way*) carried out the intent of working every kind of evil (*to us, i e*, the Chōla king)

(Ll 34 39) —As the letters and presents sent to the adherents of Kulaśekhara by the king of Ceylon betokening assistance (*to the former, when intercepted*) on the way (*proved Kulaśekhara's*) hostility to the Chōla kingdom, we directed him (*Annan Pallavarājan*) to oust him (*Kulaśekhara*) from there (Madura) and to (*reinstate*) in Madura Vira-Pāndya, the son of Parākrama-Pāndya who was from the beginning (*another*) claimant to the throne of Madura (*Further*), we provided him (*Annan Pallavarājan*) with all the requisites and directed him to indent on us (*when necessary*) for funds and cavalry and to manage the other things himself, and as he had so carried out (*our intentions*) within a short time (*and installed*) Vira-Pāndya (*in*) Madura, (*we granted him*), from the twelfth year, ten *vēli* of land in Rājarājan-Palaivanūr (*situated*) in Nenmalinādu, a division of [Arumoli]dēva-valanādu, made free of taxes including *antarāyam* and *pāttam* (*and commanded the engraving of the gift in the temple of*) Udayār Tiruvālangāduday[ār] (*This is the signature of*) Mūvūndavēlān ௨ This is the signature of Nilagangarayan ௨ This is the signature of Dipattarayan ௨ This is the signature of Kanakarājan ௨ This is the signature of Malayappirājan ௨ This [is the signature of] Maḷava This is the signature of Villavarāyan ௨

<sup>1</sup> *Kādam* is the Indian league measure about 10 miles in distance

## No 15 —THE KHAMKHED PLATES OF THE TIME OF PRATAPASILA

BY PROFESSOR V V MIRASHI, M A , NAGPUR

This is a set of three copperplates discovered by a farmer while digging under a wall of his house at Khāmkhēd or Khāmgāon about 35 miles south west of Mehkar in Berār. They reached the hands of Mr Y M Kale, B A , LL B , M L C of Buldānā, who kindly placed them at my disposal for editing.

The plates are strung on a circular ring 1 2' in thickness and 2 2' in diameter, passing through a hole about 1/2" in diameter in the centre of the top of each plate. The middle portion of the ring is flattened to contain a legend in two lines and the crude figure of a male deity sitting cross-legged, with a halo surrounding his face. The ends of the ring do not appear to have ever been soldered and were a little apart from each other when the plates reached me, so that the latter could be taken out with ease. This makes it doubtful if the ring belongs to the plates at all. The suspicion is strengthened by the fact that the legend on the ring, though incised in the same characters as the inscription on the plates, does not contain any of the names mentioned in the plates. The plates and the ring together weigh 74 tolas. Each plate measures 6 7' x 2 3'. After the plates were incised, it appears it was discovered that the hole of the first plate was wrongly cut at the centre of the bottom. It was, therefore, closed with a piece of copper rivetted into it and another was made at the centre of the top. Some portion on the right hand side of the first three lines is illegible owing to the corrosion and cracking of the first plate. The first and third plates are inscribed on the inner side only and the second, which is thicker, on both the sides. The letters are well cut and do not show through on the reverse. The ends of the plates are raised into rims to protect the letters. Each side of the plates contains six lines except the second side of the second plate which has five lines only. The characters are of the nail headed or acute angled variety of the North Indian alphabet. The engraver has, in the first two lines, shown the wedges clearly. Later on they are replaced by short horizontal top strokes. The inscription thus shows the transitional stage when the wedges at the top of letters were giving place to horizontal strokes which in course of time developed into the characteristic top-lines of the Nāgarī alphabet.<sup>2</sup> The size of letters varies from 1' on the first plate to 2' on the rest. The initial ā which is differentiated from a by a downward stroke attached to the middle of the right hand vertical line of a occurs in ādīnya (l 9) and āchchhētā (l 16). The initial u which has a curve at the lower end occurs in uttaratah (l 22) and uktam cha (l 12). The medial ā appears generally in the form of a downward stroke (cf Sagar-ādibhik (l 13) but occasionally appears above the line (cf rājānāh (l 13). The curve of the medial i often goes over the line to the left of the letter and, encircling it, appears again to the right, generally ending in a serif (cf kīñchī (l 6). The medial u is shown in two ways—by lengthening the vertical stroke of the letter ending in a serif (cf Yudhishthira (l 17) and by means of a curve open to the left (cf bhuktā (l 13). The medial ū also occurs in two ways—(1) with a curve at the base of a letter, the end of which is either curled or turned sharply upwards (cf gavyūta (l 7) and (2) with the sign for initial ū, (cf bhūmch (l 6). The mātrās for ai, ō and au generally stand above the line. They appear curled in some cases (cf Gōlamma (l 10 and ś=ch=antad (l 12), l and m generally show a loop on the left (see, however, °Lumāra (l 8 and raksha (l 17, where l appears without a loop), ṛ still appears in its old tripartite form (cf rājānāh (l 13), ṭ is flat at the top (cf Īśvarabhalla (l 9), the base

<sup>1</sup> The seals of the Multai and Tivarkhēd plates are similarly formed (*Ind Ant*, Vol XVIII, p 231, and above, Vol XI, p 276).

<sup>2</sup> For a similar, but later, mixture of wedges and straight top strokes see the Vapdi Dindori plates of Gōvinda III (see Plate II (b), *Ind Ant*, Vol XI, p 160).

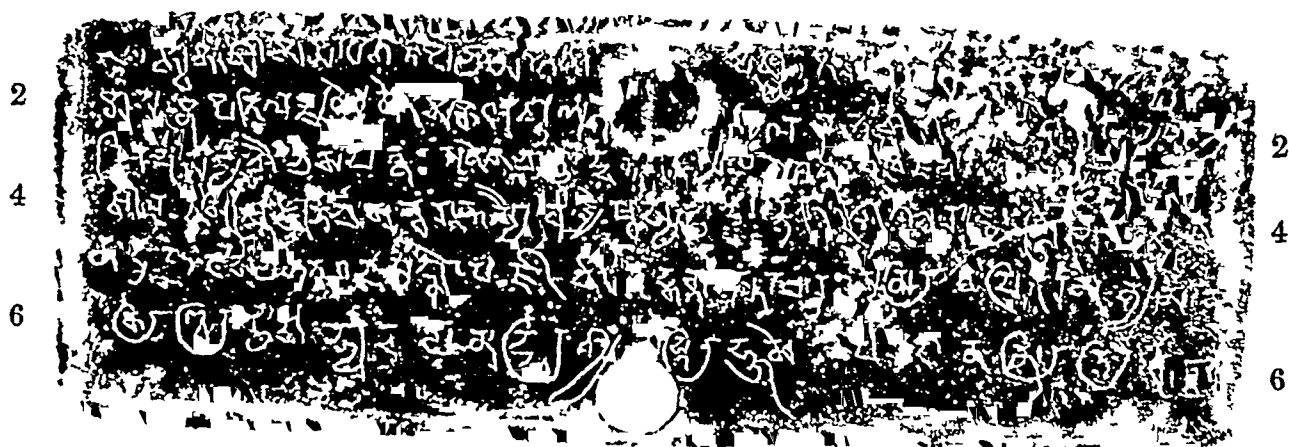




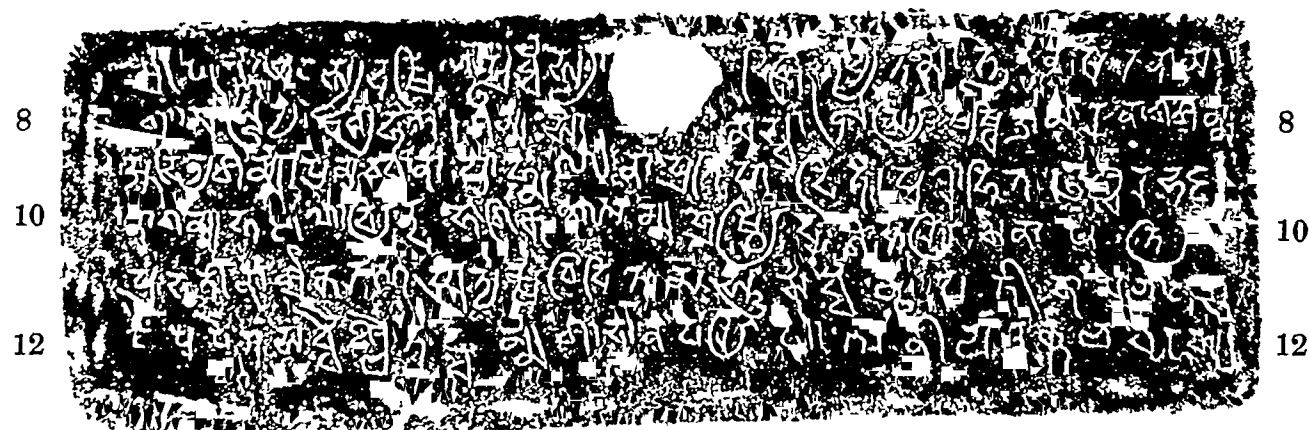
Seal



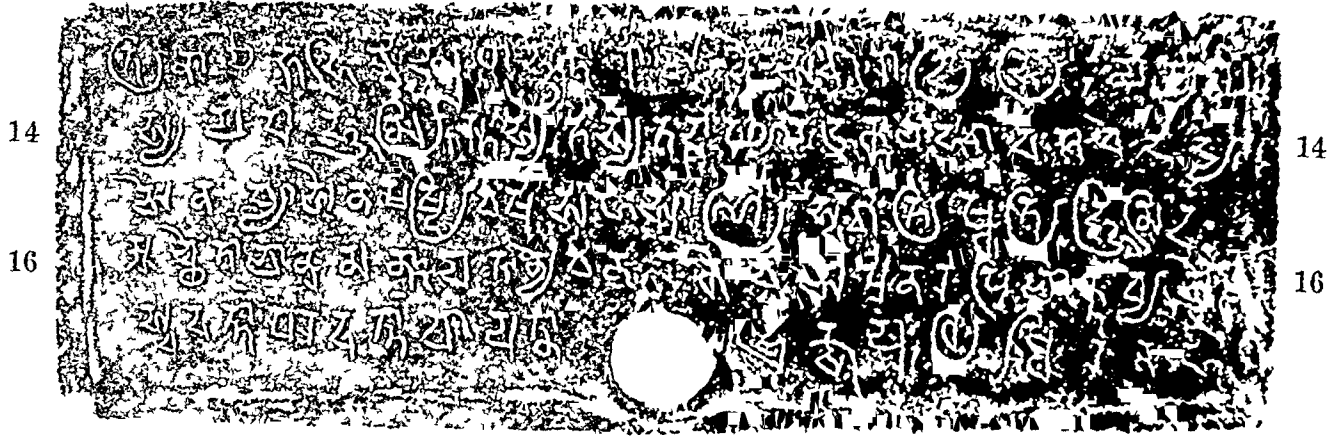
First Plate



Second Plate First Side



Second Plate Second Side



Third Plate



ancient Nandapura) is not one *gavyūta* (or four miles) as stated in the charter, but this mistake is probably due to the ignorance of the person who drafted the charter. The other villages cannot be identified.<sup>1</sup>

## TEXT †

## The Seal

प(. <sup>१</sup>)धम(र्म)कख(स्य)

## First Plate

1 ओम्<sup>३</sup> स्वस्ति श्री[. ॥<sup>४</sup>] समधिगतपचमहाश[ब्द][: <sup>५</sup>] शु[त्र<sup>७</sup>]त[र]श्री(?)  
प्रक[ट<sup>८</sup>]करजदा(?)त[स<sup>९</sup>]-

2 मस्तपतिलक्ष[णोपेत][<sup>१०</sup>] सकलगुणगणालं[क]तशरी[र:<sup>११</sup>] . . श[र]ी[र]<sup>१२</sup>]-  
[चै]र्य[शैर्य]<sup>१३</sup>

3 [वि]नय[स]त्यशौचसंपन्नः अनेकच[तु]र्दन्त[गजघटा].. <sup>१४</sup>[प्राप्त<sup>१५</sup>]विजयः [महाराजः]  
प्र[ताप<sup>१६</sup>]-

4 शीत<sup>१७</sup> तस्मि<sup>१८</sup> [शास]ति वसुधैवकुटुम्बक<sup>१९</sup> ज्येष्ठस्य [आतुः] उतरगणराजः<sup>२०</sup> सुनुः दध-

5 नदुहटः [र:<sup>२१</sup>] स च तत्पादपद्मोपजीवी तद्वक्त<sup>२२</sup> स्तत्परः स्वमिव पितर मन्यमानः]  
6 किञ्चिच्छे[यो]भ्युदयमुद्दिश्य नास्ति भूमिः प[र] दानमिति कृत्वा

## Second Plate, First Side

- 7 श्रीपरिषद्वेष्टस्य दक्षिणपूर्वस्या दिशि गव्यतमात्रे नन्दपुरं नाम  
8 ग्राम(ग्राम) सूर्यग्रहे<sup>१०</sup> ॥<sup>११</sup> शर्म<sup>१२</sup> सोमस्वामिषष्ठिकुमारनागशर्मा-  
9 आदित्यशर्म<sup>१३</sup> ॥<sup>१४</sup> प्रसूखानां ब्राह्मणानां प्रतिपादित<sup>१५</sup> । पुरोहितैश्चरभट्ट-  
10 नागभट्ट ॥<sup>१६</sup> गोविन्दभोगिकगोलभभट्टिदुर्गहरिसेनापति-  
11 प्रभृतीनां श्रीकरणप्रत्यक्षं विदितमस्तु सर्वेष्टपतीनां<sup>१७</sup>मचाटभ-  
12 टप्रवेशं सर्वेष्टैतद्वर्माशसन परिपालनीय [॥<sup>१८</sup>] उक्तं च वृहस्प-<sup>१९</sup>

## Second Plate, Second Side

13 तिना [र:<sup>१</sup>] बहुभिर्बहुधा भुक्ता राजानै<sup>१७</sup> सगरादिभिः [र:<sup>१८</sup>] य[स्य] य-

<sup>1</sup> The accompanying plates have been prepared from excellent ink estampages kindly supplied by Mr. K. N. Dikshit, M. A., Superintendent, Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta

† From the original plates

<sup>2</sup> The second letter on the seal is illegible, the medial vowel seems to be *u*

<sup>3</sup> Expressed by a symbol

<sup>4</sup> [The reading from here to the end of the line is doubtful. The first two letters look like *ś-chatu*.—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> About three letters are illegible here [The reading is *chaturdanta* which is also found in the inscriptions of the Vishnukundin rulers, cf. above, Vols. IV, p. 196, and XI, p. 134.—Ed.]

<sup>6</sup> [I cannot make out the first three syllables of this name from the plate.—Ed.]

<sup>7</sup> Read तस्मिन्

<sup>8</sup> Read उत्तरगणराजस्य

<sup>9</sup> The *visarga* is superfluous

<sup>10</sup> Some portion of the grant giving more names of Brahmins is dropped here

<sup>11</sup> *Danda* not required

<sup>12</sup> The *visarga* is unnecessary

<sup>13</sup> Read आदित्यशर्म

<sup>14</sup> Read प्रतिपादितवान्

<sup>15</sup> The *anusvara* is superfluous

<sup>16</sup> Read सतिना

<sup>17</sup> Read राजभिः

foreman of an assembly of this nature The Kāyastha, who composed this inscription, was Śrī-Bhōgika, a Sūryadvīja, who was the son of Śrī-Vihānda Dr N P Chakravarti, following Śrī Rāmakrishna Bhandarkar<sup>1</sup>, suggests that this term *Sūryadvīja* may be taken in the sense of the Māga or Śākadvīpi Brāhmanas who were the special priests of the Sun-god and are traditionally supposed to have sprung from the Sun The era in which the dates of this inscription are recorded is not mentioned I have, however, no doubt that these should be referred to the Harshakāla era which began in the year 606 A D and was in ancient times in use in the Panjāb, the United Provinces, Bihār and Orissa, Nepāl, etc If this assumption is correct, the years mentioned would be equivalent to 774 and 775 A D

In the above paragraph I have given the term *dīvākula* the alternative meaning of a 'statue shrine' on the analogy of the *dīvākula* of the Ikshvāku kings of Ayōdhyā in Bhāsa's play called the *Pratimā nāṭakam* This gallery of the heroes of the Ikshvāku race differed from a divine temple in having neither the banner of a god nor the statues of door-keepers It was open to visitors, but the statues enshrined in it were not to be bowed to A structure of this nature was excavated in a mound near Mathurā some 23 years ago Another literary reference to a *dīvākula* occurs in the *Mṛichchhakatīlām* where, however, the precise character of the shrine is not quite clear The earliest mention of such a structure in an inscription is that found in the inscription on the base of the herdless statue of Yamatakhama (?) which was found in an ancient site at Mat near Mathurā This site also yielded other statues of Kushāna kings, viz, one of Kanishka, a torso of the great Śaka satrap Chashtana, etc

#### TEXT

- 1 ओ<sup>२</sup> खस्ति १ ॥ महाराज्ञी श्रीकामेश्वरीदेव्या सत्त्वा
- 2 देवकुले नवकर्मपति उपेन्द्रपुत्रजयन्तरा-
- 3 ज आवन्तिको । सूर्यद्विजोः ॥ पंचकुल श्रीवीरादि-
- 4 त्वपुत्र ओपिस्तकप्राज्ञः ॥ ॥ कायस्थ श्रीविदे-
- 5 न्दपुत्र श्रीभोगिका सूर्यद्विजः ॥ ॥ इति
- 6 सवत् १६८<sup>३</sup> आश्वयुजवति ८ शनीः अतो
- 7 दिना आरभ्य सवत् १६९ आषाढशुति १२ वृहो<sup>४</sup> प्र-
- 8 तिष्ठा कृता.<sup>५</sup> ॥ ॥ = ॥

No 17 —JETHWAI PLATES OF THE RASHTRAKUTA QUEEN SILAMAHADEVI,  
SAKA-SAMVAT 708

By PROFESSOR D R BHANDARKAR, M A, PH D (HON), CALCUTTA

These plates were sent to me for decipherment by the late Mr V P Bhandarkar when he was Huzur Private Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja Holkar They were discovered some

<sup>1</sup> *Vaishnavism and Saivism*, pp 161ff

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol

<sup>3</sup> [In ll 6 and 7 the second digit of the year looks more like 5 than 6. But in neither case the date admits of verification from the particulars given in the inscription —Ed ]

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps shortened form of वृहस्पती

<sup>5</sup> The text as found in the inscription is retained without any corrections.

A SARADA INSCRIPTION FROM HUND



2

4

6

8

2

4

6

8



thirty or thirty-five years ago in a small dilapidated fort on a hill near the village of Jethwai, about 8 miles west of Barwaha, in the Nimār district of the Indore State. One Babaji named Hirapurī, I am told, lighted upon them while digging into a brick and stone platform in the fort for materials for the construction of his house at Jethwai.

The plates are three in number, each measuring  $9\frac{1}{4}' \times 6\frac{1}{2}'$ . The middle one of these is thicker than the side ones. The edges of them are raised into rims to protect the writing. The plates are strung together on an oval ring with a diameter measuring between  $2\frac{1}{2}'$  and  $3'$ . On the left side of the plates, a round hole is bored for the ring, and the second plate seems to have been slightly damaged through this boring operation. To the back of the ring is fixed a circular seal with a diameter measuring  $1\frac{1}{2}'$ . The seal bears the figure of Garuda. The inscription is engraved on the inner sides of the first and the third plate, and on both sides of the second. There are sixteen lines engraved on the first plate, sixteen lines on the first and seventeen lines on the second side of the second plate, and nineteen lines on the inner side of the third plate. The grant thus contains sixty-eight lines engraved in all.

The language in which the grant is written is Sanskrit throughout. The first thirty-five lines with part of the thirty-sixth, which set forth the genealogical account, line 40 and parts of lines 39 and 41 which contain a stanza descriptive of the transitoriness of human life, and lines 60-65, with parts of lines 59 and 66 which contain the benedictive and imprecatory verses are in verse and the rest in prose. The genealogical verses of the grant occur in one or other of the Rāshtrakūta charters hitherto published, except two, namely, stanzas 21 and 24, which are found only in the Surat Plates of Karkkarāja<sup>1</sup>. Stanza 21 contains mere stereotyped praise, but stanza 24 is historically important. The script used in this inscription is Nāgarī, as is generally the case with the Rāshtrakūta charters. As regards orthography, the consonants following *r* are, as a rule doubled, though indifference in this respect is noticeable in some cases, thus *k* and *n* are doubled in *Karkkarāja* (l. 7) and *Kārnātalam* (ll. 10-11), but not in *āchandrārṇāra* (l. 53). The letter *b* is, as a rule, denoted by the sign for *b*, but also by the sign for *v* in a few cases, such as *śalpāmvu* (l. 40), *samādhyamāna* (l. 42) and so on. The *anusvāra* is changed to *n* and *ñ* in conjunction with a following *n* or *ch*, once, in *dhraṣṭuṃ=nayan* (l. 2), and once in *kulañ=cha* (l. 4). The *visarga* is changed to *ś* in conjunction with a following *s*, once in *mśśisham* (l. 33) though it is retained in *mśśēsha*<sup>2</sup> (l. 16). *N* is used instead of the *anusvāra* once in *rājasinhah* (l. 3). As regards lexicography, lines 48-52 contain some words such as *drōngarikā*, *vaha* and so forth, the exact import of which is not known.

The inscription is one of Śīla-mahādēvī, wife of the Rāshtrakūta king Dhruva, or, as she is described in lines 37-39, *Paramēśvarī Parama bhattārikā Śrī Śīlamahādēvī*, the great queen of the *Paramabhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Dhārāvarsha*, the illustrious Dhruvarājādēva who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the illustrious Akālavarshadēva, i.e., his father Krishna I. She is described as the princess of the illustrious Vīttarasa alias Vishnuvardhana who bore the epithet of *Sarva lōk-āśraya*, 'Support of the whole world'. The latter is doubtless Vishnuvardhana IV of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty ruling at Vēngī. In his account of this dynasty J. F. Fleet<sup>2</sup> says that he was son of Vijayāditya I. and reigned for thirty-six years from A.D. 764 to 799. He is called Vishnuvardhana in all inscriptions except one. In this last his name is given as Vishnurāja which is no doubt the Sanskrit form of Vīttarasa. No reasonable doubt can thus be entertained as to Śīla-mahādēvī being the daughter of the Eastern Chālukya king, Vishnuvardhana IV.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of a village by Śīla-mahādēvī to two Brāhmanas. The village granted is Kōlēpadra, situated in the district of Nāndīpuradvārī. The

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. XXI, p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 100.



boundaries of the village have been specified. One of the donees was Mārachcha, son of Mārādī. He was an *adhvaryu* and a religious student of the Kāṇva-śākhā. His native place was Kurugōta, and he pertained to the Śāṅkayāna *gōtra*. The other donee was Durgāditya, son of Bhatta Nārāyaṇa. He also was an *adhvaryu*, but was a religious student of the Mādhyandina-śākhā. His native place was Nāndīpuradvārī. He was a member of the Community of Brāhmins well versed in the four Vēdas (*chāturvīdya sāmānya*) belonging to his place, and pertained to the Jātūkarnya *gōtra*. The occasion of the grant was the eclipse of the sun which occurred in the Śaka year 708 expired on the Amāvāsyā day of the dark half of the Asvayuja (Āsvina). This corresponds to Wednesday, 27th September, A D 786, when there was a solar eclipse.

It will be seen that the donor of the grant is a queen. And what is noteworthy about it is that she grants a village and issues the charter without any formal sanction or approval being given by her husband, king Dhruvarāja. This gives rise to an interesting question about the polity of Ancient India. Instances are not unknown of grants being made by queens. We have thus the Nāhātī Plate of the Sēna king Ballālasēna, recording and sanctioning the grant of a village by his mother Vilāsadēvī on the occasion of a solar eclipse.<sup>1</sup> As Vilāsadēvī was the wife of Vijayasēna who was then dead, one can easily understand why her grant had to be approved and sanctioned by her son Ballālasēna who was then the living king. The case was different with Prabhāvatiguptā who issued the Poona Plates.<sup>2</sup> She was the *agramahishī* of the Vākātaka king Rudrasēna I. But when she issued the grant, she was Regent during the minority of her son Divākarasēna.<sup>3</sup> This is, no doubt, an interesting item of information, because it shows that women could administer a kingdom when their sons were minors. But as she was practically the ruler, it is intelligible how she could issue a charter without sanction being accorded to it by an extraneous higher authority. Nevertheless, be it noted, the charter has a seal bearing not her own name, but that of her son, namely, Divākarasēna. Far more interesting perhaps are the grants of Tribhuvana-Mahādēvī and Dandī-Mahādēvī, both of the Kara family of Guhēśvara pātaka.<sup>4</sup> The first of these was the daughter of Rājamalla, a king of the south, and Queen of Lalitabhāradēva. After the death of her husband, the feudatory chieftains of the kingdom approached her with a request to accept the sovereignty come to her in course of succession, and cited the instance of Dēvī Gōsvāmīnī who apparently belonged to the same family and who agreed to administer the kingdom under similar circumstances. And in compliance with their request, we are told, she ascended the lion throne like Kātyāyanī. The name of the other female ruler furnished by this dynasty is that of Dandī mahādēvī, who was the daughter of the Kara king Śubhākara. That both Tribhuvana-mahādēvī and Dandī mahādēvī were real rulers is proved by the charters they issued on their sole authority, and, above all, by the titles which they bore, namely, *Paramabhāttārīkā Mahārājādhirājā Paramēśvarī*. The only difference between these two is that while Tribhuvana mahādēvī was married into the Kara family, Dandī-mahādēvī was apparently a virgin of that family. Whether the latter could have continued to be the ruler if she had been married is a most interesting point of law with which, however, we are not here concerned. Suffice it to say, both of these queens were rulers in reality, and it is therefore no wonder if they could issue grants in their own names, with their own dates and seals and without any extraneous sanction. But what about Śīla mahādēvī, Queen of Dhruvarāja, who is the donor of

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol XIV, pp 159ff

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, Vol XV, pp 41f

<sup>3</sup> Another grant of Prabhāvatiguptā is known which she made when she was a hundred years old. Though the village was granted by her the plates refer themselves to a regnal year of her third son, Pravarasēna (D R Bhandarkar's *List of North Ind Inscrip*, No 1706, J P A S B, Vol XX, pp 58ff)

<sup>4</sup> J B O R S, Vol II, pp 422 23, II 16 20 Bhandarkar's *List* Nos 1413, 1416 and 1906.

our charter ? She was neither a Regent during the minority of any one of her sons, nor an autonomous ruler. And yet she issues a grant on her own authority and without the approval of her husband, Dhruvarāja. This is rather a case which deserves further consideration. For an entirely different procedure seems to have been followed in the case of the Gāhadavāla family. It seems that Gōvindachandra of this dynasty had two *pattamahādēvī mahārājās*, one Nayanakēlīdēvī and the other Gōsaladēvī, both *pattamahādēvīs*, apparently not at one and the same time. Both issue grants, Nayanakēlīdēvī in V 1176 and Gōsaladēvī in V 1208<sup>1</sup>. But though the grants are surely made by them, they have been issued with the express approval of Gōvindachandra in spite of the fact that each one of them is a *pattamahādēvī* and is described as *samastarājaparakriyōpālā* which Kielhorn renders by "endowed with all royal prerogatives". Such was not, however, the case with Śīla mahādēvī whose titles *paramēśvarī paramabhāttārīkā* do not seem to be empty and unmeaning. Because in the prose portion of the inscription which really sets forth the details of the grant, she herself issues orders to the officers concerned with the village granted. At the end of the record also, the *Dūtaka* and the officer who drew up the document carry out their respective duties according to the orders, not of Dhruvarāja, but of Śīla-mahādēvī. And further there is nothing in the draft of the charter which shows that any approval or sanction was ever accorded to the grant by Dhruvarāja. This shows that the high-sounding royal titles which are coupled with her name are not an empty boast, but are a clear indication that she was a co partner of her husband in the Rāshtrakūta sovereignty. Two questions here arise: first, how could she be a co partner of her husband in royal sovereignty, and, secondly, are there any more instances of this kind ?

It is well known that in ancient times wife and husband were jointly concerned in all the affairs of the life, not excluding the administration of a kingdom, and that in process of time this co right of woman fell into desuetude in North India, but continued to be recognised for a long time in South India. Thus when a member of a royal family was crowned king, he was originally crowned along with his wife. Two instances will here suffice. The *Rāmāyana* describes the coronation of Rāma, and the following significant line appears in that connection: *tatah sa prayato vṛddhō Vasishthō brāhmanah saha | Rāmam ratna-mayē pūṭhē sa Sītām samnyavēsayat ||*<sup>2</sup> This shows that when Rāma was crowned king, he was crowned not alone, but along with Sītā. The coronation of another epic hero that is always uppermost in the mind of a Hindu is that of Yudhishtira, with reference to which the following verse occurs in the *Mahābhārata*, *upavēśya mahātmanam Kṛṣṇam cha Drupad ātma-jām*<sup>3</sup>. This also shows clearly that Yudhishtira was crowned sovereign not alone, but jointly with Draupadī. If this kind of coronation has a meaning (and certainly it was originally not a mere formality), it must mean that both husband and wife were co sharers of the sovereignty so conferred upon them. This alone can explain why in the charter issued by Śīla mahādēvī there is no approval or sanction given to it by Dhruvarāja. Being crowned along with her husband, she had as much authority to issue the grant in her name as he had in his.

It may, however, be contended that this line of reasoning, spacious as it is, is not convincing, unless more instances can be adduced to show that husband and wife jointly shared the ruling authority. And luckily such instances are by no means unknown though, so far as I know, they come from South India. Attention may be drawn to the Bankāpūr Inscription of the time of the Chālukya Sōmēśvara I when in Śaka 977 the Kādamba chieftain Harikēśarīdēva was administering the Banavāsī twelve thousand, we are told, not alone and by himself, but in company with his

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol IV, pp 108ff, Vol V, pp 117 ff

<sup>2</sup> *Yuddha Kanda*, *Sarga*, 128, v 59

<sup>3</sup> *Śānti*, P, *Sarga* 40, v 14 (Bengali Recension)

wife Lachchalādī<sup>1</sup> Here is thus a clear instance of husband and wife jointly ruling over a province If we, however, want to know whether, as a matter of fact, a crowned queen can issue a charter on her own authority, that instance is supplied by Vijaya mahādī, wife of Chandrāditya who was the elder brother of the Chālukya king Vikramāditya I of Bādāmi We have not one, but two, copper plate grants issued by her<sup>2</sup> And these grants she has made independently and without reference to her husband or Vikramāditya I This authority she must have derived from her position as *mahishī* or crowned queen, as she has actually been called, of Chandrāditya But this joint rule by husband and wife is not a phenomenon of the mediæval period of Ancient India We thus have another instance in Nāsik Cave Inscription No. 5 which contains an order to Sāmaka (Śyāmaka), the Officer at Gōvardhana, by Gautamīputra Śātakarni of the Śātavāhana dynasty and the grant of a fresh plot of land in lieu of the old uncultivable one, to the Buddhist monks staying in his Cave<sup>3</sup> It is a regular deed of grant bristling with fiscal terms and containing at the end the name of the engraver and the dates of the original donation and the actual execution But who issues this order to the Officer at Gōvardhana? Not Gautamīputra Śātakarni by himself, but he and his wife together This clearly shows that Gautamīputra and his wife were both co-partners in the Śātavāhana sovereignty It will thus be seen that in ancient times both husband and wife had joint interest in the exercise of sovereignty and that they could issue a grant jointly or separately in his or her name without reference to the other party It is worthy of note that all the instances here adduced whether of a queen exercising joint authority along with her husband, or of a queen acting as Regent during the minority of her son or of a princess ruling sole sovereign as a virgin or a widowed queen are supplied from the history of South India Whether there was such law applicable to North India in historical times we do not know

We will now proceed to the consideration of other matters arising from our plates There are two grants which refer to the reign of Dhruvarāja The latter of these is the one whose contents we are discussing and which is dated Śaka 708 The earlier is the Pimpri Plates<sup>4</sup> dated Śaka 697 This last comes into conflict with the Dhulia grant of Karkarāja, son of this Dhruvarāja, because this inscription which is dated Śaka 701 refers itself to the prosperous reign of Gōvindarāja II, though his younger brother Dhruvarāja, as we know from Pimpri Plates, was already ruling in Śaka 697 K. B. Pathak, who has edited these Plates, therefore, declares the Dhulia grant to be a spurious record I agree with Pathak in his conclusion, but not for the reasons he has alleged His main contention is as follows He invites our attention first to the passage

ओप्रभूतवर्षस्य . . प्रवर्धमानराज्ये [१] तस्यानुजः ओध्रुवराजस्य (नामा) महो-  
नुभावो विहितप्रतापः [२] [१] प्रसाधिताशेषनरेन्द्रचक्रः [३] चूडामणि (क्रमेण)  
वालार्कवपुर्भूव । . तस्य सुत . . श्रीनर्कराजस्तदज्ञया सर्वानिव . समा-  
ज्ञापयति<sup>5</sup>

Here the expression तदज्ञया, says Pathak, can only mean "by the command of Dhruvarāja" He therefore naturally asks "how could Karkarāja order all his feudatories by the command of Dhruvarāja, in the prosperous reign of Gōvinda II, when Dhruva was not the reigning sovereign?" But the expression तदज्ञया need not necessarily mean "by the command of Dhruvarāja" It may also mean "by the command of Gōvindarāja" If the latter view is

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XIII, pp. 168, 171 (l. 28), and 174

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 164, ll. 13-15, *ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 46, ll. 15-18

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. VIII, p. 73

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. X, pp. 85ff

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 186, ll. 26-30

accepted, the objection raised by Pathak becomes null and void. His other objection, however, is more important though he has put it forth rather cryptically. In the quotation just given from the Dhulia grant, there is a stanza descriptive of Dhruva which begins with *tasya=ānujaḥ* and which occurs in many Rāshtrakūta records. But the last line of this stanza is not correctly worded, especially the initial part of it. It begins with *chūdāmanī* instead of with *lramēna* as in the other Rāshtrakūta inscriptions. Besides, *chūdāmanī*, as it is, causes a caesura of the metre. And what is curious is that in the Rāshtrakūta charters where this stanza is given, it is followed by another beginning with *jātē yatra cha*. This stanza, however, contains the word *chūdāmanau* which was probably sticking to the memory of the scribe who was writing out the Dhulia grant and which unwittingly fell through his pen while he was writing the last line of the preceding stanza. It is thus plain that both the stanzas were known to the scribe who prepared the draft of the Dhulia grant. Now, it is a fact well known to an epigraphist that in the Rāshtrakūta charters there are certain verses which are peculiar to certain Rāshtrakūta kings. These verses could have been composed by the court panegyrist only when those kings were on the throne. The verses beginning with *tasya ānujaḥ* and *jātē yatra cha* could thus have been composed only when Dhruvarāja was the king. And the question naturally arises how could these verses which must have been composed during the reign of Dhruvarāja alone find a place in the Dhulia grant which refers itself to the reign of his predecessor? The verse *जाति यत्र च* etc., as pointed out by Pathak, describes Dhruva as a paramount sovereign. When Dhruva was thus a sovereign, no Rāshtrakūta record can refer itself to the reign of his predecessor Gōvindarāja II, as the Dhulia grant undoubtedly does. Secondly, unless we suppose that the Dhulia grant is a forgery, a chronological discrepancy must arise which we cannot get over. As indicated above, whereas the Pimpri Plates of Dhruva are dated Śaka 697, his present plates are dated Śaka 708. We thus obtain a period ranging between Śaka 697 and 708 during which Dhruva reigned. And this period is disturbed if we consider the Dhulia grant as a genuine one. For if Gōvindarāja II ceased to reign and was succeeded by his brother Dhruva about Śaka 697, how could he be ruling again in Śaka 701 as the Dhulia grant implies. Evidence thus points to the irresistible conclusion that the Dhulia grant is a spurious one.

The last date of their father Krishnarāja is Śaka 694 supplied by the Bhāndak Plates<sup>1</sup>. And the earliest date known for Dhruva is, as we have seen, Śaka 697 which is the date of his Pimpri charter. Gōvinda II thus seems to have ruled between Śaka 694 and 697. This is no doubt a brief reign, but we know the cause of it, namely, that he was ousted from his throne by his younger brother Dhruva. To ascertain how he came to be so ousted, we will here quote accounts from three different charters and then piece them together so as to give a whole and intelligent story. The Dēoli and Karhād grants<sup>2</sup> of Krishna III say that "sensual pleasures made Gōvindarāja careless of the kingdom, and that, entrusting fully the universal sovereignty to his younger brother, Nirupama, he allowed his position as sovereign to become loose". The Daulatābād Plates of the Rāshtrakūta Śankaragana record that "His younger brother was Nirupama, who, on perceiving him self concerted, abandoned by (feudatory) princes, and even devoid of policy, assumed the royal authority placed (in the hands of a person) other than one possessed of devotion for the predecessors, in order that the sovereignty might not deviate from the family"<sup>3</sup>. The Parthān Plates of Gōvinda III furnish the following information in two stanzas<sup>4</sup>: "Although he (Gōvindarāja) brought kings in numbers, hostile as they were, (such as) the ruler of Mālava and so forth joined by the lord of Kāñchī, the Ganga, and (the prince) of Vēngī, he (Dhruvarāja) gave ruby

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 123ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 193, v. 10, Vol. IV, p. 282 v. 11.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 194 and pp. 196 7, v. 11.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 107, ll. 30 34.

ornaments and a quantity of gold, and, over and above that, kept his mind unchanged towards (his) brother. Thereafter when, even after conciliation and other (remedies), Vallabha (Gōvinda) did not make peace, (Dhruvaṛāja), the great ruler, speedily vanquished him in a battle offered by the brother, expelled the enemies from the east and the north, and secured the sovereignty decorated with the insignia of the effulgent *pāṇḍita*.” If we now piece together these items of information, we arrive at the following conclusions (1) Gōvinda II entrusted the government of the kingdom to Dhruva, because he gave himself up to sensual pleasures, (2) the consequence was that Dhruva became the sovereign *ipso facto*, (3) Gōvinda became alive to the danger of the situation and entrusted the government to another who apparently was not a Rāshtrakūta in lineage, (4) Dhruva thereupon revolted, and Gōvinda, to protect himself, entered into an alliance with kings who were otherwise inimical to the Rāshtrakūta family, and (5) Dhruva made overtures to Gōvinda by offering him gold and precious stones, but as the latter gave a battle, Dhruva fought, defeated his brother, and made himself supreme.

The kings with whom Gōvinda II formed an alliance were, as we have seen above, the ruler of Mālava, the Ganga prince and the lord of Vengī. In this connection we may take note of a verse about Dhruva which is an important one for the Rāshtrakūta history and which is verse 24 of our grant.<sup>1</sup> It says ‘As (Dhruva) reduced to subjection forts (*durga*) which were the cream of the three worlds, augmented his fame by obstructing the continuity of the (lineal) flow of the Gangas and made his own the prosperity of (a ruler) whose exalted insignia was the bull, he, alone and in this world displayed the quality of Paramēśvara (Supreme Ruler) clearly and powerfully, just as Śiva, by decorating Durgā who was the quintessence of the three worlds, augmenting his fame by obstructing the continuity of the flow of the Ganges, and accepting the lofty Bull (Nandī) as his bidge and ashes (for his use), displayed the quality of Paramēśvara (Supreme God).’ It is evident that this stanza is susceptible of *double entendre*. The mythological sense is clear enough. But so far as the historical sense is concerned, it supplies us with two facts of importance. The first is that Dhruva was a sworn enemy of the Gangas. This follows from the verses quoted from the Paithān Plates. The Ganga prince was actually one of the allies who had come to the help of Gōvinda when Dhruva was ousting him. It was therefore natural that Dhruva could never forgive the Ganga king. His hostilities with the Gangas have been referred to also in other Rāshtrakūta inscriptions. The second historical fact to be deduced from the same verse of our grant is that he made his own the prosperity of a ruler whose family insignia was the bull. Who could this prince be? Obviously he could be no other than a prince of the (Eastern) Chālukya family of Vengī who had the bull as their badge.\* And this prince again could be no other than his father in law, Vishnuvardhana IV. The latter was no doubt an ally of Dhruva when our grant was issued. But it could not have been so originally, for we know that like the Ganga prince, the Vengī also favoured Gōvinda II and opposed Dhruva. Now Vishnuvardhana IV, the Chālukya ruler of Vengī, we have seen, ruled from A D 764 to 799, whereas Gōvinda II from A D 772 to 775. Vishnuvardhana therefore must have been the ally of Gōvinda II and adversary of Dhruva about 775. But it seems that after Gōvinda II was finally ousted, Vishnuvardhana made alliance with Dhruva which was cemented by the latter marrying his daughter.

<sup>1</sup> The same verse occurs in the Surat Plates of Karkharāja (v 24) as stated above. Prof. A. S. Altekar, who has edited them, however, interprets it differently.

<sup>2</sup> [That the Eastern Chalukyas had boar as their badge and not bull is clear from the expression *vara varāha* *kāñchhana* found in their inscriptions and the figure of a boar on the seals of many of the copper plates issued by them. The reference here is probably to the Pallavas of Kāñchī who had the bull as their emblem as is evidenced by their seals. We know from the Paithān plates that the Lord of Kāñchī was one of the kings with whom Gōvinda II formed an alliance.—Ed.]

## TEXT 1

## First Plate.

- 1 श्री<sup>2</sup> [1\*] स वीर्य(व्या)द्वेषसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलं क्षत [1<sup>2</sup>] हरश्च यस्य  
क(का)न्तेन्दुकलया कमलक्षतं [11-]
- 2 आसीद्विभन्तिभिर<sup>3</sup>सुद्यतमण्डलायो ध्वस्तिन्नयन्नभिसुखो रणशब्दरोषु [1-] भूपः  
शुचिर्विधुरिवा-
- 3 त्रदिगन्ना<sup>4</sup>कीर्तिर्गोविन्दर(रा)ज इति राजसु राजसिंहः<sup>5</sup> [॥ 2\*] दक्षा चभूम-  
भिसुखीं सुमटाहाहसा<sup>6</sup>सुन्ना-
- 4 भितं सपदि येन रणेषु नित्यं ।(।) दष्टाधरेण दधता मुकुटि<sup>7</sup> ललाटे  
खड्ग<sup>8</sup> कुलञ्च(च) हृदयं च निजं च सत्त्व<sup>9</sup> [1 3\*]
- 5 खड्ग कारथा सु<sup>10</sup>खतश्च शोभ(भा) मानो मनस्तः सममेव यस्य । [म]ह(हा)-  
हवे नम<sup>11</sup> निश(।)म्य सद्यस्त्वय रि-
- 6 पु(पू)णा विगलत्यकाण्डे<sup>12</sup> ॥ [4\*] तस्यात्मजो जगति<sup>13</sup> विश्रुतदीर्घकीर्तिरर्त्त  
र्त्ति<sup>14</sup>हारिहरिविक्रमभयभरि<sup>15</sup> [1\*] भूपस्तृ(स्त्रि)वि-
- 7 दृपटपाणुक्षतः क्षतग्रः श्रीकर्करोज इति गोचमणिविभूव ॥ [5\*] तस्य  
विभिन्नकारट्युतदानदन्तिदन्तप्रहर-<sup>16</sup>
- 8 रुचिरोल्लिखितासपीठ. [1] क्षपः<sup>17</sup> प्रितो<sup>18</sup> चपितशत्रुरभूतनृज[ः] सद्राङ्गू-  
टकनकाद्रि<sup>19</sup>रिवेन्द्रराजः ॥[6\*]
- 9 तस्योपार्जितमहसस्त्वयश्चतुर्दधिवलयमालिन्याः [1\*] भोक्ता भुवः शतक्र-  
तुसदृषः<sup>20</sup> श्री-
- 10 दन्तिदुर्गरजोभुत्<sup>21</sup> ॥[7\*] काञ्चीशकेरलनरधिप<sup>22</sup>चोलपण्ड्य<sup>23</sup> श्रीहर्षवज्रटविभेदविधा-  
नदच [1\*] काण्ण-
- 11 टका<sup>24</sup> वलभनन्त्य<sup>25</sup>भजेयमन्यैर्भृत्यैः कियञ्जिरपि यः सहसा जिगीय ॥[8\*] <sup>26</sup>अश्ववि-

<sup>1</sup> From the original plates and impressions<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol<sup>3</sup> Read °त्तिभिर°<sup>4</sup> Read °टाहासा°<sup>5</sup> Read सत्त्वम्<sup>6</sup> Read °काण्डे<sup>7</sup> Read प्रहार<sup>8</sup> Read कनकाद्रि.<sup>9</sup> Read नराधिप<sup>10</sup> Read वलभनन्त्य°<sup>11</sup> Read °वासादिगन्त<sup>12</sup> Read मुकुटि<sup>13</sup> Read कारायांभु°<sup>14</sup> Read °रात्ति°<sup>15</sup> Read क्षाप<sup>16</sup> Read सट्ठ<sup>17</sup> Read पाण्ड्य<sup>18</sup> Read अश्व°<sup>19</sup> Read सिंह<sup>20</sup> Read खड्ग<sup>21</sup> Read नाम<sup>22</sup> Read धामधारी<sup>23</sup> Read चित्तौ<sup>24</sup> Read राजोभुत्<sup>25</sup> Read काशीटक<sup>26</sup> Read °गृहीत

- 12 स्त्रमयान्तमप्रतिहतमपेतयत्न [1\*] यो वल्लभं सपटि दण्डवलेन जित्वा  
राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरता-
- 13 मवाप ॥[9\*] आसेतोर्विपुलोपलावलिलसङ्गोलीभिर्मालाजलादाप्रालेयकलङ्कित-  
मलशिलाजा-
- 14 लातुपाराचलात् ॥(i) आ पूर्वपरव(वा)रिराशिपृ(पु)लिनप्रान्तप्रसिद्धावदे<sup>2</sup> येनेद्य  
जगती स्वपिक्रमवले-
- 15 नैकातपत्रा<sup>3</sup> छाता ॥[10\*] तस्मिन्निदं प्रया[ते व]ल्लभराजे धनप्रजावावः [1\*]  
श्रीकर्कराजसूनुर्महोपतिः क-
- 16 प्यराजोभूत् ॥[11\*] यस्य सभुजपरक्रम<sup>4</sup>निः॥(ii)येपोत्सादितारिदिक्र ॥(i)  
छाप्यस्येवाछाप्यं चरित

*Second Plate, First Side.*

- 17 श्रीवप्यरजस्य<sup>5</sup> ॥[12\*] शुभतुष्टतुष्टतुरगप्रसरेण<sup>6</sup>श्रेष्ठविकिरण [1\*] श्रीशेपि  
नभो निधिल
- 18 प्राहङ्गानायते खटं ॥[13\*] दीनानाधप्रणयिषु यथेष्टचेष्ट<sup>7</sup> नमीहितमलस ॥(i)  
तत्तत्कालव-
- 19 पौ वर्षति सर्वातिनिर्वपणं ॥[14\*] राहप्यमात्मभुजजातवलावलेपमाजौ विजित्य  
निशितासिलता-
- 20 प्रहरैः [1\*] पालिष्वजवलिगुभामचिरेण यो हि राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरता<sup>8</sup>  
ततान ॥[15\*] क्रीडादुत्थातख-
- 21 प्रच्युतश्चिचयैर्मासमानं<sup>9</sup> सभता ॥जादुहत्तवेरिप्रकटगजघटाटोपसचोमदचं ॥(i)  
शौर्य
- 22 त्यक्षारिवर्गा<sup>10</sup> भयचकितवपु का[रि]प<sup>10</sup> दृष्टेव सद्यो दर्पभातारिचक्रासयकारम-  
गसद्यस<sup>11</sup> दोर्दण्ड-
- 23 रु(रु)प- ॥[16\*] पाता- यस्तुर(र)श्चुर(रा)मिरयनालंकारभाजो भुवस्तथ्याद्यापि  
छातछिजाभरगुरुप्रोज्याज्यपु(पु)-
- 24 जादयः ॥(i) द(दा)ता म(मा)नभृदग्रणीर्गुणवतां योसी त्रियो वल्लभो भोक्तुं  
स्वर्गफल(ला)नि भूरितप-

<sup>1</sup> Read °प्रविरतान°

<sup>4</sup> Read स्वभुजपरान्तम

<sup>7</sup> Read °तां ततान

<sup>10</sup> Read कारिपि

<sup>2</sup> Read प्रसिद्धावधेय°

<sup>5</sup> Read °राजस्य

<sup>8</sup> Read समन्तादाजावुद्ध

<sup>11</sup> Read °वस्य.

<sup>3</sup> Read पत्र°

<sup>6</sup> Read °ध्वजा°

<sup>9</sup> Read वर्गा°

- 25 सा स्थान जगामाभरं ॥[17\*] येन श्वेतातपत्रमहतरविकरप्राततापात्सलील  
जग्मे नासीरधूली-
- 26 धवली(लि)तशिरसा वल्लभ(भा)व्यः सदाजौ [1\*] स श्रीगोविन्दराजो जितज-  
गदहितस्त्रैणवैधव्यहेतुस्त-
- 27 स्यासीत्तुरका<sup>1</sup> क्षणरणदलित(ता)रातिमत्तेभकुम्भः ॥[18\*] तस्यागुज<sup>2</sup> श्रीधु(धु)-  
वराजनाभा मह(ह्रा)नुभावो
- 28 प्रहतप्रत(ता)पः [1\*] प्रसाधिताशेषनरेन्द्रचक्रः क्षमेण वलक्ष<sup>3</sup>वमुर्व्वभूव ॥[19\*]  
जते<sup>4</sup> यत्र च राक्षकु(कू)ट-
- 29 [ति]लके सङ्गुपुटमणौ<sup>5</sup> शुर्व्वो<sup>6</sup> तुष्टिरथाखिलस्य जगतः सुस्वामिनि प्रत्यह [1\*]  
सत्यं सत्यमिति प्र-
- 30 श(श)सति सति स्नामासमुद्रान्तिकामासीद्धर्मपरे शुष्म(णा)द्यतनिधौ सत्यव्रता-  
धिष्ठिते ॥[20\*] शशध-
- 31 रकरनिकरनिभं यस्य यमः सुरनगाग्रसागुस्तैः [1\*] परिगीयतेतुरन्तैर्विदधर-<sup>5</sup>  
सुन्दरीनिव-
- 32 हेः ॥[21\*] हृष्टोन्वह योधि(र्थि)जनाय नित्य सर्वस्वामानन्दितवधुवर्गः<sup>6</sup> [1\*]  
प्रदा प्रष्टो<sup>7</sup> हरति

Second Plate, Second Side

- 33 स्म धगात्<sup>8</sup> प्राणान्यमस्य(स्या)पि नितान्तवीयः<sup>9</sup> ॥[22\*] रक्षती(ता) येन  
निशेष(ष) चतुरभोधिषयुतं [1\*]
- 34 राज्यं धर्मण<sup>10</sup> लोकाना(नां) कृता तुष्टिः परा हृदि ॥[23\*] योसौ प्रसे-  
(सा)धितजगत्त(त्र)यसारदुगो<sup>11</sup> गंगी-
- 35 वसन्ततिनिरोधविद्वजनीतिः<sup>12</sup> [1\*] <sup>13</sup>आन्मीकृतोन्नतवृषाङ्गविभूतिरुच्येयता तंतान<sup>14</sup>  
परमेश्व-
- 36 [र]तामिहैकः ॥[24\*] तस्य परमभट्ट(ष्टा)रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमदकाञ्च-
- 37 [व]र्ष(दिव)प(पा)दानुध्यातपरमभट्ट(ष्टा)रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरधार(रा)वर्ष-
- 38 श्रीधुवराजदेवस्य महादेवो सर्वलोकाश्रयविष्णुवर्द्धनश्रीविष्टरसराजदु-

<sup>1</sup> Read ०त्तुगुरेक

<sup>2</sup> Read वालाकिं

<sup>3</sup> Read जाले

<sup>4</sup> Read चूडामणौ

<sup>5</sup> Read ०रत्नैर्विद्याधर

<sup>6</sup> Read सर्वस्वामानन्दितवधु<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Read प्रादागष्टो

<sup>8</sup> Read वेगात्

<sup>9</sup> Read ०वीय

<sup>10</sup> Read धर्मण

<sup>11</sup> Read दुर्गा

<sup>12</sup> Read कौत्ति

<sup>13</sup> Read आन्मी<sup>9</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Read ०रुच्येयता तंतान



- 39 द्विता परमेखरी परममहारिका श्रीशीलमहादेवी ॥ तयिदमाजीन-  
 40 वृणाग्रलम्बस्वल्पाभु(स्वु)वि(वि)न्धुवसाकल्य [1<sup>a</sup>] नृजीवित धर्मानिवद्वुद्धा  
 द्विजा-  
 41 तिदायोयमकारि भूरि [॥ 25<sup>a</sup>] सा च धारावर्पयोमहादेवी कुमली(निनी)  
 सर्व(र्वी)ने-  
 42 व यथासव्यमानजाताद्र<sup>1</sup> पतिविपयपतिग्रामद्वटकन(नि)युतायुक्ताधि-  
 43 कार(रि)कनचत्तरादीन(न्) समादिशति [1<sup>a</sup>] ग्रन्थु धो विदितं यथा  
 मय(या) स(सा)तापि-  
 44 तोशालनरैकामुष्मिकपुष्पवशीमिह<sup>2</sup> ये<sup>3</sup> श्रीजुसगोटयान्नव्यगा-  
 45 लंकायनसगोव-प्रधु<sup>4</sup>-कायमव्रजच(चा)रि-त्राहण-सादि-सुन[र्मा]रचः ॥  
 46 श्रीनान्दीष्ट(पु)रदारीवास्तव्य-तनातुद्वि<sup>5</sup>म(सा)मान्य-जातूकयमगोव-प्रधु<sup>6</sup>-माध्यन्दि-  
 47 नसन्नचारि-त्राहण-भटनारायण-सनु-दुर्गे(गी)टित्व<sup>7</sup> [1<sup>a</sup>] याथा<sup>8</sup> श्रीमन्नान्दीपु-  
 48 रदारी-टिपय-तगतः<sup>9</sup> कोलव(प)द्रनामग्रामः यस्याघटनानि पृथक्<sup>10</sup> तदनग्र-  
 49 पन्नासाखदानिस्तोयिसंगमचरणिफालग्राम<sup>11</sup>

## Third Plate

- 50 दक्षिणतः निस्तोइकुण्डलावहा निग्रदिपद्रग्रामच तत<sup>10</sup> दोग्रिका च उध्वन-  
 पद्रग्रामच  
 51 तद्वत्त पचिमतः उध्वनपट्टी नाम नदिका तीरपपद्रनाम ग्राम<sup>11</sup> भेनरि-  
 पटनिस्तोइस-  
 52 गमः भद्रवटग्रामच उत्तरतो दोग्रिका<sup>12</sup> नवग्रामच एत[दा]पट[नी]पलचित  
 सधन्य<sup>13</sup>  
 53 अचाटभटप्रावेश(श्व) सचिचुराजकीय(या)[नामहस्तप्रके]पणोय. आचन्द्रार्क-  
 र्वचचितिसरित्पव्वतसम-  
 54 कालीत(नः) भूमिघट्टन्यायेन<sup>14</sup> भकभूपालन[ग]न[ातीतभव]त्तरगतमसजे अयोत्तरक<sup>15</sup>  
 अश्वयुजलपाम-

<sup>1</sup> Read 'सव्यमानका ॥ २५'<sup>2</sup> Read 'इरिका'.<sup>3</sup> Read 'अवु'<sup>4</sup> Read 'कायमव्रज'.<sup>5</sup> Read 'जातूक'.<sup>6</sup> Read 'याथा'<sup>7</sup> Read 'विपय'.<sup>8</sup> Read 'पुट'.<sup>9</sup> It is difficult to correct and punctuate the words from तदन to यान्त. Perhaps they may stand for तदन यान्त-सारवहानिस्तोयिसंगमचरणिफालग्रामच<sup>10</sup> Read 'ततो'<sup>11</sup> Read 'नामा ग्रामे'<sup>12</sup> This seems to be the Sanskritised form of 'दोग्रिका' in l. 50, and is probably the name of a river [The word *dōngara* is found in other inscriptions also (cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII p. 120, ll. 31 and 33). According to Kittel *dōngara* or *dōng-ra* means 'a hill', a steep rock. Possibly *dōngarāḥ* has been used here in the sense of 'a hillock'—Ed.]<sup>13</sup> Read 'सधन्यहिरण्यद्वय'.<sup>14</sup> Read 'भूमिघट्ट'.<sup>15</sup> Read 'अयोत्तरक'.

34 34  
36 36  
38 38  
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48 46  
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62 60  
64 62  
66 64  
68 66  
68 68



- 55 वास्याया<sup>1</sup> महत्यादित्यग्रहणपर्वणि अथ[तिकाति]सर्गण<sup>2</sup> बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्र-  
पञ्चमहयज्ञ-<sup>3</sup>
- 56 पक्रियोत्सर्पणाय प्रतिपादितः [१<sup>\*</sup>] यतो नयोरेतभोजानयोः(हुंजानयोः) भोजयतोः  
प्रतिदिशतोर्व(र्वा) न केनचिद्वासिधे प्रवर्तितव्य<sup>4</sup> [१<sup>\*</sup>] तच्च<sup>5</sup>
- 57 मिमद्रनृपतिभिरभक्ष्यैरन्ये(न्यै)र्वा स(सा)मान्य भूमिदानफलमवेक्ष्य जलबुहु(हु)दच-  
(च)चलं च जीवितमैश्वर्य-<sup>6</sup>
- 58 कलथ्य स्वदायनिर्विशेषोयमस्म[दायः] पालयितव्यः [१<sup>\*</sup>] यश्चाज्ञानतो व्याप्छि-  
त्वाद्(दा)प्छित्यमानं वागुभोदे-
- 59 त स <sup>7</sup>पञ्चभि महपतकैस्सापपातकैर्युक्त स्यादित्येक्तुं<sup>8</sup> भगव[ता] वेदव्यासेन [॥<sup>\*</sup>]  
षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि
- 60 स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिद(द.) [१<sup>\*</sup>] [आप्छेत्ता चा]नुमन्ता च ताव्येव नरके  
वसेत् [॥ 26<sup>\*</sup>] विध्या(भ्या)टवीष्वतोयासु शुष्क-
- 61 कोटिस्वास्तिनः [१<sup>\*</sup>] क्षण्यहय<sup>9</sup> [हि] जायन्ते भूमिदाय(यं) हरन्ति ये [॥ 27]  
व[हुभि]र्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभि(भि.)
- 62 सगर(रा)दिभिर्यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य [तदा] फलं [॥ 28<sup>\*</sup>]  
य(स्त्रा)नीह दत्त(त्ता)नि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्द(र्दा)नानि धर्मत्यय-<sup>10</sup>
- 63 शस्कराणि [१<sup>\*</sup>] निर्भुक्तमात्यप्रतिमानि [ता]नि कौ नाम स(सा)धुः पुनरा-  
ददीत [॥ 29<sup>\*</sup>] स्वदत्ता(त्ता) परदत्ता(ता) वा यज्ञाद्-
- 64 क्ष नराधिप [१<sup>\*</sup>] मही(हीं) महीमता(ता) श्रेष्ठ दानात् श्रेयानुपालनं<sup>11</sup> [॥ 30<sup>\*</sup>]  
इति कामदलापुयिन्दुलोला<sup>12</sup>
- 65 अ(श्रि)यमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितं च [१<sup>\*</sup>] अतिविमलमनोभिरात्मनीन न हि  
पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो वि-
- 66 लोप्या(प्या) [॥ 31<sup>\*</sup>] इति धारावर्ध-श्रीपृथुवीवज्रभ<sup>13</sup>-महाद(दे)वी-समादिष्ट-सोम-  
याजि-शस्त्रय दूतक<sup>15</sup>
- 67 लिखितं व(च) परमेश्वर्योज्ञया<sup>16</sup> खड्गसेनसु[ना] महसन्निवित्रहाधिसत्तेन<sup>17</sup>  
युग-
- 68 भरापरनान्ना वसुदेवेनेति ओं [॥<sup>\*</sup>]

<sup>1</sup> Read 'मावास्याया

<sup>2</sup> Read अद्योदकातिसर्गोण.

<sup>3</sup> Read महायज्ञो

<sup>4</sup> Read प्रवर्तितव्य

<sup>5</sup> Read तथागा

<sup>6</sup> Read श्रेयं चा.

<sup>7</sup> Read पञ्चभिर्नृपातकैस्सोपपातकेयुक्त

<sup>8</sup> Read लुक्त

<sup>9</sup> Read क्षण्यहयो

<sup>10</sup> Read धर्माय

<sup>11</sup> Read दानाच्छे

<sup>12</sup> Read कामदलानुनिन्दुलोला

<sup>13</sup> Read 'रात्मनीनेन

<sup>14</sup> Read पृथ्वी

<sup>15</sup> Read शस्त्रयो दूतको

<sup>16</sup> Read परमेश्वर्यो

<sup>17</sup> Read महासन्नि.

## No 18 —KULIDIKKI INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYA NANDISVARAN ARMAN

By V. VENKATASUBBA Aiyar, B.A., MADRAS

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a hero stone fixed near the river Pālār at Kulidikkai in the Gudiyāttam taluk of the North Arcot district. The stone is in a good state of preservation and the letters are engraved in archaic Tamil.

The language of the record is Tamil proper and it is particularly free from orthographical peculiarities.

A few words used in the inscription have a special significance. The word *tiṇi* (ll 8, 9) ordinarily means 'to wander', but here it is used in the sense of 'to proceed'. The word *Pallavaraya* (l 5) is here used to denote the Pallava line.<sup>1</sup>

The epigraph is dated in the 52nd year of Vijaya Nandisvaran arman and it records the death of Gangadīyariyār Kunnidu Perumānār, the chief of Karūtūr, who, at the instance of *mūṇḍi* the Binaṭṭa fell on the day when the Pallava army marched against Perumānadigaḷ<sup>2</sup> and destroyed (the fortress of) Pēṇḍiḷḷiḷḷattal.

At the outset it may be pointed out that, from the high regnal year quoted in the record the king may be identified with Nandi arman Pallavamalla. The record may, therefore, be assigned to the second half of the 5th century A.D.

The present inscription is important because it mentions a direct attack of the Pallava king Nandi arman (Pallavamalla) on the Western Ganga (Perumāṇḍi). The reason for the attack is not stated, but it is clear that the ruler must have been a desperate foe of the

<sup>1</sup> No. 154 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

<sup>2</sup> In No. 75 of 1922 this word is clearly used. Compare also the word 'Hittaiyān' in the inscription of Ceylon (S. I. I., III, p. 232).

<sup>3</sup> The term 'Perumāṇḍi' is an honorific title, generally applied to the Devas, Devis and their successors; it is also used to denote the king. According to a Ganga inscription (Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII, p. 25) the title is 'Perumāṇḍi', but we find very few instances of its application to the kings of this line. It may probably be explained by the fact of the Western Ganga king's superior title of 'Perumāṇḍi' over the king of the 'the king of Kāñchi'. From the time of separation, it has usually denoted the Ganga ruler.

In the present record, this term is dubiously used. It is not being applied to Nandi arman himself, in which case, 'Pallavarayan' (l 5) could be reasonably explained as 'the king of the Pallavas', when both Nandi arman and Gangadīyariyār are ruled to be members of the Pallava line. Considering the context in which the term is used, the proximity of the Gudiyāttam taluk where this inscription is found, to the Ganga territory and the political situation of the time, it seems better to take it as referring to the Ganga king.

<sup>4</sup> There are only a few stone records of Pallavamalla which, from high regnal years, can be definitely attributed to him, viz. —

- (a) S. I. I., Vol. I, No. 125, dated in the 57th year from Varāhaḥiṇi varam,
- (b) No. 10 of 1895, dated in the 50th year from Pāṇḍuṇḍavayamalai,
- (c) S. I. I., Vol. I, No. 103, dated in the 52nd year from Saduppuram,
- (d) *Ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 32, dated in the 62nd year from Tiruvallam,
- (e) No. 666 of 1922, dated in the 60th year from Mahabalipuram and
- (f) No. 11 of 1893, dated in the 58th year from Coimbatore.

Some of the inscriptions of Nandi arman without the distinguishing titles 'Pallavamalla' and 'Tēlāṅkaiyār' and with regnal years below 22 must remain unidentified, as they cannot be easily assigned to either the 2nd or 3rd king of that name.

<sup>5</sup> Mr K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar has fixed the initial date of Pallavamalla at 606 A.D. (above, Vol. XX, pp. 46 ff.), recently an attempt has been made to bring it down to 726 A.D. (*Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. VIII, pp. 1 ff.)

growing power of the Gangas. Incidentally the record also mentions the relationship that existed among the three powers, viz, the Pallavas, Western Gangas and the Bānas who came into conflict with one another too frequently in the 8th century A D

For a clear understanding of the record, the position of these powers during this period must be understood

Nandivarman Pallavamalla accepted the Pallava monarchy when quite young at a time when the Pallava dominion was threatened with destruction. He had to contend against Oñttramāya, another aspirant to the Pallava throne. The Western Chālukyas who were the hereditary enemies of the Pallavas took this opportunity and, under Vikramāditya II, they even succeeded in capturing Kāñchi and driving Pallavamalla to the south, where again at Nandipura near Kumbhakōnam, the latter was besieged by a confederacy of Southern powers, from which his general Udayachandra saved him. Pallavamalla soon retrieved his position and established his power in the south also as is evidenced by his copper plate records, nearly all of which come from the Tanjore district<sup>1</sup>. He was attacked on all sides which necessitated his general Udayachandra to 'bestow the whole kingdom many times on the Pallava' monarch<sup>2</sup>. The whole of his reign was crowded with military exploits as he came into conflict with all the neighbouring powers, viz, the Pāndyas, Rāshtrakūtas, Eastern and Western Chālukyas and the Gangas. Here we are directly concerned with his relationship with the Gangas.

Regarding the Pallava-Ganga relationship, it may be pointed out that the Pallavas claimed overlordship over the Gangas by claiming to crown the Ganga kings. The Western Ganga kings Harivarman and Simhavarman or Mādhava III were crowned<sup>3</sup> by the Pallava monarchs Simhavarman and Skandavarman<sup>4</sup>. When the Gangas were subdued by the Western Chālukyas,<sup>5</sup> the former must have come into conflict with the Pallavas along with the Chālukyas, their overlords. Bhūvikrama, the elder brother of the Ganga king Śivamāra I, claims to have defeated the Pallava king in the battle of Vilanda and also to have captured the whole of the Pallava dominions<sup>6</sup>. Probably as a result of this battle, Śivamāra I claims to have kept in his charge two Pallava princes<sup>7</sup>. When the Western Chālukyas were overthrown by the Rāshtrakūtas, the Gangas under Śrīpurūsha tried to assert their power, but soon the Rāshtrakūtas and the Pallavas vindicated their claim for overlordship by claiming to crown Śivamāra II Saigotta<sup>8</sup>.

The contemporary of Pallavamalla on the Ganga throne at the time of our record was Śrīpurūsha (725-788 A D) in whose time the Gangas tried to expand their dominions. He seems to have extended his conquests<sup>9</sup> as far as Kulidikki where the present inscription is found.

<sup>1</sup> Kāśākudi, Tandantōṭṭam, Pattattālmāngalam or Korangudi plates, the Udayēndiram plates alone do not belong to the Tanjore district.

<sup>2</sup> *S I I*, Vol II, p 372.

<sup>3</sup> This is said to have been performed in due form, i.e., according to 'customary' rights (*yathārham*) (above, Vol XIV, p 333).

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol XIV, p 332.

<sup>5</sup> A record of Vinayāditya, dated in 694 A D, speaks of the Gangas as the hereditary servants of the Western Chālukyas (*Ind Ant*, Vol VII, p 303).

<sup>6</sup> Rice *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, p 37.

<sup>7</sup> *Ep Carn*, Vol III, Md 113.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, Vol IX, NI 60. Though this is a spurious record, the late Dr Fleet did not find any impossibility in the truth of the statement that the Rāshtrakūta king Govinda III crowned Śivamāra II.

<sup>9</sup> His inscriptions are also found at Oḍḍanpaṭṭi in the Salem district (Nos 211 and 212 of 1910 of the Madras Epigraphical collection).

In fact a record from Humcha<sup>1</sup> states that Śrīpurusha slew the valiant Kāduvetti<sup>2</sup> of Kāñchi and appropriated to himself, from the Pallavas, the title '*Permānadi*' which was from this time onwards exclusively used to denote the Gangas<sup>3</sup>. Pallavamalla, however, did not keep quiet. The present inscription records one invasion against the Ganga king. In the Tandan tōttam plates, dated six years later, *i.e.*, in his 58th year, Pallavamalla claims to have taken from him a neck ornament which contained in it the gem called *Ugrōdaya*<sup>4</sup>. Śrīpurusha, therefore, seems to have given trouble to Pallavamalla till late in the latter's reign.

The Bāna country, known as Perumbānappādi, lay to the west of the Āndhra country between the Pallava and the Ganga kingdoms. In the beginning, the Bānas offered opposition to Pallava expansion, but in the Pallava Ganga fights, they had to join one side or the other. They first became the subordinates of the Gangas. Dindīgarar, a Bāna king ruling over Kalbappunādu, was a subordinate of Śrīpurusha<sup>5</sup>. A stone inscription<sup>6</sup> of the time of the Ganga prince Mādhava Muttarasa at Tallapalla refers to his expedition against Māvali-Vānarasa and to the battle of Kōyāttūr, *i.e.*, Laddigam in the Chittoor district. Though forced by circumstances to join the Gangas at times, the Bānas generally threw in their lot with the Pallavas. At the time of our record we see that the Bāna king sided the Ganga<sup>7</sup> in checking the Pallava aggression. In this attack the Pallava king must have felt the necessity for creating a buffer state of the Bāna territory, for we find within the next few years the Bāna chiefs figuring as subordinates of the Pallavas and acting as the guardians of the frontier territory of their overlords<sup>8</sup>. In our inscription the Bāna contemporary of Pallavamalla is merely called by the general title Vānaraiyar without giving his actual name. It is evident that he cannot be Vikramāditya I, the son in law of Prithivīpati I,<sup>9</sup> as he figures in the 17th year of Nandivarman III<sup>10</sup>. We may identify him with Nandivarman, the historical founder of the Bāna kingdom<sup>11</sup>. Our record gives us to understand that this Vānaraiyar did not take an active part in checking the Pallava attack on Penkulikkōttai, though it indicates his support of the Ganga cause. It will be seen from the present inscription that he stood in the relation of a

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol VIII, Nr 35. Though this record is about three centuries later than the time of Śrīpurusha and also contains some wrong statements, the adoption of the title '*Permādi*' (*i.e.*, *Perumānadigal*) by the Western Ganga rulers is borne out by their records, but the other statements made in it cannot be accepted as correct unless we get reliable evidence in support of them.

<sup>2</sup> It has been suggested that Paramēśvaravarman II was the Pallava king slain on the battlefield at Viḷarde. Though probable, we do not know much about this ruler to affirm it.

<sup>3</sup> The Ganga chiefs seem to have adopted not only the title *Permānadi* but also other titles of the Pallavas as well. Vijaya Narasimhaviḷramavarman and Vijaya Īśvaravarman whose inscriptions are found at Bangavādi in the Kolar district, Kīḷmuttūgūr and Vēlur in the North Arcot district and Hanumantapuram in the Salem district and who have been taken as Pallavas or rather Ganga Pallavas hitherto, must really be Ganga chiefs adopting Pallava titles. These chiefs do not call themselves Pallavas and their inscriptions are in Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters which we do not find in Pallava records. From the elephant and *hamsa* figures (above, Vol IV, p 177), carved in relief on one of the slabs containing an inscription of Narasimhaviḷramavarman, Dr Hultzsch also concluded that Narasimhavarman was probably a Western Ganga chief (*ibid*).

<sup>4</sup> *S I I*, Vol III, p 517, verse 6.

<sup>5</sup> *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1927, p 109.

<sup>6</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol X, Bp 13. This inscription is assigned by Rice approximately to A.D. 725.

<sup>7</sup> In the battle of Soremati also the Bāna chief sided the Ganga ruler (No 543 of 1906).

<sup>8</sup> The Bānas figure as subordinates of Pallavamalla, Danti, Nandi III and Nripatunga (above, Vol XI, p 235).

<sup>9</sup> *S I I*, Vol III, Nos 47 and 48.

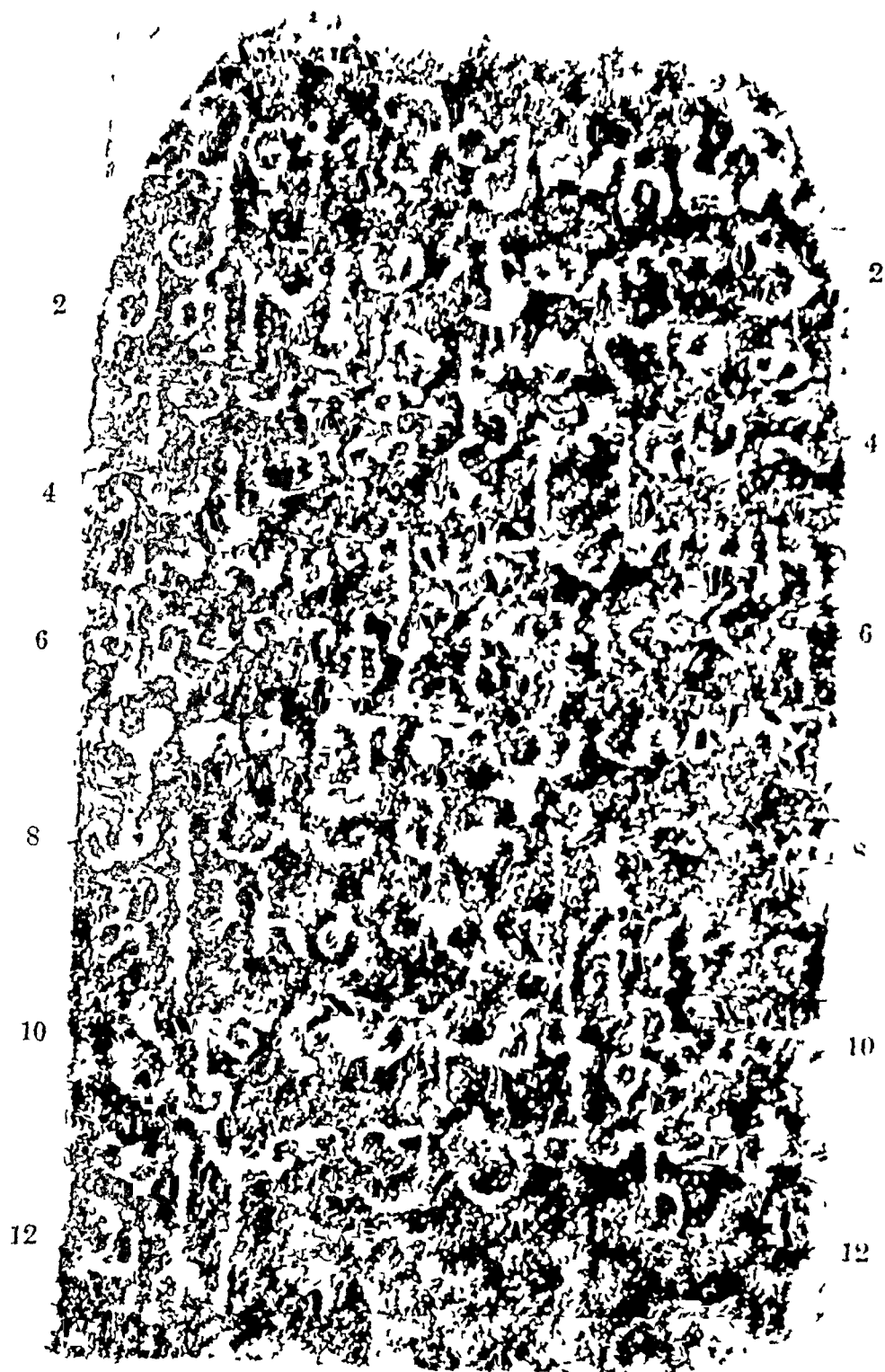
<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*, p 93.

<sup>11</sup> Above, Vol XVII, p 3. This Bāna chief must evidently have been so called after the name of his Pallava overlord Nandivarman (II).





# KULIDIKKI INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYA NANDISVARAYAN



maternal uncle<sup>1</sup> to the Ganga chief at Karkāttūr. After the storming of Penkulikkōttai, the Bānas must have been subdued completely by the Pallavas, as we find a Mahāvali Vānaraiyar figuring as a subordinate in the 62nd year of Pallavamalla.<sup>2</sup> Subsequently, we find the Bāna chief ruling the Ganga six thousand province<sup>3</sup> also, which must evidently have been possible only with Pallava support. It will thus be seen that by storming the fortress of Penkulikkōttai, Pallavamalla was able to check the growing power of the Ganga king Śrīpurusha and also to subdue the Bānas who from this time onwards accepted the overlordship of Pallavamalla and his successors.

The question why the death of Gangadiyaraiyar should be recorded in an inscription of his adversary the Pallava king Nandivarman is easily answered. After the siege, the village Penkulikkōttai belonged to Nandivarman and inscriptions of this place had necessarily to be put up in the name of its overlord.

From the fact that the Ganga chief of Karkāttūr is called *Kannādu* Perungangar, it may be inferred that his ancestors, like himself, died on battle field.

Of the places mentioned in the record, Karkāttūr may be identified with Kalakāttūr near Palamanēr in the Chittoor district. This Kalakāttūr was in Pulī nādu which was under the Bānas, but was subsequently conquered by the Nolamba king under orders of the Ganga ruler.<sup>4</sup> Penkulikkōttai may be identified with Kulidikkī itself where the present inscription is found.

#### TEXT.

- 1 Śrī [ || ]kō-Viśeaya-Nandī-
- 2 chchuraparummaṅku yāndu
- 3 ambattirandāvadu
- 4 Perumāṇaḍigal mēl
- 5 Pallavaraiyan padai van-
- 6 du Penkulikkōttai, a-
- 7 litta nānru Vānarai-
- 8 yar māmadu tūnga enat-
- 9 tīrindu pattār Karkāt-
- 10 tūr-udaiya Gangadiyarai-
- 11 yar Kannādu Perunga-
- 12 ngar [ || ]

#### TRANSLATION.

Prosperity<sup>1</sup> In the fifty-second year of (the reign of) king Viśeaya-Nandichchuraparumar, Gangadiyaraiyar Kannādu Perungangar, (the chief) of Karkāttūr died, (when) Vānaraiyar, (his) uncle (directed him) to proceed on the day (when) the Pallava (?) army marched against Perumāṇaḍigal and destroyed (the fortress of) Penkulikkōttai.

<sup>1</sup> One would look for the term *māmadu* to precede the proper name Vānaraiyar as in *Allan Tikka*, *Māmadu* Sōmeśvara, *Aṭiya Rāmarāya* etc. This word is so used in the present inscription that it might also mean that Vānaraiyar was the uncle of Perumāṇaḍigal, i.e., Śrīpurusha himself.

<sup>2</sup> *S I I*, Vol III, p 91.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol X, p VI.

<sup>4</sup> *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1913, pp. 90-91.

No 19 —THE JESAR PLATES OF ŚILĀDITYA III VALABHI SAMVAT 357<sup>1</sup>

By THE LATE PROF. R. D. BANERJĪ, M.A.

The copper plates on which the subjoined inscription is incised were discovered in 1915 in the village of Jesar, in the Bhāvnagar State of Kāthiāvār. They were lent in 1916 to Mr (now Dr) D. R. Bhandarkar, then Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, and a preliminary account of this inscription, along with that of another grant of Śilāditya III discovered in the same village,<sup>2</sup> were published by that scholar.<sup>3</sup>

The record is incised on the inner side of two thick plates of copper measuring 1' 2½" by 1' which are held together by a long ring of copper to which is attached an oval seal, of the same metal, with the legend, usually to be found on seals of grants of the Valabhi dynasty of Kāthiāvār, Śrī-Bhataṅka. There is a bull couchant in the upper part of the area of the seal separated from the legend by two lines. Another round hole is to be seen in each of the plates for another ring, which however is missing. There are altogether sixty-two lines of writing of which the first twenty-nine are to be found on the first plate and the remaining thirty-three on the second plate. The whole of the record, with the exception of the three imprecatory verses in the second plate, is in prose. The language of the record is Sanskrit, abounding with high flown phrases copied from earlier grants. Mistakes of the mason are common. Consonants with the superscript *r* are usually doubled. The *upadharmīya* and *phlāmūliya* are used very often in ligatures with the following consonants *p* and *l* respectively.

The alphabet of the inscription shows clear signs of southern influence of the form of *la* in *ratn ālamāra* (l. 32). The base line of *ha* is suppressed. The place of the *anusvara* is very often taken by *n* in ligatures, cf. *ansa* (l. 10) and *vidhānsita* (l. 19). Note worthy also is the vowel *ē* in *ēa* (ll. 25 and 14).

The first forty-five lines of the record are devoted to the genealogy. As usual in grants issued by the later princes of the Valabhi dynasty, the names of the sons of Bhataṅka are omitted and the first prince to be mentioned, after the founder of the house, is Guhasēna, the son of Dharapatta, who was the fourth son of Bhataṅka. Then in the order of succession comes his son Dharasēna II, his son Śilāditya I, surnamed Dharmmāditya, his younger brother Kharagraha I, and his son Dharasēna III. The latter was followed on the throne by his younger brother Dhruvasēna II, surnamed Bālāditya and he was succeeded by his son Dharasēna IV. After this prince the succession devolved upon Dhruvasēna III, the son of Dharabhata, who was the son of Śilāditya I. Dhruvasēna III, was succeeded by his elder brother Kharagraha II, who again was followed on the throne by his elder brother Śilāditya II's son Śilāditya (III), the donor of the present grant. [The late Mr R. D. Banerjī read the date of this inscription as Sam 300 80 7 dvi Pausha ba 10. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar also read the date as Sam 387 dvi Pausha ba 14. Both these scholars, apparently depending on their reading of the date, attributed this inscription to Śilāditya IV, the son and successor of Śilāditya III. The genealogical portion of the inscription, however, stops with Śilāditya III, but Banerjī held the opinion that the portion introducing Śilāditya IV, which is found in his own grants or those of his successors 'was omitted in this inscription'. I, however, read the date as Sam 300 50 7 dvi-Pausha ba 4 and would attribute the inscription to Śilāditya III. The second numerical figure in the year is exactly similar to the figure for 50 found in the Lunsarī plates of Śilāditya III<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> [See my note in paragraph 4 —Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> Now edited above, Vol. XXI, pp. 210 f.

<sup>3</sup> *P. R. A. S. W. C.*, 1915 16, p. 55, para. 10.

<sup>4</sup> *P. R. A. S. W. C.*, 1915 16, p. 55, and *List of Inscriptions of Northern India* No. 1368.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 300 ff., and *Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Kāthiāvār, etc.*, pp. 15 ff. and Pls.

Moreover, the donee of the present grant is evidently identical with that of Jesar plates of Śilāditya of Valabhī Samvat 347,<sup>1</sup> the difference being that he is here only mentioned as a *Dikṣita* and his two names Saggala and Prakāśa found in the earlier Jesar plates have been omitted. It therefore appears that Śilāditya III, made a second grant to the same person ten years after the first grant was issued —Ed ]

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of (1) a reservoir of water (*vāpī*) extending over twenty-five *pādāvaritas* of land from the royal domain land (*rājāliya*) in the Madasara-*sthali* in the village of Madasara in Surāshṭ[r\*]ja to a Brāhmana who was a *Dikṣita* and was the son of Sāmbhadatta of the Vājasaneyā-sākhā of the Yajurveda and of the Kauśika *gōtra* and who had emigrated from Pushya-Sāmbapura. The boundaries of this gift were as follows to the east Pāndava-Khanda, to the south the *prachīhā* known as the [Ka\*]mpilikā Khundaka (?) belonging to Datka (Datta), to the west the field known as Sīsagara and to the north the field of the householder (*kutumbin*) Sangilaka, (2) one hundred and four *pādāvaritas* of land, in five pieces, situated in the northern boundary (of the village). The first piece belonging to an extinct family measured sixteen *pādāvaritas*. The boundaries of this piece of land were to the east the *brahmadēya* field of the Brāhmana Anahaka, to the south the family land (?) of Chachcha and Mātrila, to the west the field called Madhavānaka and the Sagara (?) leading towards the village Kōratapadraka and to the north the field known as *Pattiyānaka durga kshētra*. The second piece measuring thirty *pādāvaritas* also originally belonged to a family then extinct. Its boundaries were to the east, the *brahmadēya* field of the Brāhmana Śankara, to the south the *brahmadēya* field of the Brāhmana Anahaka, to the west the field of the householder (*kutumbin*) Bhōtuka, to the north also the field of the same Brāhmana Anahaka. The third piece measuring forty-three *pādāvaritas* was cultivated by Kikaka. Its boundaries were to the east the path going towards the village of Suptāvasadhī, to the south the *brahmadēya* field of the Brāhmana Sangaka, to the west the fields known as *Pattiyānaka* and *Mātristhāna*, to the north the boundary of the village of Suptāvasadhī. The fourth piece was also under the cultivation of Kikaka and measured ten *pādāvaritas*. Its boundaries were to the east the public road, to the south the *grāmasikhara*, to the west the *prachīhā* of the nobleman (*śulaputraka*) Varuna, to the north the field belonging to Karṣaka. The fifth piece measuring five *pādāvaritas* was also cultivated by Kikaka. Its boundaries were to the east the *brahmadēya* field of the Brāhmana Chamasa, to the south the *brahmadēya* field known as Dāsānaka, to the west the public road (*rājāratī*), to the north the *brahmadēya* field of the Brāhmana Śankara. The *Dātaka* of the grant was the prince (*Rājaputra*) Kharagraha and it was written by the *Sandhivigrahādhyakṣita Divyapati Mahāpratihāra Sāmanta Mammaka*. The prince Kharagraha is mentioned in the Bhāvnagar plates of Śilāditya III, of G 356 and the Bhāvnagar plates of Śilāditya IV, of G 372, the Devahi plates of G 375 and the plates of G 376. The date of the grant is the 4th day of the dark half of the second month of Pausa in the year 357 evidently of the Valabhī era and is equivalent to 675-76 A.D. The grant was issued from the victorious camp at Mēghavāna, from which the Lunsadi plates of Śilāditya III, of the year 352 were also issued. I am unable to identify Madasara, Suptāvasadhī and other places mentioned in this record. I edit the inscription from the original plates which had been lent to me by the Bhāvnagar Durbār for this purpose.

## TEXT

### First Plate

- 1 Ōm<sup>2</sup> Svastī[|\*] Vijayaskandha(ndhā)va(vā)rā[t\*] Mēghavāna bā(vā)śa(sa)kā[t\*] prasabha-pranat-āmitrānām Maitrakānām=atula-bala sampanna-maṇḍal-ābhōga samsakta-prahāra śata-labdha pratāpāt=pratāp ōpanata dāna-

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXI pp 210 f

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol.



- 16 shair=ddōśar<sup>1</sup>=anāmrisht ity unnata hṛidaya[h\*] prakhyāta paurush-āstra kauśal-  
ātīśayah(ya) gna titha vipaksha kṣhītipatī lakṣmī svayamgrāha-prakāśita-vīra purushah  
(sha)-prathama samkhy ādhigamah Paramamāhēśvara[h]
- 17 śrī-Kharagrahas=tasya tanayas=tat-pīdānuddhyātah sakala-vidy ādhigama-vihita  
nikhila vidvāj jana manah-paritōś(sh) ātīśaya[h\*] sat(tt)va sapā(sampa)dā tyāg-audā-  
ryyāna va(cha) vīgat ānuśindhī(dhā)n āsamāhūt-ārātī-
- 18 paksha manōrath āksha bhangā[h\*] samyag=upalakṣit ānēka śāstra kaushalāka \* charita-  
gahāra vibhīgō=pi paramabhadrā-prakṛitī(ta)r=akṛitī(tri)ma-prasraya vinaya gō(śō)bhā-  
vibhūshanā[h] samata(rā) satā-jaya patākā-
- 19 harana-pratyā-ōdagra bāhu danda vidhvan(m)śita -nikhīlah(la) - pratīpaksha darpp ōdayah  
sva-dhanuh-prabhāva-paribhūt āstra kauśal ābhūmāna sakala-arīpatī mandal-ābhinandita-  
śāsana[h\*] Paramamāhēśvarah śrī
- 20 Dhairasēnas=tasya=īnujas=tat pāda(d-ā)nudhyātah sach charit-ātīśayita-sakala pūrvva-  
narīpatīr=atī ddu(du)ssādhūnām-apī prasādhayit[ā] vishayānām mūrtimān=iva  
purushakārāh parivṛddha gun-ānurāga-nīrdbharah<sup>2</sup>.
- 21 chitta-vṛitta(tti)bhir=mManur=iva svayam=abhyupapannah prakṛitibhir=ādhigata-kalā-  
kalāpāh kāntumā[n\*]=nīrvṛitī-hītur=akalanakāh kumuda nātha[h\*] prājya pratāp-  
sthagita dig-antā(ta)rūla pradhvan(m)śita dhvānta-rānō(śih) satat-ō -
- 22 t-ōdita-savitā prakṛitibhya[h\*] para[m\*] pratvayam=arthhavantam=atī-bahu titha-  
prayōjan-ānubandham=āgama-paripūrṇa[m\*] vadadhānas=sandhī vigraha samāsa ni-  
śchaya-nīpunah sthānō=nuru(rū)pam=ādīśan=dada[d\*]=guna
- 23 vṛiddhī vidhāna-janīta-samskāra[h\*] sūbhūnam<sup>3</sup> rājya(jya) Śālāturiyas(ya) tantrayōr=ubha-  
yōr=apī nishnūtah prakṛīṣhta-vīkramō=pi karuṇā-mṛdu-hṛidayah śrutavān=apy=agarv[ī\*]  
tāh kāntō=pi prasa(śa)mī sthira-sauhṛ[dayy]ō pi ni-
- 24 rasitā dōshavatām=udaya samaya samupajanīta janat-ānurāga-parivī(pi)hita-bhuvana-  
sīmartth[ī\*]ta-prabhīta Bālāditya dvītiya-nūmā Paramamāhēśvarah śrī-Dhruva  
sēnas=tasya sutas=tat pāda kamala-pra-
- 25 nāma dharanī kashana-janīta-kīna lāñchhīna lalāta-chandra sa(śa)kalā[h\*] śīśu bhāva ēva  
śraavana nibhīta mauktik-ālankāra-vibhram āmala śrūta viśēsa<sup>4</sup> pradāna salīla-kṣhālī-  
āgra hast-āravīndalī kū(ka)nyāyā<sup>5</sup> 1
- 26 va mṛdu-kara-grahanād=amandīkrit ānanda-vidhīr=vvasundharāyāh kārma(rmmu)kē  
dhanurvīdā iva sanimbhā(bhā)vīt āśīśha lakṣhya-kalāpāh pranata sūmanta-mandal-  
ōttam[ā\*]nga dhṛita chehūdā-ratnāyā(ya)māna-sā(śā)sanah Paramamāhēśvara
- 27 Paramabhāttāraka Mahārājūdhīrāja Paramēśvara-Chakravartīh(rttī) śrī-Dharasēnas=tat-  
pitāmaha-bhṛātī śrī-Śilādityasya Śārngapānēr=iv=ānga-janmanō bhakti-  
bandhur-[ā\*]vayava kalpita pranatēr=atī dhavalayā dūram tat-pā-
- 28 d-āravīnda-pravṛittayā nakha maṇi ruchā Mandākīny=ēva nityam=amaht ōttamānga-  
dīśasy=Āgastyasy=ariva rājārshīr=ddākṣhīnyam=ātānvānasya prabala dhavalīmnā  
yaśasām va-
- 29 layāna mandita kakubhū nabhasī yāmīnīpatēr=vīdambī-ākhandā-parivēśa muṇḍalasya  
payōda śyāma śikhara chūchuka-ruchīra Sahya-Vīndhya stana-yugāyāh

<sup>1</sup> Read dōshair=<sup>2</sup> Read kalā lōla<sup>3</sup> Read nīrdbhara<sup>4</sup> The second tō is superfluous<sup>5</sup> Read sūdhūnām<sup>6</sup> Read viśēśah

## Second Plate

- 30 kshatīh pṛtyuh śrī-Dērabhatasy=ānśa(nga)jah kshatipa-samhatīr=anurāginyāh  
suchi 𑀲𑀸𑀓𑀭𑀺𑀓𑀺𑀲𑀺 bhrīta[h\*] svaya[m\*] 𑀲𑀺𑀲𑀺𑀲𑀺𑀲𑀺=iva rājya śrīyam=arppayantyāh  
kṛitī parigrahāh sru(śau)ryya
- 31 m=apṛitīhata 𑀲𑀺𑀲𑀺𑀲𑀺𑀲𑀺=ānamita-prachanda ripu mandalam mandal-āgram=iv=āvala-  
mbamūnah śrīradī prasabbham=ākṛīṣhta-ślimukha bānāsan-āpādita-prasā
- 32 dhānīnīm parī bhuvā[m\*] vidhī vad=ācharita-kara-grahanah pūrvvam=ēva vivīdha  
𑀲𑀺𑀲𑀺𑀲𑀺𑀲𑀺 𑀲𑀺𑀲𑀺𑀲𑀺𑀲𑀺 śrut ātīśayān=ōdbhūṣhita śravanah punah punar=uktēn=ēva ratn āla-
- 33 nāṛīp=īlanakṛita śrōtra[h] parī-phurat-kṛitaka vīkata-kītapaksha-ratna kīranam=avi-  
chchhunnī-pradīna salila-nivah āvasēka-vīlasan=nava-śaival-ānkuram=iv=āgra-pānī-
- 34 m=udīahan=udhrita<sup>1</sup> 𑀲𑀺𑀲𑀺𑀲𑀺𑀲𑀺 ratna 𑀲𑀺𑀲𑀺𑀲𑀺𑀲𑀺-jaladhī 𑀲𑀺𑀲𑀺𑀲𑀺𑀲𑀺 tatāyamāna-bhūja - parīśva(śhva)kṛta-  
𑀲𑀺𑀲𑀺𑀲𑀺𑀲𑀺 Paramamāhēśvarah śrī-Dhruvasēnah stasy=āgrajjō<sup>2</sup>=para mahīpati  
spāśā-
- 35 dōsha nāśana dhīy=ēva lakshmyā svayam=atīpashta chēṣhtam=āślīst ānga-yashtir=  
atī ruchīratara charita garima - parīkalita - sakala-narapatir=atīprakṛīṣht-īnurāga rasa-  
rabhasa va-
- 36 śikṛitī pranata samasta-sāmanta-chakra-chchū(chū)dāmanī - mayūkha - khachita - charana  
kamala yugalah prōddām ōdāra dōrddand-dalita dvīshad-vargga darppa[h] prasarp-  
patīyā[h\*]-
- 37 prātīpī plōṣhit āśīśha-śatru-vanśa[h\*] prīnayī-paksha-nīkshipta lakshmīkah prērita-  
gad ōtkshipta śu(su)darśana-chakrah parībhṛta-bāla krīdō=madhahkṛita dvījātīr=ūka-vī-  
krīma prasā-
- 38 dhītrī dharitīr-talō=naugikṛita-jala śayyō=pūrvva-purush ōttamah sākshā[d\*] dharmma  
iva samyag vyavasthāpitā(ta)-varn-āsram āchārah pūrvvair=apy=urvīpatībhīṣ-  
tīṣhānā lava lubdhā-
- 39 r=yyāny=apahritāni dēva ba(bra)hma dēyāna(m) tēshām=apy=atī sarala manah-prasaram=  
utsukalan ānumōdanābhīyām parimudita-trī(trī)bhuvan ābhīnandit-ōchchhrit-ōtkṛīṣhta  
dhavala dharmma-
- 40 dhāvaja-prakāśita nīja-vanśō dēva dvīja gurut(rūn)=pratī yathārha-manahṭa<sup>3</sup>-pravarttita-  
mah ōddrang ādī dāna vyasan ānupajāta-santōsh-ōpāt-ōdāra-kīrtti panti(pamkti) param-
- 41 parā danturita-nīkhila dik chakravālāh spāṣhtam=ēva yath-ārttha[m\*] Dharmmādity-  
āpara nāmā paramamāhēśvarah śrī Kharagrahas=tasy=āgrajanmanah kumuda-  
shandī-srī vīkīśi
- 42 nyā kīlāvatāś=chandrikay=ēva kīrtiyā dhavalita sakala dig mandalasya khandit-  
āguru vīlōpana punda śyāmala Vindhya śaila vipula payōdhar ābhogāyā[h\*] kshōnyāh  
patvuh
- 43 śrī Śilādityasya sūnur=nnava-pr[ā]leya-kīrana iva pratīdita(na)-samvarddhamāna-  
kalā chakravālāh kīśar īndra śīsur=iva rāja-lakshmīm=achala vanasthalīm=iv=ālan-  
kurvānāh Śikhandī kē-
- 44 tana iva ruchuma[ch\*] chūdā mandana[h\*] prachanda-śaktī prabhūvās=cha śarad-āgamē  
(ma) iva pratūpavān=ullashā(sa)t-padmah samyugē vīdalayan[n\*]=ambhōdharān=iva  
parī gajūn=udaya ēva tapana-bāl āta-

<sup>1</sup> P. vi. 𑀲𑀺𑀲𑀺𑀲𑀺𑀲𑀺 dhṛita<sup>2</sup> P. vi. 𑀲𑀺𑀲𑀺𑀲𑀺𑀲𑀺=āgrajjō<sup>3</sup> P. vi. 𑀲𑀺𑀲𑀺𑀲𑀺𑀲𑀺 Bhavnagar Plates read yathārham=anavarata-

Second Plate

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- 45 pa iva sāmgrāmē mushnā(shna)nn=abhimukhānām=āyūkshī<sup>1</sup> dvishatā[m\*] Parama-  
māhēśvarah śrī Śilādityah<sup>2</sup> kuśālī saivvān=ēva samājñāpayaty=astu vas=  
sa[m\*]vidita[m\*] yathā mayā mātā-pitrō<sup>3</sup>-
- 46 s=puny-āpyāyanāya Pushya-Sāmbapura vimrggata tach chātuvvīdyā sāmānya-Kuśika  
sagōtra-Vājasaneyi sapra(bra)hmachāri-brāhmana-Sāmbadatta putra brāhmana Dī-
- 47 kshītāya Surāśtēshu<sup>4</sup> Madasara sthalyā Madasara grāmē pūrvvōttara sīmni<sup>1</sup>  
rājakiyāt=pañchavinśati bhū pādāvartha-parisārā vāpi yasyā āghātanāni pūrvvatah  
Pāndava khandā[h\*]<sup>5</sup>
- 48 dakshinatah datka(tta<sup>2</sup>) satka-mpilikkā<sup>4</sup>khundaka -samjñita prachihā aparatah kshētra  
Sisagaraḥ uttaratah kutumbi Sangilaka prakripta(shta) pattiyēnaka kshētram tathā  
uttara-sīmni pañcha-khand-āva-
- 49 sthītām chatur-uttara-bhū pādāvartha śata parimāna kshētram[|\*] yat=āika-khandam  
utsanna-kutumbika shōḍaśa bhū-pādāvartha parimānam yasya pūrvvatah brāhmana-  
Anahaka-satka brahmadēya kshētram dakshi-
- 50 natah Chachcha-Mātrilayōs=satka kōtumba kshētram aparatah Madhavānaka kshētram  
Kōratapadraka-grāmayāyī sāgaraś=cha|| uttarattah(tah) pattiyānaka durgga-kshētra-  
samjñita kshētram[|\*] dvitīya-khandā[m\*] utsanna-
- 51 kutumbikam=ēva trinśad bhū pādāvartha parimānam sa(ya)sa pūrvvatah brāhmana-  
Śankara satka brahmadēya-kshētram | dakshinatah brāhmana-Anahaka satka-brahma  
dēya-kshētram | aparata[h\*] kutumbi Bhōtuka-
- 52 satka kshētram uttaratah brāhmana Anahakasy=aiva satka kshētram[|\*] tathā tri(tri)  
tīya khandam Kikaka prakrishtam tri chatvārinśad-bhū-pādāvartha-parimāna[m\*]  
yasya pūrvvatah Suptāvasadhī grāma-yāyī panthā[h\*] dakshinatah
- 53 brāhmana-Sangaka satka-brahmadēya-kshētram aparatah pattianaka kshētram M[ā\*]tri-  
sthāna-kshētra[m\*] cha uttaratah Suptāvasadhī grāma-simā[|\*] chaturttha khandā[m\*]  
Kikaka-prakrishtam=ēva daśa bhū-pādāvartha parimā
- 54 namñ(nañ)=cha pūrvvatah rājavartmā dī(da)kshinata[h] grāma śikharam aparatah  
kulāputraka Varuna satka-prachchihā uttarata[h] Karkkaka satka-kshētram[|\*] tathā  
pañchama khandam Kikkaka-prakrishtam=ēva pañcha-bhū-pādāvartha-
- 55 parimānam yasya pūrvvatah brāhmana Chamasa satka-brahmadēya kshētram da-  
kshinatah Dāsānaka-samjñita-brahmadēya-kshētram|| aparatah rāja-vattā(rtmā)  
uttaratah brāhmana Śankara satka-brahmadēya-kshētram[|\*]
- 56 Ēvam=idam chatur āghī[tana] visu(su)[d\*]dham vāpi kshētram sōdranga[m\*] s  
ōparikara[m\*] sa-bhūta-vāta-pratyāya[m\*] sa dhānya hirany-ādēyam sa daśāpai[ā\*]-  
dha[m\*] s-ōtpadyam[ā\*]na vishtika[m\*] saivva rājakiyān[ā\*]m=a
- 57 hasta prakshēpanīya[m\*] pūrvva-pratta dēva brahmadēya rahitam bhūmi chchhidra-  
nyāyēn=ācha[n\*]dr [ā\*]rkknārnava kshiti sarit-paivvata samakālīna[h\*] putra-pautr-  
ānvaya bhōgya[h\*] udak-ātisarggēna dharmma-
- 58 dāyō nri(ni)srishtah[|\*] yatō=sy=ōchitayā brahma-dēyam(ya) sthityā bhuñjatah  
krishata[h\*] karshayata[h\*] pradiśatō vā na kaischid=vyāsēdhē varttitavyam=  
āgāmi bhadra nripatibhir=apy=a[sma\*]d-vanśajair=anyair=vvā

<sup>1</sup> Read *āyūmshī*<sup>2</sup> The name of Śilāditya IV has been omitted [See ante, p 114 and note 1 —Ed]<sup>3</sup> Read *pitroh puny*<sup>4</sup> Read *Surāshtrēshu*<sup>5</sup> Kha of *khandā* is written below the line and was added afterwards.<sup>6</sup> Probably we have to read *Kampi*°

- 59 anityāny=aiśvarya, āny(ny)=astha(sth)ram mānushyam sāmānyañ=cha bhūmi dāna-  
phalam=avagachchhadbhur=ayam=asmad-[d\*] āyō=humantavyah paripūlayitavyaś=  
ch=ēty=uktañ=cha|| Bahubhur=vasudhā bhuktā rājabhī[h\*] Sagar-ādibhīh[|\*]  
60 yasya vasva yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya ta[dā\*] phala[m\*] Yān=iha dāridrya-bhayān=  
narāndraur=ddhanāni dharmm-āyatanīkritāni[\*] nīr[b]bhukta-mālyā-pratimāni  
tāni kō nāma sīdhuh punar=ādadīta[|\*] Shashtī(śhtim)  
61 varsha sahasrāni svarggō tishthati bhūmidah[\*] āchchhettā ch=ānumantā chah(chā)  
tīny=īva narakū vasīb || Dūtākō=tra Rājaputra-Kharagrahah[|\*]  
62 Lūhitam idam Sandhivīgrahādhikrita-Divirapati Mahāpratihāra Sāmanta-Mammakēn=  
ēti || Sam 300 50 7 dvi Pausa ha 4 [|\*] Svahastō mama ||

No 20—THE BAYANA INSCRIPTION OF CHITRALEKHA, V. S. 1012.

BY THE LATE PROF R. D. BANERJI, M.A.

This inscription, which is being edited for the first time, was discovered by Carlleyle, one of the Assistants of the late Sir Alexander Cunningham, at Bayānā in the Bharatpur State<sup>1</sup>. This place (lat 77° 21' E, long 26° 54') is now a junction on the broad gauge main line of the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway. It was a place of great importance in mediæval times and for some time was made the Imperial capital by Islām Shāh son of Shēr Shāh I. When Mr. Carlleyle saw this inscription for the first time, it was lying under one of the stone pillars of the balcony which surrounds the courtyard of the Ukhā Mandir at Bayānā. This Mandir is a late structure built about a century ago by a Thākur of the Bharatpur State, by converting a portion of the Masjid built in 720 A. H. by Sultān Qutbuddin Mubārak Shāh of the Khilji dynasty of Delhi<sup>2</sup>. The inscription was found in the same position in 1885 by Fleet, and was referred to by him in his article on the Bayānā inscription of Vijayādhirāja dated V. S. 1100<sup>3</sup>. It continued there till I visited Bayānā in 1918, when at my request Mr. C. C. Watson, I. C. S., C. I. E., then Political Agent for the Eastern Rajputana States, asked the Bharatpur Durbar to have the slab removed and it has since been placed in the compound of the Ukhā Mandir. The inscription is incised on a thick slab of yellow sandstone, quite different from the red sandstone used in the construction of the Ukhā Masjid or the Ukhā Mandir and almost of all the ancient monuments at Bayānā. The upper left corner of the inscription is broken and the letters on one eighth of the entire slab towards the right have flaked off. With the exception of these two parts the rest of the record is in a tolerably good state of preservation. The flaking off of the right side of the slab makes all the lines incomplete and therefore difficult to decipher. The breaking off of the upper left corner has made the beginning of the first five lines incomplete, out of these lines again, the first three have lost more letters than the fourth and the fifth which have lost only ten and four syllables approximately.

The inscribed surface measures 3' 6" x 1' 9" and the average height of letters is 1½". The slab bears twenty five lines of writing which on the whole is very neatly done. As regards palaeography, in many cases, the anusāra is enclosed within a circle (cf. jagatām l. 4) while in other cases it is a plain dot (cf. vamsasya l. 4). A peculiar form of thā is noticeable in iskarā'ah (l. 7) where the upper part of the upper loop is open, which is usually closed in other instances, as for example, in prathitah (l. 18) or prithu (l. 22). The initial form of the short is

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, A. S. R., Vol. VI, p. 60

<sup>2</sup> Ibid Vol. XX, p. 72

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, Vol. XIV, pp. 9-10.

to be found in *ity ālēhya* (l 20), *ita* (l 21), *e'e*. The usual form of the palatal *sa* used in this inscription is the transitional form in which the curve in the upper part of the letter touches but does not coalesce with the vertical straight line which forms the left limb as in *śrimgūrītāh* (l 11). Very often this curve does not touch the straight line on the left as in *chārudarśanaḥ* (l 16) or *Śrīpāṇa* (l 25). As regards the orthographical peculiarities it might be stated that consonants under a superscript *r* are usually doubled (cf *śaurjya*<sup>2</sup> *starggē*, *sarvīēshu*, l 3, etc). Occasionally consonants with a subscript *r* are also doubled (cf *itrātā* in l 8). The language of the record is Sanskrit and the whole inscription with the exception of a portion of the last line is written in verse.

After referring to the Moon, the lunar rice, and Kṛṣṇa the record speaks of the Śūrasēna Kings, in which clan was born a king named Phakka. The name of a king Phakka has been found in an undated inscription of circa eighth century A D on a pillar built into the inner wall of the main gate of the Chaurāsī Khambā Masjid at Kāmā or Kāmavāna, in the Bharatpur State, which was discovered by Sir Alex under Cunningham and published by the late Pandit Bhagavan Lal Indrajit.<sup>1</sup> The Kāmavāna record provides us with a genealogy of the Śūrasēna kings for seven generations. According to the Bayānī inscription, in the family of Phakka there was a king named Vappuka, who is styled 'an Indri on the earth' (l 9). His son was Rājayika, who married a lady named Sijjanī of the Māyūrīka family. As mentioned in the Jodhpur inscription<sup>3</sup> dated V S 891 (= A D 837), the Pratihāra chief Būka defeated a chief named Mayūra from whom Sijjanī appears to have been descended. Sijjanī, who was the grand mother of Chittralēkhā, the donor of the present inscription, must have been living in the earlier part of the tenth century A D, as the latter was a middle aged matron in V S 1012, having four grown up sons. The name of Rājayika's son is lost, but from l 13 we learn that he married a lady named Yaśaskarī of the Pramāra family from whom was born Chittralēkhā (l 14). Chittralēkhā was married to a chief named Mangalarāja, about whose descent no details are furnished. The person referred to in l 16, whose name is lost, is probably the eldest son of Mangalarāja and Chittralēkhā. Fleet proposed to identify this Mangalarāja with the chief of that name of the Kachchhapaghāta family, who is mentioned as the ancestor of the king Mahipala in the Siśabāhū temple inscription in Gwalior Fort dated V S 1150 (= 1093 94 A D).<sup>4</sup> If this identification be accepted then the eldest son of Chittralēkhā, who is mentioned in l 16 of the Bayānī inscription, is probably Kirtūrāja, who succeeded his father. Three other sons of Chittralēkhā are mentioned in this record. The second was named Indrajit (l 18), the third Lakṣmanarāja and the fourth Chāmunarāja (l 19). The object of the inscription is mentioned in l 20 whence we learn that Chittralēkhā caused to be built a temple of Vishnu and gave two villages named Gōgapura and Nāgapalli as well as certain fields in Hidhapalli to the deity (*Chārin*). From l 23 we learn that three *dramma*s were to be collected for the god (*Sūragin*) in the *mandapilā* of Śrīpathū and a similar sum in the *mandapilā* of Vusāvata. From the same line we also learn that a gift of one *dramma* was to be set apart for the god, probably, whenever a horse was sold. It may also be that this sum was levied as *octroi* duty on every horse load of merchandise carried through the village precincts.

Almost all the geographical names mentioned in the record can be identified. Śrīpathū has been identified as Bayānī itself by the late Dr J F Fleet.<sup>4</sup> Though phonetically the ancient and modern names cannot be connected, there is some support for this identification as the same

<sup>1</sup> *Ind Art*, Vol X, pp 31-35.

<sup>2</sup> *Abos*, Vol XVIII, pp 95 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind Art*, Vol XV, p 36.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind Art*, Vol XIV, p 10.



- 4 . 'stu sa[r]vam=ama[m]galam || [5 ||\*] Vamśasya tasya mahimā bhuvana-  
prasiddhah kim varnnyat sa bhagavān=jagatām nvāsah | Kans(ms) ārir=ādipurushah  
svayam=ēva janma jagrāha yatra sura dānava-vandit-āmgrih || [6 ||\*] Vādham  
gādha ————
- 5 ————ra namyā va(ba)hubhir=apī parair=mmārgganaih śrīyamānāh | vamśēr(śē)  
tasmīnn=abhūvann=adhika kṛta bhay ōddāyit-ārātī-kākā bhrātah kim chāpa dandā  
na hi sarala-matē bhūbhujah Sūra sēnāh || [7 ||\*] Nētr ānanda karēna kānta-vapushā  
———[saubhā']-
- 6 gya-kōśēna cha | chandrēn=āpī kalamkānā nija kulasy=ādyēna vandy ātmanā lajjantē  
khalu nishkalamka charitā yē=dy=āpī kālē kalau || [8 ||\*] Bhuktivā bhuktivā dharittrīm  
chatur-udadhī payah-prāvritām mhsapatnām kṛtvā kṛtv=Āśvamē[dhūn=nyata]  
———
- 7 [di]m=avam bhujām gachchhatām punya bhājām madhyē kāla-kramēna krasita-ripur=  
abhūt=Phakka-nāmā narēndrah || [9 ||\*] Vra(Bra)hm Ēndr-Ōpēndra Chandra-Dravina-  
pati-Yamair=apy=ayam lōka-nāthah sārddham yōddhum samarthah sakalam=apī jagat=  
mānyamānas=trīnāya | kēsēshv=ā[kramya]———  
———[La\*]-
- 8 kshmīr=bhaya chakita-manā yat kulē=pi sthīr=ābhūt || [10\* ||] Gōttrē yatra pavitr-  
ātmā satām ttrātā dvishām visham | va(ba)bhūva Vappukō nāma yasō-  
rāśih pratāpavān || [11 ||\*] Sēvā samnīhitaih surair=iva nripai Rambh Ōivvaśibhyām  
samair=mmāniky ābharanaih surūpa ————[\*]———
- 9 [vabhai]r=[uchchahśravah]-sannibhair=aśvair=Indra iv=āparah kshiti-talē yō drak-sahasram  
vinā || [12 ||\*] Tasya Rājayikō jātō Jāmadagnya iv=ātmaajah ranē rājanya mūrddhānō  
nirlūnā yēna līlayā || [13 ||\*] Māyūrīka-kula bhūtām tēn=ōdhvā Sajjan=iti vikhyātām  
[1] ————[Hrida\* ?]
- 10 yēshu divi[shām] bhūpah sa[bhayē]shu divā-nisam | tishtann=apī na samsprishtō na  
cha drishtō bhayēna yah || [15 ||\*] Na prākārair=nna sārāih kari-turaga narair=nn=  
ādrbhis=tumga-śringair=nn=āmbhō gambhīra-garttair=jjala vikala bhuvām na sthalair=  
nna drum-aughah | n=ānyair=mmā[yā-purair=]———
- 11 nam pravī[śad=a]rī puram nīrddahad=v(b)ambhajach=cha || [16||\*] Divyair=ābharan-  
ānga-rāga-vasanaih pushpāś=cha śringāritāh saivvattir=ōtsava gīta-tūrya-rasitair=  
ānanda-sāndrāh prajāh | praty=av(b)dam vasudhām cha sasya saphalām=ālōkya yō  
vismitair=lōkair=———[17||\*] —[jvā ?]-
- 12 lā māl[nō]=pi jvalita huta-bhujō gharmma-kālē=ntarālād=bhaṅga vridām vahantah  
smṛta-kula charitā vi(b)ibhyatī[sm=ā ?]tta-sat(tt)vāh | dusht ārushta dvipēndra sthita-  
subhata kar ākrānta kunt-āgra-raudraṁ samgrāmam bhāvayanti pratiniyata-  
vadham strī sabhām(bham) yē niku[mbhāh] || [18||\*] ————
- 13 mv(b)udha—— ś=chandramā iva vai rukah(chā ?) || [19||\*] Prāmāra-kula sambhūtā  
sādhvi tēna mahātmanā | Yaśaskar=iti vikhyātā parinitā yasō rthinā || [20||\*] Tēn=  
ādhīpēna tanayā sa nayā su rūpā punya-priyā savinayā subha lakshanā cha | tasyām  
[sama ?\*]
- 14 jam Chittiralēkhā || [21||\*] Tēna Māngalarājēna sā śāstr ārtha-vidā satā | sādhyī  
bhrātṛmatī rājā parinitā priyamvadā || [22||\*] Pativratām vikshya kalau yugū tām  
lōkaih kṛta-strishu mahā-satishu | Arundhatī Paivvata rāja-puttrī La[kshmī ?]———  
———[23||\*] . . . . .



## TRANSLATION

(Verse 1) From (*his*) mouth was born the fire and from the head the sky

(V 2) From the moon sprang the royal family (*tree*) which had a thick foliage, had kept off the heat (or suffering) of the people through its thousand branches and was productive of much fruits (or good) and which, though high (or noble), was free from encountering shocks and breaking down (or fear and destruction)

(V 3) (*In which family*) rejoiced together and where was born Purūravas, the common abode of beauty and valour

(V 4) Where was born Nahusha, whom when he obtained the kingship of the gods in heaven, all the gods, Yama and others

(V 5) (*may remove ?*) all evils

(V 6) The greatness of this family is well known throughout the world What more to say, where the Lord of the creation (*i e*, Vishnu) and the enemy of Kamsa, who is the refuge of all creatures and whose feet are worshipped (*equally*) by the gods and demons, himself took his birth

(V 7) In that family were born (*those*) who were honoured by and resorted to by numerous other supplicants, who made the crow-like enemies fly with their fear increased O brother, were they the bows ? No, simple minded (*fool*), they were the Śūrasēna kings

(V 8) Who, even today, in this Kali age being of spotless character feel ashamed of the moon, the originator of their race on account of his having a stain though it has a beautiful form pleasing to the eye and is honoured (*by people*)

(V 9) In course of time, amongst the righteous kings who had passed away, each in his turn, after enjoying the earth extended to the four oceans and free from all enemies and performing the Horse Sacrifice there was born a king named **Phakka** who had exterminated (*it* thinned) his enemies

(V 10) This lord of the people was able to fight even with Brahman, Indra, Upēndra, the Moon, Kuvēra and Yama and regarded the whole earth (*as contemptible*) as a blade of grass Dragged by hair, Lakshmī, with her mind struck with fear became settled in his family

(V 11) In that family was born **Vappuka** who was a mass of fame and was powerful, whose soul was pure and who was the saviour of the good (*but*) was (*like*) poison to his enemies

(V 12) Who, through having princes, who were like gods and who had come to him for (*rendering*) service, through (*women*) adorned with diamonds and equalling Rambhā and Ūrvaśī (*in beauty*). and through horses that were like Uchchaiśravas—was like another Indra on the face of the earth, (*only he was*) without his (Indra's) thousand eyes

(V 13) To him was born a son (*named*) **Rājayika** who was like Jāmadagnya (Paraśurāma) inasmuch as he cut off the heads of warriors in battle with (*perfect*) ease

(V 14) He having married the well-known **Sajjanī** born in the Māyūrīka family

(V 15) The king, though residing day and night in the enemies' hearts possessed of fear, was neither touched nor (*even*) seen by that fear

(V 16) (*The king not daunted by*) ramparts, nor by the (*army consisting of the*) best of elephants, horses and men, nor by hills with high peaks, nor by the deep ravines caused by (*the much of*) water, nor by land and forests of trees nor by phantom cities entering the city of the enemy burning (*it*) and completely annihilating (*it*)

(V 17) (*Whose*, subjects, adorned with beautiful ornaments, perfumes and clothes and decked with flowers, were full of enjoyments everywhere through festivities, songs and sounds of drums And every year seeing with wondering eyes that the earth was full of crops, who . . .



(V 18) Even (men) of strong character (i), bearing the shame of defeat, feel frightened being reminded of the family of him (who was unbearable like) the fire with a garland of flames during the hot season— those wicked demoni (?) who look upon the battle—which is in its fierce by the heads of spears held in the hands of the best of warriors seated on the wicked and angry elephants—like an assembly of women

(V 19) like the moon in splendour

(V 20) By that great soul who wanted fame was married (the lady) named Yāśasrari, who was chaste and was born in the Prāmāṇya family

(V 21) By that line was begotten on her (i.e. Yāśasrari) a daughter (named) Chittra Chitrā who was well behaved, beautiful, fond of (acquiring) merit, well disciplined and auspicious

(V 22) By that good line Maṅgalārāja who knew the proper interpretation of the Śāstras, who was devoted to her husband who had brothers and who spoke pleasantly, was married

(V 23) Seeing her devotedness to her husband in the Kāśyapa, the people (placed her) among women of the Kāśyapa— she was great Śrī (chaste women) like Arundhati, the daughter of the mountain (i.e., Gauri) and Lalashā

(V 24) By uttering her name, even hearing (her name) the ears of men are rendered free from all cure

(V 25) In Śāstra, possessing many mouths, cannot speak of her qualities, quietly, how can one like myself (do so)?

(V 26) (She) had a son to whom were dear all (and) truth (and) slo, having destroyed the circle of later men, brightened the interior of the universe, the rays of his fame

(V 27) This line of beautiful form, following the conduct of Dhipa, Rāhu and Rāna obtained the love of his subject

(V 28) The sun being covered by the mass of dust (raised by the feet) of the multitude of his army, the clouds without fear and the deities the pious portals being the night was far advanced

(V 29) The wives of his enemies driven out of their own cities, by his soldiers thus lament O friend, this flying in confusion my girl which had dropped was not picked up by me I do not remember distinctly the person to whom I entrusted my wealth

(V 30) Her younger son was Indrajit who was valiant, and eager for battles Having conquered many kings the son of Rāvana (i.e., Indrajit) was possessed by him

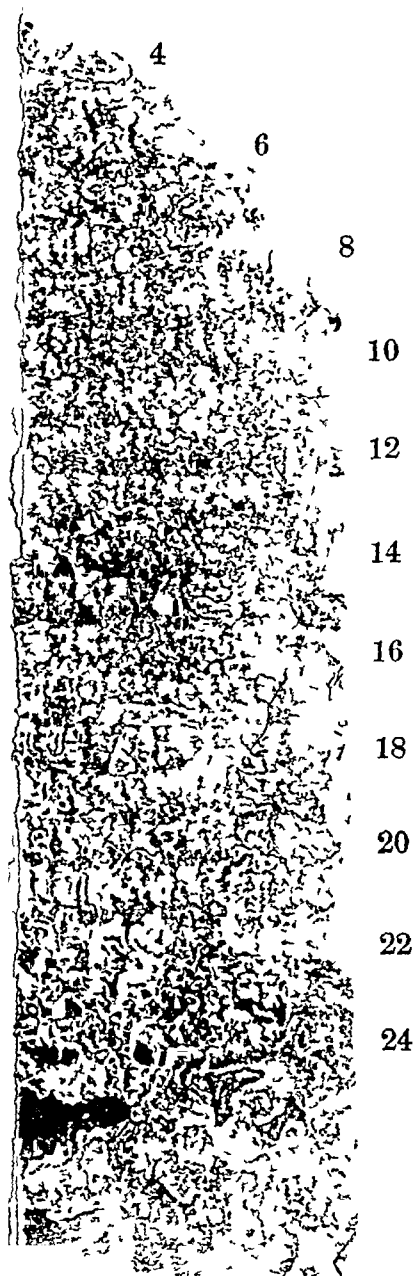
(V 31) (He) the abode of civility was kindhearted and was like a kalpa druma (wish giving tree) to the supplicants, was full of energy and truthful, took a great delight in protecting those who had approached (him) and was like the god of death to rampant enemies His numerous acts were white like the rays of the full moon and he was adorned with knowledge

(V 32) After him was born unto her a son named Lakṣhmanārāja, who was as celebrated as Pṛithu and after him another (son named) Chāmunḍārāja who was greater than Bhīma through his own qualities

(V 33) good fortune, beauty, kingdom, emancipation and abode in heaven cannot be obtained without worshipping Viṣṇu

(V 34) Having thought of this for a long time and having found out that everything on this earth (as well as) beauty, body (and) life are transient, she, Chitrachitrā, the chaste and of esteemed character, caused to be made this temple of Viṣṇu with a crest-jewel shaped as a golden egg and which was (adorned with?) and flags

(V 35) (The girls) who with armlets, shining necklaces, jewelled anklets and bracelets of gold, (and also) with the girdles of gold appear like (so many) wishing creepers (kalpa latā).





(V 36) Owing to the temptation of seeing them, the enemy of Madhu does not leave his own image even for a moment nor does he now remember the heavenly damsels like Rambhā and others

(V 37) They being reflected (?) in (his) pure cheeks, the smiling (Vishnu) always experiences the anger of the jealous Lakshmi

(V 38) A show given by these ladies whose eyes were like the petals of lotus flowers, whose hips were heavy and whose faces were like the moon was also arranged by her<sup>1</sup>

(V 39) Having given to Vishnu the two villages Gōgrapura and Nāgapallī (she also gave) fields at Hādhapallī

(V 40) Three *drammas* were given, every day, to the holder of the Śūrnga bow (i e, Vishnu), by the market place<sup>2</sup> at Śrīpathā and also another three by the market place at Vusāvata

(V 41) A gift of one *dramma* per horse was fixed for the god, the lord This arrangement was made by the queen, the illustrious Chittrālēkhā, out of devotion

(V 42) By the illustrious king, the Mahārājādhrāja Mahīpāla in Chashtha mandala

(V 43) As long as the lord of the snakes bears the earth along with the mountains, as long as there is pure water in the celestial river (i e, the Ganges), so long may this temple of the enemy of Mura (i e, Vishnu) which is (as high as) the peak of the Snowy Mountains (i e, the Himālaya) and which is conspicuous and beautiful, continue to shine on this earth

(V 44) In the year one thousand increased by twelve years, on Monday (?) the twelfth day of the bright half of Māgha was (this temple) dedicated

Line 25 This eulogy was composed by the Brāhmaṇa named Sajjana, written by the Karanika Śrīśakti (and) incised by the goldsmith Śrīpāla Let there be good (for all) Indrajit (gate) to him (i e, the god Vishnu), the village of Aluvadraka on the occasion of a solar eclipse

### NO. 21 — THE GURGI INSCRIPTION OF PRABODHASIVA<sup>3</sup>

BY THE LATE PROF R D BANERJI, M.A

The slab on which this inscription is engraved was discovered about half a century ago, among the ruins of the great temple called Gurgaj, at Gurgī, a village about two miles due east of Rewah town, in the state of that name, in the Baghelkhand Agency of Central India Gurgī is situated in lat 81° 27' and long 21° 30' (vide sheet No XIII of the Rewah Topographical Survey, issued by the Survey of India in 1873) Though Rewah had been visited by older members of the Archaeological Survey of India such as Sir Alexander Cunningham, Mr J D M Beglar and H B W Garrick, this inscription has not been noticed by any one of them<sup>4</sup> It is now placed in the front wall of the palace at Rewah just below the Throne Room or Durbār Hall Its existence was brought to my notice in April 1920 by Rai Bahadur Pāndit Janakī Prasad, M A, LL B, then Home Member of the Council of Regency of the Rewah State who also gave me the information about its place of discovery

<sup>1</sup> Probably in verses 35-38 we have a reference to the dancing girls (*dēva-dasī*) given to the temple

<sup>2</sup> *Mandapika* = a market place (*mandavā* in Gujarātī and Marāṭhī)

<sup>3</sup> [The text and translation of this inscription were published in Mr Banerji's *The Harhayas of Tripura and their Monuments* (Archæological Survey of India Memoir No 23) pp 122 ff, but as they contained a number of errors the inscription as revised by me is re-edited here — Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> [Probably the stone inscription referred to by Beglar in Cunningham, *A S R* Vol XIII, p 13, note 1, is identical with the present inscription — Ed.]

The inscribed slab measures about 1' 1" by 3' 4" and the average height of each letter is  $\frac{5}{8}$ ". The entire surface with the exception of about two inches at the top and six inches at the bottom is covered with writing. There are altogether forty-nine lines of writing on the slab. With the exception of the invocation at the beginning, the entire inscription is in verse. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and the record has, on the whole, been very carefully incised. Consonants with a subscript *r* are not doubled, but there are exceptions, *er*, *uridaśa* (l. 3). Consonants with a superscript *r* have been doubled in all cases. The characters of the inscription are similar to those of the Chandrehe inscription of Prabodhasiva of the Kalachuri year 724<sup>1</sup>. The initial form of *r* consists of two dots placed side by side and a comma below them, *er*, *ura* (ll. 7, 20) and *urham* (l. 13). Among consonants the following forms call for notice. There are two triangles in the lower part of *lha* one at the foot of each of the vertical lines, *er*, *alila* (l. 8). Two forms of *tha* have been used the older form consisting of two spheres one over the other and the later form in which the upper loop has become open, *er*, *mathy*= (l. 3) and *prathita* (l. 15). An angle is present in the back of *da* in all cases, *er*, *jagad* (l. 2). The upper part of *dha* is undeveloped and the letter consists of a loop attached to the left side of a vertical straight line. An acute angle is also to be seen in the lower part of *bha*, *er*, *mahōbhū* (l. 7). *Ra* is wedge-shaped, *er*, *ripu* (l. 3). In *la* there is only one curved line in the left limb of the letter instead of two as in later forms, *er*, *ālu* (l. 1). The palatal *śa*, in all cases, is of the transitional form, in which the right limb of the letter consists of a straight line which is not touched by the left limb. This left limb is formed of a curve shaped like the Roman letter 'S' with a triangle at the bottom, *er*, *śīnu* (l. 1). The sign of *anagraha* has been used occasionally in this inscription, *er*, *tasy*=*āspad*=*'gra* (l. 30) and *Mahēndr*=*'ruud* (l. 31). The final form of *t* is to be found in *abhūt* (l. 38) and of *m* in *saddhāntikānām* (l. 5) and *dōśham* (l. 6). A peculiar form of the ligature *lra* is noticeable in *āl-randa* (l. 2).

The inscription, so far as is left of it, is not dated and from its fragmentary nature it is difficult to say with certainty to the reign of which Kalachuri king it belonged. It falls into two different parts the first part consisting of the spiritual genealogy of the ascetics of the Mattamayūra clan and the second of a short account of the rulers of the Harhaya dynasty of Tripurī and the landed property belonging to the Śiva ascetics. In this respect the Gurgi inscription resembles the Bilhari inscription<sup>2</sup> of the rulers of Chōdi.

The first two verses contain an invocation of Śiva. In the third verse we are introduced to Madhumatī an abode of the *Saddhāntikas* and the clan of "mad peacocks". The fourth verse also refers to this clan of Śiva ascetics. In this (religious) family of Śiva ascetics was an ascetic named Chūdāsiva. His disciple was called Prabhāvasiva. Yuvarājādōva I, son of Mugdhatunga (Prasiddhadhavalā), having brought him (to the Chōdi country), made him accept a monastery which was built at the cost of a large sum of money. His disciple Prasāntasiva is the most prominent figure in this inscription as well as in that found at Chandrehe. From verse 11 of the present record we learn that he had built a temple of Śiva close to the palace built by Yuvarājādōva I. In addition to this temple he had dedicated images of Umā, Śiva and Durgā (i.e., Ardhanārīśvara), Kārttikēya (Shadānana), Ganapati and Sarasvatī in the temples close to the palace (v. 12). This abbot also built for himself a retreat for meditation (*tapah sthāna*) on the banks of the Sōna, an account of which we also find in the Chandrehe inscription. He was succeeded by his disciple whose name cannot be read (v. 17)<sup>3</sup>. This disciple of Prasāntasiva gave his place (as head of the monastery) to a younger brother disciple named Prabodhasiva (l. 25).

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 149 f.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. II, pp. 25 ff.

<sup>3</sup> [I read the name as Iśānaśambhu.—Ed.]

From the 26th line the record becomes almost entirely illegible with the exception of a few letters at the extreme right **Prabōdhasiva** appears to be the abbot in whose time the inscription was incised. The object of the record was very probably to commemorate repairs to an object caused to be built by his spiritual preceptor (*sia-svāmi-nirmmāpita* l 26) as well as some monument erected by himself (*sat / armma nirmmāptam* l 29). Verses 36 43 also seem to record certain grants made by **Yuvarāja (II)**. The account of the rulers of the Haihaya dynasty probably began from v 27 introducing the family of the moon to which the Kalachuris belonged. The last few words in l 35 indicate the defeat of a **Gūrjara** king, evidently a king of Kanauj. The **Kōkalladēva** mentioned in l 40 is probably the second king of that name who was the son and successor of **Yuvarājadēva II**. There is a reference to the defeat of a **Gūrjara** ruler and a king of **Gauda**. The country of **Vanavāsa** and the lord(?) of **Kuntala** appear to have been mentioned in l 42. These two countries are most probably mentioned in connection with the campaigns of **Gāngēyadēva**, the son of **Kōkalla II** and the father of the great conqueror **Karna**, whose conquest of the **Kuntala** country is mentioned in the **Khairhā** plates of his grandson **Yaśahkarna**<sup>1</sup>. The mention of the campaigns of **Gāngēyadēva** indicates that **Prabōdhasiva** was alive in his reign and therefore the record is later in date than the **Chandrehe** inscription. The next five lines contain the property bestowed on the **Śaiva** ascetics possibly by **Yuvarājadēva I** who is mentioned in l 47 and also by his surname **Kēyūravārsha**, in l 43. In l 43 are mentioned **Sārasadōllaka**—which is identified by **Rai Bahadur Pandit Janaki Prasad** with modern **Sahdol**, a station on the **Bilaspur Katni** section of the **Bengal Nagpur Railway**—**Vakadōllaka** and three other villages. In l 44 we have **Ābhīrapa**<sup>117</sup>, **Kavacha Kshētra** and a third name **Sarasvatī** which may be that of a village or of a river. In the next line a number of villages are mentioned of which the following only are legible **Sāmantapātaka**, **Bhadvachīurā**, **Tujumbā**, **Kukudiyā** and **Rajōgrāma**. It is stated in l 47 that **Karōdhaka**, **Brahmapurī**, **Nannēsvara Kshētra** and another village, the name of which is not clear, were given to the god **Sōmanātha**. The *prāsaśti* was composed by **Madhu**, the son of **Trayivarddhana** of the **Bhāradvāja-gōtra**. It was written on the stone by **Śivanāga** the son of **Avvōka** and incised by the *sūtradhāra* **Mādhava** the son of **Mahēśvara**. I am unable to identify the localities mentioned and edit the record from the original stone which I examined on several occasions in 1920 and in 1921.

### TEXT

[Metres —vv 1 5 and 16 *Sragdharā*, vv 6 8, 12, 17, 20, 24, 26, 28, 30 33 and 35 *Vasantatilakā*, vv 9-11, 13 15, 18, 19, 21-23, 25 and 27 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, vv 29 and 34 *Mālinī*, vv 36 46 *Anushtubh*]

1 Ōm<sup>a</sup> ——— vāya || Lānkā [vīrēndra(?)]-vā(bā)hu-vyatīkara-chatula [sphā]tik ādr  
indra-kōti-śrēṇi samghatta-vi(bi)bhyad gaganachara vara chehhanna-dik-chakravālam

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XII, pp. 210 ff. [The context does not give us any justification of bringing in **Gāngēyadēva**. It shows, on the other hand, that the credit of the conquests mentioned in verse 34 must go to **Kōkalladēva (II)** who is introduced in the verse immediately preceding it. Moreover, since both the **Chandrehe** inscription (973 A D) and the present record belong to the time of **Prabōdhasiva**, it is very unlikely that he could flourish at the time of **Gāngēyadēva** (1037 A D) also. It is more likely that the grants were made by **Yuvarājadēva (II)**, as indicated by v 43, probably towards the end of his reign and recorded at the time of his son **Kōkalla (II)** who is mentioned as *ṛipati* in l 41. If my surmise is correct then v 34 gives us some new information about the achievements of **Kōkalla II** and v. 35 indicates that **Yuvarājadēva (II)** also bore the surname of **Kēyūravārsha** like his grandfather, **Yuvarāja (I)** —Ed.]

<sup>a</sup> Expressed by a symbol



- 18 m=atyanta viśrāntayā- yas=tat=kāritava(vā)n=muniḥ - sura sarit-tīrē , tapah sthānakam ,  
yat=samsēvyā Mahēśvar ārchchana-ratā , Vārāṇasī vāsinō manyantō bhava sāgaram  
- gurum=apī kshīnam
- 19 yathā [gōślīpā]daṁ || [14, ||\*] Āsīnasya jīta-āsanasya vijanē hṛit-padma-madhyā sthita-  
Sthānu-dhyāna-nīlīna-nīśchala manah samvēdit āntar mmudah | jagmur=yasya dīnāni  
dāna-nirata-
- 20 ——— [rthika?] tat(tt)va jūāna vicakṣhaṇaś=cha gunibhiḥ sārddham parīkṣhā-  
kṣhamaiḥ || [15, ||\*] Tivr-ānśōr=amśu samghā , iva niratīsay-ōllāsinaḥ svaḥ pra-  
bhāva[r]=yasy=āntēvāsīnō=dhas=tamasi ni-
- 21 ——— [pratyaham] vō(bō)dhaya[n]tah | [kān°=ālōka dān ōpakṛiti parīnamat kīrttayaḥ  
sambhūt ājñī-śōbhā bhūbhūch chhūrōbhūh prayara-muni janair=a[r]chyamānās=charaṇti  
|| [16 ||\*] Tasy=ābhava
- 22 [t=] ——— h samasta-kavi-pungava gīta kīrttiḥ | śr-Isānaśambhur=  
akṣhīl-āvanīpāla mauḥ mālā manī dyuti pīsamgita pāda-padmaḥ || [17, ||\*] Nī[r]jītya
- 23 ——— śarv[ṛ] ārthnām yēna śrīr=gamit=ōpabhōga padavi  
[dau]rggatya duḥkha chchhīdā | sad vidyā bhava va(ba)ndhana-vyatikara pradhvan(m)sa-  
karmma-kṣama vyāpār=ēti
- 24 [samagra sam?] ——— || [18 ||\*] Yō mādyat-kah-kāla danti dalana  
vyāpārī-paichānanah , śrīman Mattamayūra-vansa(vamśa) tilakō nīśēśha vidyā-  
nidhīḥ | vidvat pa-
- 25 [rshada] ——— [tasy]=āśēśha gun ākarasya bhuva[n] ———  
——— || [19 ||\*] Śrīmat-Pravō(bō)dhāsīva-nāma nīj ānujasya sthānam sama-  
[r\*]pya-vijī
- 26 ——— [ ||\*] ———  
——— || [20 ||\*] [Yēna] tvāga tapah samādhi nidhīnā sva svāmī nīrmāpita-
- 27 ——— [ ||\*] ———  
——— uta siddhi-vā(bā)dhaka-bhū[yā] , n=ōllamghayanty=amva-  
(mba)rē || [21 ||\*] Kū-
- 28 [pām] ——— [ ||\*] ———  
——— [ ||\*] ——— [ ā]rthī nīvaha[sā?]rthō=py=apūrvv-ēpsita-  
prājya sva-
- 29 ——— || [22 ||\*] ———  
——— valla ——— sat-karmma-nīrmāpitaṁ |
- 30 ——— || [23 ||\*] ——— [tad-ānu?] ——— [r=ū?]nnat-ātma , tasy=āspadē=gra-
- 31 ——— [ ||\*] ———  
——— || [24 ||\*] ——— [Ma?]hēndrē=rvvu(rbbu)dē yasy=ōchchais  
=cha
- 32 ——— [ ||\*] ———  
——— [m=āsi]t-kṣhamah , || [25 ||\*] , Sāmantapāta-
- 33 [ka\*] ——— yāya ——— [ ||\*] ———  
——— nīnā[m] || [26 ||\*] , Ēn ānk-ānvaya-
- 34 ——— [ ||\*] ———  
——— [grā]hītyā , va(ba)lāt=khyātam kha

<sup>1</sup> We may have to restore as *nīpātan*.

<sup>2</sup> Restore as *lokān*(?)





(V 2) Nandin, who is the (*lady*) that has entered <sup>2</sup> I think she is Dēvi This is not true I am not she, (*she is*) another person You simple minded, he is an *asura* who has assumed your form See how I have felled him before me and by what weapon Let Śiva who was (*thus*) silenced being conquered by the harsh(?) words of Dēvi, protect you

(V 3) There is in this world, *Madhumati*, the abode of the *Siddhāntikas*, where the peacocks dance and shriek with joy at the unsensational rise of clouds formed by the mass of smoke and which is smiling (*in derision*) as it were, at the heaven through the mass of the rays of the big jewels shining on high in the rows of mansions

(V 4) Where appeared the foremost of ascetics whose mind was restrained by vows and who taught the great doctrine of Śiva which is devoid of all faults, whose well known fame the splendour of which (*was as white as if it had been*) washed with nectar, whitens the universe even today like the rays of the moon gladdening the mass of *kumuda* flowers which were the prosperous and learned men

(V 5) In this great family of Śaivas was (*born*) the illustrious ascetic *Chūdāsiva* who was honoured by sages and who in his shining glory was like the forest fire to the dry fuel of sin, whose fame was exceedingly white having arisen out of the perfection of knowledge acquired through meditation on the feet of Bhava (Śiva)

(V 6) His disciple was the sage, the illustrious *Prabhāvasiva* whose feet were worshipped by the rays of the crest jewels on the head of all the kings bowing (*in reverence*) and who was learned and famous in the three worlds

(V 7) Having brought him out of a natural desire, *Yuvārjadōva*, the son of the illustrious *Mugdhatunga*, who was versed in polity, in order to gain good fame arising out of the welfare of (*all*) beings, made him accept a monastery which was established at an enormous expense

(V 8) His disciple was the ascetic the illustrious *Prasāntasiva*, who was famous in the whole world through his spotless austerities and force of learning which was (*always*) increasing and who was the sole abode of exceedingly good qualities

(V 9) Attracted by (*his*) long accumulated austerities, *Lakshmī*, who was eager to have a bodily contact with him who was averse to pleasure on account of his desire of final emancipation, received his order to do good to others and obtained fixity (*i.e.*, became stationary), like a very devoted wife, in the houses of the good who were his (*Prasāntasiva's*) friends

(V 10) Having taken to charity as the (*supporting*) pillar, having obtained the sprinkling of the water of shining knowledge, with all its tips protected by the increasing force of austerities, grew his rich yielding tree (*śalpadruma*) which was his fame and which in time completely filled the vase like interior of the universe

(V 11) By him was established a temple of Śiva (*built*) to the north of the palace which was built by the illustrious *Yuvārjadōva* and was like the shining peak of the *Kailāsa* mountain, which (temple) aspired to be as high as the peak of the *Sumāru* mountain, was famous on the earth, caused wonder in the three worlds and acted like a stair case to his fame marching towards heaven

(V 12) He, whose vast fame was well known and who was learned, dedicated the images of *Umā*, *Umā* mixed with Śiva (*Hara Gauri*) and *Shadānana* in the temples adjacent to the palace as well as those of *Sarasvatī* and *Ganapatī* at the gate

(V 13) He who had quenched all desires of hosts of supplicants by the gift of gold which had emerged (*purified*) from burning (*i.e.*, sacrificial fire?), built another abode for the *Siddhas* on the bank of the river *Sōna* having entered which the *Yōgins* who had exterminated anxieties caused by impediments through (*the performance of*) vows, (*who were*) free from passions, who had attained success in meditation and whose mind was clear, acquire the position (*fit*) for (*obtaining*) emancipation

(V 14) He, the sage, for the absolute rest of those who had a mind to live in a holy place, built an abode (*for performing*) austerities on the banks of the divine river (Ganges), taking resort to which the inhabitants of Benares, devoted to the worship of Mahēśvara, think the ocean of existence, though vast, to be as small as the impression of a cow's foot (*in the soil*)

(V 15) Seated in a solitary place, he, who had won a mastery over (*all*) the postures of sitting (*āsana*) and whose mind—devotedly fixed to the meditation of Śiva (*who was always present*) inside his lotus like heart—possessed the inner satisfaction, passed his days in making gifts in company of qualified men who were adepts in supreme knowledge and could stand the test

(V 16) His disciples who shine in their own majesty bright like the mass of rays of the sun explaining everyday to those who were in darkness(?) (as the sun removes the darkness) and whose fame is vast on account of the good done through the gift of sight (*ālōka*) (as the sun gives light), roam about honoured by the best of sages whose orders are held (*reverently*) by the kings (*bhūbhrit*) on their heads (as the sun is honoured by the summits of mountains which it beautifies)

(V 17) His (disciple) was the illustrious [Isānaśambhu] whose fame was sung by all principal poets, and whose lotus like feet were reddened by the splendour of the jewels of the garlands on the crowns of all the kings

(V 18) Having conquered of all the supplicants by him, who was the remover of the misery of poverty, was placed the goddess of fortune (Śrī) in a position to be enjoyed (*by all*), (he who was?) in the matter of destroying the obstruction of the bondage of existence through true learning

(V 19) He, who was a lion (*pañchānana*) in the act of subduing the rutting elephant of death in the shape of Kāl age, who was the forehead mark (*tilaka*) of the illustrious Mattamayūra clan, who was the store house of perfect bearing, (*who in the*) assembly of the learned, of him who was the source of all the (good) qualities

(V 20) He having given place to his younger brother (*disciple*) named Prabōdhasiva

(V 21) By him, who was the receptacle of charity, austerities and meditation (*was built a matha<sup>1</sup> near*) the one built by his master (*i.e., guru*), which the ... do not cross in the sky for fear of obstruction to their success (or perfection)

(V 22) Also a well<sup>2</sup> (*was dug by him*) and also the host of supplicants (obtained?) an abundant (*even*) of what was not desired before

(V 23) ... caused to be built by (*his*) good works

(V 24) ... then the high souled one in his abode

(V 25) ... on high on the Mahēndra or the Arbuda hills

(V 26) Sāmantapātaka

(V 27) (*In*) the family of the moon ... (*who*) taking by force the famous sword.

(V 28) ... having defeated the lord of the Gūrjaras

(V 29) ... the protection of the family

(V 30) ... the crest jewel

(V 31) ... was born the valiant seeing whose beauty even as drawn in a picture

(V 32) From him (*was born*) the king, the treasure house of valour, the terrible fighter, who was like to the host of poets

(V 33) From him (*was born*) the king Kōkalladēva who was the lord of the good, who excelled the god of love, in physical (*beauty*) and was of unequalled valour

<sup>1</sup> [Probably the damaged portion contained a reference to the *matha* built by Prabōdhasiva which is also found in the Chandrehe Inscription of Prabōdhasiva; see above, Vol. XXI, p. 15, v. 10 —Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> [For a reference to this well see also Chandrehe Inscription, v. 16 —Ed.]

(V 34.) The Gūrjara (*lord*<sup>2</sup>) enters the Himālaya devoid of power and the lord of Gauḍa lies in the watery fort of the sea. There lives in Vanavāsa the lord(?) of Kuntala . . .

(V 35) The King Kēyūravārsha (*gave*) to the ascetic who possessed merit and whom he had himself honoured . . .

(Vv, 36 37) (The villages) Pakka . . . as well as Sārasadōllaka, Vakkadōllaka, Rājyauchchvāḥō(?), . . . nāsapundikā, . . . pura, Khayēllikā(?), . . . Ābhīrapallī . . . and Sarasvatī.

(Vv 38 40) The twelfth part of these as well as the Kavacha kshētra Sūmantapātaka and Vata . . . Bhadvachīrā, Tujumvā and Kukkuḍiyā along with the village of Rājō (*the King*) gave by means of a grant to the great (*ascetic*) who was versed in the Vedāntas . . .

(V, 41) The king made the grant with all honours and out of devotion to him (*and also gave*<sup>2</sup>) a city crowded with citizens . . .

(V 42) (*He also*) gave to the Śiva called Sōmanātha, (*the villages of*) Kārōdhaka, Brahmapurī, Āpōṇḍikā and Nannēśvara kshētra . . .

(V, 43) May this allowance (*granti*) to the Śaiva ascetics granted by the illustrious Yuvarājādēva last till the end of *Kalpas*, being protected by the future kings . . .

(V 44) The praiseworthy Madhu who was the son of the illustrious Trayivardhana of the Bhāradvāja lineage, composed this eulogy with sweet words . . .

(V 45) This (*prasaśti*) was written on stone with clear letters by the scribe, the intelligent Śivanāga, the son of Avvōka . . .

(V 46) (*It was*) incised by the engraver Mādhava . . . who was the son of Mahāśvara, was gifted and was (*as clever as*) Viśvakarman . . .

## No 22,—THE MAHAKOSALA HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S PLATES OF MAHABHAVA-GUPTARAJADEVA . . .

BY PANDIT L. P. PANDEYA . . .

In October 1932, this important charter was presented to the Mahā-Kōsala Historical Society, Bālpur (*via* Rāigarh, District Bilāspur, C. P.), by a gentleman whose family it had been lying for years. Definite information about its find-spot is lacking, but it is said that the plates were discovered in a field in the course of digging . . .

This charter consists of three copper-plates each measuring about 8 1" in length and 4 2" in breadth which are strung on a big circular ring of the same metal. The ring is 4 2" in diameter to which is fixed a circular seal measuring 1 6" in diameter. On the seal is engraved the figure of a standing bull with two horns and a raised hump facing the proper right. Above the figure of the bull is the mark of a crescent moon and below it the legend in two lines, which reads—(1) *Śrī-Mahābhavagupta* (2) *rājādēvasya*. The plates have no raised rims and they with the ring and the seal weigh 120 *tolas*.

Of the three plates, the first is inscribed on the inner side only while the second and third plates bear writing on both sides. The first plate contains nine lines of writing, the second seven lines on each side and the third has eleven lines on the inner and four lines on the outer side. The letters on both the sides of the second plate are comparatively big, each measuring ⅓ of an inch. In the inner side of the third plate the letters in the last five lines are smaller than those of the first six lines. The writing on the plates excepting a few lines on the first side of the third plate is in good preservation . . .

The characters belong to the 'acute angled' type of the Northern script, attributable to the 7th and 8th centuries A. D. The letters have been nicely and clearly engraved and the majority

(V 14) He, the sage, for the absolute rest of those who had a mind to live in a holy place, built an abode (*for performing*) austerities on the banks of the divine river (Ganges), taking resort to which the inhabitants of Benares, devoted to the worship of Mahēśvara, think the ocean of existence, though vast, to be as small as the impression of a cow's foot (*in the soil*).

(V 15) Seated in a solitary place, he, who had won a mastery over (*all*) the postures of sitting (*āsana*) and whose mind—devotedly fixed to the meditation of Śiva (*who was always present*) inside his lotus like heart—possessed the inner satisfaction, passed his days in making gifts in company of qualified men who were adepts in supreme knowledge and could stand the test

(V 16) His disciples who shine in their own majesty bright like the mass of rays of the sun explaining everyday to those who were in darkness(?) (as the sun removes the darkness) and whose fame is vast on account of the good done through the gift of sight (*ālōka*) (as the sun gives light), roam about honoured by the best of sages whose orders are held (*reverently*) by the kings (*bhūbhrit*) on their heads (as the sun is honoured by the summits of mountains which it beautifies)

(V 17) His (disciple) was the illustrious [Iśānaśambhu] whose fame was sung by all principal poets, and whose lotus like feet were reddened by the splendour of the jewels of the garlands on the crowns of all the kings

(V 18) Having conquered of all the supplicants by him, who was the remover of the misery of poverty, was placed the goddess of fortune (*Śrī*) in a position to be enjoyed (*by all*), (he who was?) in the matter of destroying the obstruction of the bondage of existence through true learning

(V 19) He, who was a lion (*pañchānana*) in the act of subduing the rutting elephant of death in the shape of Kūḷi age, who was the forehead mark (*tilaka*) of the illustrious Matarmayūra clan, who was the store house of perfect bearing, (*who in the*) assembly of the learned, of him who was the source of all the (good) qualities

(V 20) He having given place to his younger brother (*disciple*) named Prabōdhaśiva

(V 21) By him, who was the receptacle of charity, austerities and meditation (*was built a matha<sup>1</sup> near*) the one built by his master (*i.e., guru*), which the do not cross in the sky for fear of obstruction to their success (or perfection)

(V 22) Also a well<sup>2</sup> (*was dug by him*) and also the host of supplicants (obtained?) an abundant (even) of what was not desired before

(V 23) caused to be built by (*his*) good works

(V 24) then the high souled one in his abode

(V 25) on high on the Mahēndra or the Arbuda hills

(V 26) Sāmāntapātaka

(V 27) (*In*) the family of the moon, (*who*) taking by force the famous sword

(V 28) having defeated the lord of the Gūrjaras

(V 29) the protection of the family

(V 30) the crest jewel

(V 31) was born the valiant seeing whose beauty even as drawn in a picture

(V 32) From him (*was born*) the king, the treasure house of valour, the terrible fighter, who was like to the host of poets

(V 33) From him (*was born*) the king Kōkalladēva who was the lord of the good, who excelled the god of love in physical (*beauty*) and was of unequalled valour

<sup>1</sup> [Probably the damaged portion contained a reference to the *matha* built by Prabōdhaśiva which is also found in the Chandrohe Inscription of Prabōdhaśiva; see above, Vol. XVI, p. 16, v. 16 — Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> [For a reference to this well see also Chandrohe Inscription, v. 16 — Ed.]

(V 34.) The Gūrjara (*lord?*) enters the Hīmālaya devoid of power and the lord of Gauḍa lies in the watery fort of the sea. There lives in Vanavāsa the lord(?) of Kuntala . . .

(V 35) The King Kēyūravārsha (*gave*) to the ascetic who possessed merit and whom he had himself honoured . . .

(Vv, 36 37) (The villages) Pakka . . . as well as Sārasadōllaka, Vakkadōllaka, Rājyau-chchvākō(?), . . . nāsapundikā, . . . pura, Khayēllikā(?) . . . Ābhīrapalli . . . and Sarasvatī.

(Vv, 38 40) The twelfth part of these as well as the Kavacha kshētra Sāmantapātaka and Vāṭa . . . Bhadvaphiurā, Tujumvā and Kukkuḍiyā along with the village of Rājō (*the ling*) gave by means of a grant to the great (*ascetic*) who was versed in the Vēdāntas . . .

(V 41) The king made the grant with all honours and out of devotion to him (*and also gave?*) a city crowded with citizens . . .

(V, 42) (*He also*) gave to the Śiva called Sōmanātha, (*the villages of*) Kārōdhaka, Brahmapurī . . . karpōndikā and Nannēśvara-kshētra . . .

(V 43) May this allowance (*riti*) to the Śarva ascetics granted by the illustrious Yuva-rājādēva last till the end of kalpas, being protected by the future kings . . .

(V 44) The praiseworthy Mādhu who was the son of the illustrious Trayīvārdhana of the Bhāradvāja lineage, composed this eulogy with sweet words . . .

(V 45) This (*prāsasti*) was written on stone with clear letters by the scribe, the intelligent Śivanāga, the son of Avvōka . . .

(V 46) (*It was*) incised by the engraver Mādhava . . . who was the son of Mahēśvara, was gifted and was (*as clever as*) Viśvakarman . . .

## NO 22 — THE MAHAKOSALA HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S PLATES OF MAHABHAVA-GUPTARAJADEVA

BY PANDIT L. P. PANDEYA

In October 1932, this important charter was presented to the Mahā-Kōsala Historical Society, Bālpur (*via* Rāgarh, District Bilāspur, C P.), by a gentleman in whose family it had been lying for years. Definite information about its find-spot is lacking, but it is said that the plates were discovered in a field in the course of digging . . .

This charter consists of three copper-plates each measuring about 8 1" in length and 4 2" in breadth which are strung on a big circular ring of the same metal. The ring is 4 2" in diameter to which is fixed a circular seal measuring 1 6" in diameter. On the seal is engraved the figure of a standing bull with two horns and a raised hump facing the proper right. Above the figure of the bull is the mark of a crescent moon and below it the legend in two lines, which reads — (1) *Śrī-Mahābhavagupta* (2) *rājādēvasya*. The plates have no raised rims and they with the ring and the seal weigh 120 tolas.

Of the three plates, the first is inscribed on the inner side only while the second and third plates bear writing on both sides. The first plate contains nine lines of writing, the second seven lines on each side and the third has eleven lines on the inner and four lines on the outer side. The letters on both the sides of the second plate are comparatively big, each measuring  $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of an inch. In the inner side of the third plate the letters in the last five lines are smaller than those of the first six lines. The writing on the plates excepting a few lines on the first side of the third plate is in good preservation —

The characters belong to the 'acute angled' type of the Northern script, attributable to the 7th and 8th centuries A D. The letters have been nicely and clearly engraved and the majority

of them resemble those of the Sirpur stone inscription of the time of Mahāśivagupta<sup>1</sup> The language is Sanskrit and prose throughout with the exception of the imprecatory and benedictive verses

As regards orthography, the following points may be noted —The *visarga* is omitted in *namah* (l 1) and *antakpātī* (l 4), *i* is used for *ī* in *-ābhī*° (l 13), *Sagar-ādībhīh* (l 20), etc., *b* and *v* have not been distinguished The rule of *sandhi* has been overlooked in *yadī ākshara* (l 36)

The exact date of the record cannot be verified from the details given in the inscription and the reading of the day of the fortnight is not certain, though it appears to be 6 Accepting this reading to be correct, the record is dated the 6th day of the dark half of Bhādrapada of the 11th regnal year of the M P P Mahābhavaguptarājadēva, the forehead ornament of the Sōma family (*Sōma-lūla tīlaka*) and the Lord of Trikalīnga The charter records the grant of the Liñjira village in the neighbourhood of the Prithurā *bhukti* to a Brāhmana who was the son of Chakradhara and belonged to the Kapissthala *gōtra*,<sup>2</sup> Vasishtha-pravara and the Maitrāyaṇī-śākhā (of the Black Yajurveda) The donee is simply called *Bhatta* in the inscription and it is not clear whether this was his name or the usual brahmanic title He was an inhabitant of Ullakhēta and had originally emigrated from Madhura in the Mid country (*Madhya-dēśa*) The gift was made on the Simha-saml rānti and the record was issued from the victorious camp at Kīsarakellā The writer of the charter was the *Mahāsandhivigrahin* Rudra datta, the son of Dēvadatta who had emigrated from Ayōdhyāpura The usual device on the seal of the Sōmavamśī kings is the *gaṇa Lakṣmī* but in the present inscription the device is, as has been noticed above, different and is similar to that used in the inscriptions of the Early Ganga kings Though the dates of the two known Mahābhavagupta of the Sōmavamśa have not been properly fixed, their personal or birth names, viz., Janamūjaya and Bhīmaratha are usually found in their grants But the grant under publication does not give such a name to the donor Mahābhavagupta It is, therefore, not certain if he is to be identified with either of the Mahābhavaguptas already known or is an altogether different ruler of the family

Of the geographical places mentioned in the grant Kīsarakellā may be identified with the village of Kesarkelā, about six miles to the east of Bolangir in the Patna State of Sambalpur District The village Liñjira may be identified with the village of the same name close to Baramakellā in the Sarangarh Feudatory State Prithurā is the present day Pithorā in the Padampur tract, about 45 miles to the north-west from Sambalpur town The distance between Pithorā and the Liñjira village in the Sarangarh State is about 20 miles These two are on the opposite banks of the Mahānadi, which flows through the borders of both the Sarangarh State and the Padampur tract, forming respectively their northern and southern boundary Ayōdhyāpura is to be identified with the modern Ayōdhyā in the Faizabad District of United Provinces Ullakhēta may be the present Ullakhara village in the Sarangarh Feudatory State It is about 20 miles to the west of Liñjira

### TEXT<sup>3</sup>

#### First Plate

- 1 ॐ<sup>4</sup> ३ नमः[\*] शिवाय ॥ स्वस्ति [॥\*] किसरकेल्लसमावासितमहाविजय-  
2 कटकात्परमसाहेब्रमातापितृपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिरा-

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XI, pp 190 ff

<sup>2</sup> This *gōtra* is mentioned in *Pāṇini*, VIII 3 91

<sup>3</sup> From the original plates.

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by a symbol





Seal



Actual size

2b

८-३८ ब्रह्मिण्या द्युतिः यत्र तन्मन्त्रा यश्चिन्मन्त्रा य  
 तत्र काचमन्त्रा यश्चिन्मन्त्रा यश्चिन्मन्त्रा यश्चिन्मन्त्रा य  
 २ द्युतिः यत्र तन्मन्त्रा यश्चिन्मन्त्रा यश्चिन्मन्त्रा य  
 ४ द्युतिः यत्र तन्मन्त्रा यश्चिन्मन्त्रा यश्चिन्मन्त्रा य  
 ६ द्युतिः यत्र तन्मन्त्रा यश्चिन्मन्त्रा यश्चिन्मन्त्रा य  
 ८ द्युतिः यत्र तन्मन्त्रा यश्चिन्मन्त्रा यश्चिन्मन्त्रा य

22 a

१० ब्रह्मिण्या द्युतिः यत्र तन्मन्त्रा यश्चिन्मन्त्रा य  
 १२ द्युतिः यत्र तन्मन्त्रा यश्चिन्मन्त्रा यश्चिन्मन्त्रा य  
 १४ द्युतिः यत्र तन्मन्त्रा यश्चिन्मन्त्रा यश्चिन्मन्त्रा य  
 १६ द्युतिः यत्र तन्मन्त्रा यश्चिन्मन्त्रा यश्चिन्मन्त्रा य

22 b

१८ द्युतिः यत्र तन्मन्त्रा यश्चिन्मन्त्रा यश्चिन्मन्त्रा य  
 २० द्युतिः यत्र तन्मन्त्रा यश्चिन्मन्त्रा यश्चिन्मन्त्रा य  
 २२ द्युतिः यत्र तन्मन्त्रा यश्चिन्मन्त्रा यश्चिन्मन्त्रा य

22 a

२४ द्युतिः यत्र तन्मन्त्रा यश्चिन्मन्त्रा यश्चिन्मन्त्रा य  
 २६ द्युतिः यत्र तन्मन्त्रा यश्चिन्मन्त्रा यश्चिन्मन्त्रा य  
 २८ द्युतिः यत्र तन्मन्त्रा यश्चिन्मन्त्रा यश्चिन्मन्त्रा य  
 ३० द्युतिः यत्र तन्मन्त्रा यश्चिन्मन्त्रा यश्चिन्मन्त्रा य  
 ३२ द्युतिः यत्र तन्मन्त्रा यश्चिन्मन्त्रा यश्चिन्मन्त्रा य  
 ३४ द्युतिः यत्र तन्मन्त्रा यश्चिन्मन्त्रा यश्चिन्मन्त्रा य

22 b

३६ द्युतिः यत्र तन्मन्त्रा यश्चिन्मन्त्रा यश्चिन्मन्त्रा य  
 ३८ द्युतिः यत्र तन्मन्त्रा यश्चिन्मन्त्रा यश्चिन्मन्त्रा य

- 3 जपरमेश्वरपरमभदारकसोमकुलतिलकस्त्रिकलिङ्गाधिप-  
 4 तिस्रीमहामवगुप्तराजदेवः कुशली ॥ पृथुरामुत्तमः[\*]पा-  
 5 तिलिङ्गिरामे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणान्सम्पूज्य तत्प्रतिनिवासिकुटुम्बिनः समा-  
 6 हर्तृसन्निधार्तृ(तु)दण्डपाशिकचाटभटराजवल(क्त)भादील(क्त)र्वास(क्त)मा-  
 7 ज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु भवतां यथास्माभिस्तनिधिः सोपनिधि-  
 8 स्तदशपराधौ निषिद्धचाटभटप्रवेशः सर्वोपरिक-  
 9 रिकर<sup>1</sup>करादा[न]समेत(तः) सर्वपौडापरिवर्जितः कपि-

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 10 छल(क्त)गोत्राय एकार्पे(कर्षि)वसिष्ठप्रवराय मैत्रायि(य)णीश-  
 11 खाध्यायिने मध्यदेशमधुरविनिर्गत<sup>2</sup> उल्लखेत्वास्त-  
 12 व्य<sup>3</sup> भट्टब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय चक्रधरसुताय सिद्ध(सिंह)सङ्क्रान्तौ माता-  
 13 पितृरात्मनश्च पुन्यामी(ण्याभि)वृद्धये सलिलहा(घा)रापुरःस-  
 14 रेण चन्द्रतारकार्कचितितलसमकाली(लसु)पभोक्तुन्तां ब्र(म्ह)-  
 15 शासनेन(करीकृत्य प्रतिपादितोयमित्यवगत्य स-  
 16 सुचितभोगभागकरहिरण्या(ण्य)कमुपनयद्भिर्मवद्भिः

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 17 सुखेन प्रतिवस्तव्यमिति ॥ भाविभिश्च भूपतीभि(तिभि)र्धर्मगौ-  
 18 रवादस्मा(क्त)दनुरोधा[त्] स्वस्वदत्तिरिवानुपालनीया तथा चैव-  
 19 म्यव्यते धर्मशास्त्रे ॥ व(व)हुमिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सग-  
 20 रादीभि(दिभि) [\*] र्यं(य)स्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फ-  
 21 लं [\*] भामू(भू)दफलशङ्का वः परदत्ते(त्ते)ति पाथि(र्थि)व ।(।) स्वदा-  
 22 जातफलमानन्त्यम्परदत्तानुपालने [\*] भूमिं यः  
 23 प्रतिगृह्णा(क्ता)ति यश्च भूमी(भि)भूयच्छती(ति) [\*] उभौ तौ

*Third Plate, First Side*

- 24 पुन्य(ण्य)कर्माणी नौ(नि)यतौ स्वर्गगामी(भि)नौ ॥ षष्टिर्धर्म-  
 25 सहस्राणी(णि) स्वर्गे मोदति भूमी(भि)दः [\*] आच्छेत्वा(त्ता) चाशुम-  
 26 न्ता च तावे(न्ते)व नरके वसेत् ॥ सुवर्णमेकाङ्गमेकाभूमेरव्य-

<sup>1</sup> Read sarva ōparikara

<sup>2</sup> Read vūstavyāya.

<sup>3</sup> Read vimrggatāya.

- 27 ईमङ्गलन्<sup>१</sup>तनरकमायाति यावदाङ्गतसम्पन्न(स)वम् ॥
- 28 अनेरपत्यमग्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्विष्णवी सूर्यसुताय गावी(वा) [1\*]
- 29 दत्तोस्त्रयस्तेन भवन्ति लोका यष्का<sup>२</sup>चनप्राञ्च महीञ्च दद्या-
- 30 त्वा(त् ॥ सा)मान्योयन्मर्षसेतुनृ(र्तु)पाणा काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भीः-  
(ङ्गि) [1\*]
- 31 सर्वान्ने(नि)ताम्ना(न्मा)वी(वि)नः पायि(रि)वेन्द्रा[न्\*] ॥<sup>३</sup> भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः ॥
- 32 इति कमलदलाभु(म्बु)वि(वि)न्दुलोला(लां) श्री(त्रि)यमनुचिन्त्य मनुयजी-  
वितञ्च [1\*] सक्-
- 33 लमिदमुदाहृतञ्च बुद्धा(बुद्धा) न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलाप्य(लीप्या) ॥  
प्रवर्धमा-
- 34 नविजयराज्यसम्बत्सरे एकादशमे भाद्रपदव[दि]दो(दि)न[६] [1\*] महासन्धी-  
(न्यि)[वि]ग्रहीकश्चो-

*Thyrd Plate., Second Side*

- 35 रुद्रदत्तेन देवदत्तस्य सुतेन अयोध्यापुरविनिर्गतैन
- 36 लिखी(लिखि)तमिद शासान(सनम्) ॥ ॐ ॥ यदि आचर<sup>४</sup>परी(रि)भ्रष्टं
- 37 सात्राहीनस्तु<sup>५</sup> यङ्गे(ङ्गेत्) [1\*] क्षान्तमरहशीषिवाङ्ग<sup>६</sup> कस्य न
- 38 खलते(ति) मनः[१] ॥

No 23 —DRAKSHARĀMA INSCRIPTION OF KULOTTUNGA, I., 33RD YEAR.

[By K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B.A., COIMBATORE

The publication of the texts of South Indian Inscriptions has placed before the student of ancient Indian history a mass of material which will serve to clear up doubtful points in the history of the various dynasties of the Dekhan. The inscription edited below is one such. It is engraved on a slab in the south wall of the Bhīmēśvara temple at Drākshārāma in the Ganjām district and is registered in the Madras epigraphical collection for 1893<sup>7</sup>, as 'being on a third slab from the bottom between the third and the fourth pillars'. The text of it in Telugu script is given in the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Volume IV<sup>8</sup>. For the interesting historical information which it furnishes it is edited here.

<sup>1</sup> Read = *amgulaṁ* | *haran*=*narakam* =

<sup>2</sup> Probably it was intended to write *Yaśi hāñchanañ*

<sup>3</sup> The *danḍas* are unnecessary

<sup>4</sup> Read *yad aśharam* or *yady=aśharam*,

<sup>5</sup> Read *hīnañ=cha*

<sup>6</sup> Read *śhantam*=*arhata vidāñisah*,

<sup>7</sup> No 349

<sup>8</sup> No 1239, pages 428-9.

As will be seen from the transcript, the inscription is not well preserved. The language employed is Sanskrit throughout and the alphabet Telugu. In several cases the writer uses the *anusvāra* in place of the conjunct see for instance *Mandalamjēri* (l. 5). There are instances of the omission of (1) *visarga*, (2) *rēpha* and (3) *anusvāra*. For (1), see *dihara* (l. 3), *vishaya* (l. 5), *abhikṛta* (l. 10); for (2), see *dhamma* (l. 6), *lashanā* (l. 9), *kittā* (l. 9) and *hammyāya* (l. 13); and for (3), see *Gaṅga* (l. 10) and *tapasviniā* (l. 12). There are also few instances of needless doubling of consonants.

The inscription belongs to the time of the Chālukya Chōla king Kulōttunga I and is dated in the 33rd year of his reign (= A D 1103). He is styled *Samastabhuranāśraya*, *Prithvivallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhaktāraka*, *Pāndyakulāntaka*, *Chōlakulaśekhara*, *Vīramahēndra*, *Vikramachōla*, *Rājārājēndra*, *Rājakūṣarivarman*, and *Tribhuvanachakravartin*. All these epithets except the last three are not usually met with in his Tamil inscriptions but are found in some of his Telugu records.

The importance of the inscription consists in recording the military achievements of one of the king's chief officers variously named as *Vanduvārāja*, *Pallavārāja*, *Tiruvāranga* and the crest jewel of the Śūdra family. He was the son of a certain Śīrīlāṅgō, a resident of *Mandalamjēri* in *Tirunārāiyūr-nādu* a subdivision of *Chōlamandalam*. He is described as a good Vaishṇava, 'the resort of the poor' and 'the abode of heroism'. By being devoted to the feet of *Rājēndra-Chōla*, i.e., *Kulōttunga I*, he obtained prosperity in the world and was the very sprout of the creeper, viz., his fame. At the command of the king he effected the conquest of the quarters, killed the enemies and espoused the goddess of heroism. Filling the battlefield with the blood of his foes, ploughing it with the hoofs of his war steeds, sowing therein the seeds of pearls issuing from the heads of elephants which were cut to pieces by his sword, he caused to grow his master's fame-creeper. He reduced to ashes the whole of the *Kalinga* country, defeated the *Gaṅga* king, destroyed in battle *Dēvēndravarmān* and others, and planted a pillar of victory on the borders of the *Ōdra* country which was as it were the raising aloft of *Rājēndrachōla*'s fame.

The immediate object of the inscription is to register the facts (1) that this illustrious chief constructed with black granite a temple of Vishnu in the *agrahāra* village of *Ālavōli*, making provision for its offerings, (2) that, for feeding five *tapasvins*, ten *Brāhmins*, and five *Vānakarmīs* in its vicinity he gave some lands at *Ōlarāppālkam* (3) and that he provided also for offerings to the temple of *Pañchavatī* Hari on the banks of the *Gōdāvarī* in *Vēngi-mandalam*. Reference is made in the damaged portion at the end of the inscription to a pavilion, probably erected by him, at *Drākshārāma*.

The proper import of the inscription can be well estimated with the help of the Tamil work *Kalingatupparam* of Jayangondān composed in the reign of Kulōttunga I. The book says that the king, while he was yet a *yuvārāja*, led an expedition into the north and destroyed *Chakkarakkōttam* (X, v 23) then went to the south and was crowned there (*ibid*, v 34). After removing the chaotic condition that was prevailing in that part of the land, he was conducting his rule with justice, pleasing himself by hunting on the banks of the *Kāvērī*. After some time he set out with all his paraphernalia for *paruvēttar* on the banks of the *Pālāru* (*ibid*, v 47), reached *Adigar* where he worshipped the god *Natarāja* and proceeded to *Kāñchī*. By the way, reference is made to his conquest of the *Chēra* and *Pāndya* kings (*ibid*, vv 66-68). On an occasion when he was seated there in the *chitramandapa* on the western side of his palace, surrounded by his ministers *Vandamāṇ*, *Tondaimān* and others,—provincial chiefs (*mandalīkas*) and kings waiting at his gate,—it was reported to him that the king of the north *Kalīngas* had failed to pay his tribute twice (i.e., for two years) (XI, vv 3, 4, 16 and 27). On the emperor's ordering that the *Kalīnga* country should be subdued and its king brought there, *Vandainagar arāṣap*, who is variously

called Karunākaraṇ, Pallavarākṣ, and Vajravāṇḍan, (vv 52 54) volunteered to undertake the invasion of the seven Kalungas, and, obtaining the king's permission, set out on his march (vv 29 31) On the way, he successively crossed such rivers as the Pālāru, Pomugari, Pennai, Pāraru, Gōḍavari, Pampānadi, and Gōtamaī (vv 55 57) The fight that ensued was a severe one in which many were killed and wounded "Invading Kalungam at the sea," says the book, "planting a pillar of victory, capturing elephants and treasure, Vandaīyarkṣ secured the grace of the feet of Abhaya of powerful army and sword (XII, v 68)" The poem closes with an exhortation to sing the achievements of the king, viz, the defeat of the five Pāṇḍyas and the Chōra king, the tribute that was being brought from the north, and also the fame of the cities Vandaī, Mayilai and Mallai and of their chief, Tonḍaiyavāṇḍan who, capturing the elephants of the Kalungas, bestowed *Kalingapparam* on the king (XIII v 65) Verse 14 of Canto II (*Kadaitirappu*) states in unambiguous words that the king was at Kūñchī while the chief led the expedition to Kalunga and reduced it

It will be seen from this short summary of the *Kalingattupparam* that the account about the Kalunga war agrees with what is given in the inscription under publication There does not appear to be any room for doubting that the chief referred to in the poem is identical with the one mentioned in the inscription and that the war described in both is the same This being the case, the information furnished by the one is not only corroborated by the other but is greatly supplemented The inscription gives the name of the chief as Vandaivarāja and Pallavarāja while the poem adds to these the names Karunākaraṇ and Tonḍaimān, the latter being only a synonym of Pallavarāja With Karunākara we may compare the epithet *dīna nīdhāra ilaṅ* of the inscription This work gives us the additional information that the chief was the lord of Vandaī, Mallai and Mayilai and that he had invaded Ceylon Both the book and the inscription declare that the chief invaded the Kalunga country at the command of the king, the former stating that the king was at Kūñchī while the chief successfully prosecuted the war and the latter adding that the chief reduced to ashes the whole of the Kalunga country, defeated the Ganga in battle and destroyed Dēvāndra-varman and others with the help of Kōsala Both the documents state that the chief set up a pillar of victory, the inscription specifying that it was on the borders of the Ōdra country

The name Karunākara Tonḍaimān is not unknown to inscriptions In the Araḷiḷa Perumāl temple at Conjeevaram, there is an inscription of the Chōla king Kulōttunga I, dated in the 43rd year of his reign with the introduction *pugal mādu*, registering a grant made by Aḷagiyamanavāḷam Mandaiyālūr, the wife (*dēvīyūr*) of Vēḷāṇ Karunākaraṇ Tonḍaimān Here it is stated that the chief was a native of Vandaḷaṇjūri in Tirunārayūr nāḍu, a subdivision of Kulōttungaśōḷa-vaḷanāḍu in Chōlamandalam The name of the donor and the temple to which the gift was made may be taken to show that Karunākara Tonḍaimān professed the Vaishnavā creed while the title Vēḷāṇ is indicative of his being a Śūdra by caste and these facts are in accord with what is reported in the Drākshārāma inscription Vandaḷaṇjūri is but a variant of Maṇḍalaṇjūri and Vandaī is perhaps connected with it The subdivision to which the village belonged is the same in the two inscriptions and it may be noted that Tirunārayūr and Vandaḷaṇjūri are places in the Kumbakōnam taluk

Having shown how the two documents *Kalingattupparam* and Drākshārāma inscription refer to the same Kalunga war, we here take up the question regarding the date of this war Before doing so, it may be useful to know if there was only one war with Kalunga or more As the earliest notice of the conquest of Kalunga in the records of Kulōttunga I—without any mention of the details connected with it—occurs in a stone inscription dated in the 26th year of the reign corresponding to A D 1096 and as this is found repeated in the inscriptions of the

30th year and after,<sup>1</sup> one is strongly inclined to believe that this should have taken place in or a little before A D 1096. Some of the inscriptions of the king dated in the 42nd and 45th years of his reign<sup>2</sup> refer to an invasion of Kalinga in which the king himself is said "to have left his throne, crossed the Vēngī-mandalam in the north, set fire to Kalinga, destroyed in battle a number of chiefs and took possession of the seven Kalingam<sup>3</sup>" From the fact that the king himself is said here to have taken the lead in this war, and greater details are furnished regarding it than in the earlier records, it appears to be different from and later than the one already mentioned and may have to be assigned to A D 1111 or thereabout. But as the historical introductions of Kulōttunga I do not regularly record all his achievements, adding year by year the later conquests, as do those of the early Chōla kings, it will not be safe to assign these events to the years in which we find them noticed at present.

If the capture of Kalinga mentioned in the 26th year record (A D 1096) proves to be the one effected by the king himself, whether it is identical with or different from the Kalinga war described in detail in the 42nd and the 45th year inscriptions (A D 1111-14), the war celebrated in the *Kalṅgattupparam* and referred to in the Drākshārāma inscription has to be assigned to a much earlier date as will be seen from the sequel. In enumerating the achievements of Kulōttunga I, *Kalṅgattupparam* speaks chiefly of his conquests of the Pāndya and the Chēra, the capture of Śālai and the destruction of Viñhāṁ with a passing reference to Navilai and Manalūr which were perhaps connected with his war against Kuntala. The book is quite positive about the king's stay at Kāñchī while the chief Vandaiyarkōṇ, at his instance, invaded Kalinga, waged a deadly war, planted a pillar of victory there, returned with heaps of treasure and elephants and bestowed *Kalṅgapparam* on him. The inscription under publication confirms this account in the main and adds a very important statement that he defeated Dēvēndravarman and others as we have already noted. Dēvēndravarman here referred to cannot be any other than the Eastern Ganga king Rājārāja I., who, according to the Vñhathōdila grant, bore that surname<sup>4</sup> and had his coronation performed in A D 1070, the very year in which Kulōttunga was also crowned. His son and successor Chōdaganga, for all that we know about him, does not seem to have borne the surname Dēvēndravarman but was Anantavarman which name, we may note, was assumed by all his successors. Dēvēndravarman Rājārāja I. reigned for 8 years<sup>5</sup>, i.e., up to A D 1078. He was a supporter of the cause of Vijayāditya VII, for the Korni plates record that when Vijayāditya grew old and like the setting sun left Vēngī which was like the west and was about to sink in the ocean of troubles caused by the Chōlas, Rājārāja of Kalinganagara, the refuge of the distressed, caused him to enjoy prosperity in that region<sup>6</sup>. Here is evidence to show that Rājārāja was an enemy of his Chōla contemporary who was none other than Kulōttunga I. Thus the invasion of Kalinga, undertaken solely by the chief and minister Vanduvārāja Pallavarāja, at the instance of king Kulōttunga I as detailed in the *Kalṅgattupparam* and the inscription under publication, must have taken place before A D 1078 and probably about A D 1076-7.

Now if there is any truth in the statement of the *Kalṅgattupparam* that the Kalinga king withheld the payment of tribute twice, it must have reference to a treaty or agreement probably

<sup>1</sup> Kielhorn's *Southern List*, Nos 777, 782 and *S I I*, Vol III, No 72.

<sup>2</sup> No 608 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1904 is dated in the 42nd year and No 44 of the same collection for 1891 is dated in the 45th year of the reign of Kulōttunga I and have the same introduction.

<sup>3</sup> *S I I (Texts)*, Vol IV, No 445 lines 22 to 27, the chiefs overcome in the war are here mentioned by name.

<sup>4</sup> C P No 4 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1918 19.

<sup>5</sup> His coronation took place in Saka 992, Jyēsthā, śuk 8 (= A D 1070, May 20) (*A R on S I Epigraphy* 1918 19, p 86) and that of his son Anantavarman Chōdaganga in Saka 999 (= A D 1078) (*Ind Ant*, vol XVIII, p 161ff).

<sup>6</sup> *Ind Ant*, Vol XVIII, p, 171.

made between the Ganga king Vijayabhatta III, the father of Rājārāja I, and Virarājendra whom practically Kulōttunga I succeeded. The Kanvaikumarī inscription of Virarājendra clearly states that that king regained Vēṅgī and Kalinga which were neglected by his two predecessors.<sup>1</sup> In his Tamil historical introductions, Virarājendra actually claims to have driven the Chūlukyas at Vijayavāḍai, i.e., Bezvada, and crossing the seven Kalingas, and reaching the Mahēndragiri, to have bestowed that country on Vijayāditya who, it is said, sought his refuge.<sup>2</sup> This seems to have taken place in A.D. 1065. Further troubles arising in this quarter, Virarājendra, after his successful war in Ceylon in A.D. 1066 against Vijayabōhu, is said to have sent a large army into Kalinga and to have defeated the Chūlukyas and their allies at Chakkarilōttam.<sup>3</sup> It might be on this last occasion, i.e., immediately before Kulōttunga's assumption of power, that the Kalingas were probably made to pay tribute to the Chōlas.

To the student of Tamil literary history the inscription has no less an interest as it serves to determine the date of composition of the *Kalingattupparani* which may be taken to be contemporaneous with the Kalinga war of Vanduvārāja. With the help of a number of manuscripts, Mahāvidyān K. Subbaraya Mudaliyar brought out an early edition of this work which is now out of print. In it as well as in the edition of the late V. G. Suryanarayana Sastri published several years afterwards in 1898, verse 63 of Canto XI has at the end of the first line the words 'adipantiram' which has been changed into 'Anantavarman' in the recent edition of Mr. N. Gopala Iyer, and there is no alternative reading given for it. The difference is indeed very vital and one would certainly wish to know in this particular case of the introduction of a proper name, on which manuscript the reading 'Anantavarman' which is not found in the two earlier editions, is based and the age of that manuscript also. If indeed the name Anantavarman is found in a trustworthy early manuscript not available to Messrs. Mudaliyar and Sastri, it would be worth a consideration. The Drikshārīra inscription shows, as we have seen already, that the date of the Kalinga war must be earlier than A.D. 1078. And being conducted by the same minister of the king as is mentioned in the *Kalingattupparani*, the introduction of the name Anantavarman in the poem, supposing that it actually occurs in an early and trustworthy manuscript, calls for an explanation. Besides, the following questions also naturally arise. Did Vanduvārāja conduct two wars against Kalinga, both in the absence of the king, or only one? If two, was one waged against Dēvāndravarmān Rājārāja I and the other against his son Anantavarman? And does the *Kalingattupparani* celebrate the latter, omitting the general's other achievement? And if only one, how does Anantavarman figure in the poem and Dēvāndravarmān in the inscription? It seems to me that the easiest way of getting over the difficulty is to suppose that while the war was actually waged in the reign of Dēvāndravarmān, his son Anantavarman took an active part in it as we do find in many instances. Among the numerous records of Anantavarman Chōḍaganga, there are several which furnish both the Śaka and regnal years which work out for his accession A.D. 1074-5.<sup>4</sup> This date, it will be observed, is three years earlier than the date given in the plates for the king's coronation. The difference has to be accounted for by supposing that Anantavarman was nominated for rulership in A.D. 1071-5 but was actually crowned in A.D. 1078. Since stone inscriptions generally count the regnal years of kings from the date of nomination, it is clear that during the first three years, i.e., in the period A.D. 1074-5 to 1078, he must have been co-regent with his father Dēvāndravarmān.

<sup>1</sup> *Tamil Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 148, v. 77.

<sup>2</sup> See above Vol. XXI, p. 213.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 244.

<sup>4</sup> Nos. 246, 380, 386, 387, 388, 392 and 393 of the Madras epigraphical collection for 1896.

Rājārāja I and this is perhaps the reason why, in the large collection of his epigraphs, there is almost none dated in the first three years of his rule. The above fact shows further that, being associated with his father in the government of the country, he could well have figured in the Kalinga war referred to in the Drākshārāma inscription as having been waged against Dēvēndra-varman.

The names of villages that occur in this inscription are Alavēli, Ōlarāppakkam, and Drākshārāma. The last mentioned place is well known and I am unable to identify the first two.

## TEXT.

- 1 . . . . .
- 2 prāk-pratyag dakshin-ā[śā-vi]ja . . . . .
- 3 [dhara][h\*] śrī-Kulōttumgga<sup>1</sup>-Chōdah[||\*] Svasti[||\*] Samastabhuvanāśraya-  
Śrī-Pṛithivī-vallabha Mahārājādhirāja Paramē[śvara] [Paramabhattāraka-Ravi-kula-  
tilaka-Chōja]<sup>2</sup> kula-śekhara-Pāndya-kul-āmtaka [Samasta rājāśraya-Rāja]<sup>3</sup>
- 4 rājēmdra<sup>4</sup>-Viramahēmdra-Vikramachōda-Vijayābharāṇa śrī-Rājakesarivarmanas=Tribhu-  
vanachakravartī-śrī Kulōttu[mga]-Chōdahadēvasya] trayas trimsatimē samvatsarē . .  
Chōdama-
- 5 ndalam=akhiḷa-mahī mandanam lasa-jana-sēvyam tasmīn=<sup>5</sup>Tirunarayūr-nād-iti  
vishaya[h\*] sarva sasya-śō[bhī]taḥ tatr=āsīt=sukha-dhāmam Mandalamjēri viśrutā  
lōkē punnāga- kāstī purī.
- 6 j-ēti rambh ādhya [||\*] Tan-mukhyas=Sīralamgōv<sup>6</sup>=ity=āsīt sach chhūdra-pungavah [||\*]  
satya-tyāga dayā-yuktō Vaiṣṇavō dha[r\*]mma-vatsalah<sup>7</sup>[||\*] Tasy=ātmajas=  
Ti[ruva]ramga-var-ābhīdhānas=sad-vaiṣṇavō jagatī dīna-nidhāna ēkah [||\*] satya-
- 7 — — — — — śrīta vīra lakshmī Rājēmdra-Chōda-charaṇ-āśraya [la]p[dh]a<sup>8</sup>-  
Lakshmī<sup>9</sup> [||\*] Rājēmdra Chōda dharanīpati-kirtti-valli sat-pallavō — — —  
— llavarāja-nāmā [||\*] śrī-dvāra-chāmara-ghan ātapa-vāraṇ aika śamkha-dhvaja-  
pramukha-rājita-rājya-bāhuh<sup>10</sup>[||\*]
- 8 Kṛtvā dig vijayan=nihatya cha nṛpūn=Rājēmdra-Chōd-ājñayā vīra-śrī-lalanā svayam-  
vṛta patir=yyaś=Chōda chamdrah prabhuh [||\*] yat-prasthāpita-damti-(da)dāna sahla-  
kṣnam prabhōh prāmgaṇam tach-chhauyyam dvishatām kapāla-ni-
- 9 vahā gāyamti vāyu cha(chchha)lāt<sup>11</sup>[||\*] Ka[r\*]shann=asva-khurair=dvishām su-rudhīrair=  
=āpūrayann=āhava-kshētram tīvra-kṛpūna kṛtta-radani=prōnmukta-muktār[kurān],  
uptvā kī[r\*]ttīlatām vivardhayati yō Rājēmdra Chōda-prabhōs=sō=yam [Vandu]-
- 10 varāja ity abhīhita[h\*] sach-phhūdra chūḍāmamh<sup>12</sup> [||\*] Bhasmikṛitya Kalīnga-dēśam=  
akṣilam nīrjitya Gaṅga[m\*] ranē bhān[k\*]tvā Kōsala-bandavāla nivahair=[Dē]  
vēmdravarm-ādīkān [||\*] vīrah Pallavarāja ity=abhīhītō Rājēmdra-Chōda-prabhōh  
kirtty-uttambham=iv=Ōdra samdhīshu jayastambham śubha[m]

<sup>1</sup> Read *Kulōttunga*

<sup>2</sup> The letters in brackets are filled in with the help of other inscriptions of the king, e.g., No. 1248 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, page 433

<sup>3</sup> Here and in what follows the writer uses *anusvāra* for the conjunct

<sup>4</sup> Read *Tirunarayūr*

<sup>5</sup> Read *Sīrīlāṅgō*

<sup>6</sup> Metro *Anushtubh.*

<sup>7</sup> Read *labdha*

<sup>8</sup> Metro *Vasantatvakā.*

<sup>9</sup> Metro *Vasantatvakā.*

<sup>10</sup> Metro *Sarāḍalavikṛīḍita*

<sup>11</sup> Metro *Sarāḍamīkṛīḍita.*



- 11 nyakṣipat'[\*] Sō=yam śrīmān=Ālavēly agrahārō nirmmāy=ālan=nila-pūshāna baddham  
 [\*] ramyam harmmyam svasya kirtty ankurābham<sup>2</sup> bhumjan=viśvam varttatē  
 tasya Viśnōh<sup>3</sup> [\*] Divyam[rū]pam śrī nīvāsam vichitram kṛtvā tattr=anv=  
 ākarōt=tat pratishṭām<sup>4</sup> [\*] bhūmim
- 12 kṛtv=āsmāi vyadād=atra bhaktyā grāmē dhīmān=ēsha nity-āmṛitāya ||<sup>5</sup> Chakrē Brah-  
 mēśvar opāmtē pamchānām cha tapasvinā[m\*] [\*] daśānām brāhmanānām cha  
 pamchānām Vānakarmminām ||<sup>6</sup> Bhōktum tri[m\*]śat-khaṇḍikā-vrihi bij-  
 āvāpa kṣhētrān=Ōlarāpāka nūmni [\*] grā[mē]
- 13 — — — — — dūrāya — — kṛtvā prādāt=tat kar ābhyamtarēna<sup>7</sup> ||[\*] Vēmgī-mandala-  
 mandanē pravila — — — — — lē prabhav=āpy=asahya duritā Gōdā-  
 [vari] tat tat [\*] śrīmat Pamchavati Harēr=bBhagavatō ha[r\*]mmyāya — — — — —
- 14 <sup>8</sup>ṛti viśhayē prādād=amṛitāya vid[ta]m=āchamdr ārkam || Sa  
 tu Guddavādī-viśhayē
- 15 ma yuktā mamdapam Dākshārāmē<sup>9</sup> purī=tra tē [dha]nyair=vvadūnyair=  
 yutē kṛtvā Pallavarāja
- 16 tasmād=dharmō na hamtavayō rakshaniyō manishubhih || Sva dattām para dattām vā yō  
 harētī(a) vasumdhārām [\*] shashtim varsha sahasrāṇi jāya[tē kṛmih] ||[\*] .  
 tah Vilēkhakō Rājēmdra-Chōdāchāryyah<sup>10</sup>||[\*]

## TRANSLATION.

victory of the eastern, western and southern quarters the glorious Kulōttunga-  
 Chōda Hail! In the thirty-third year (of the reign) of Rājākṣaravarman Tribhuvanachakra-  
 vartin Kulōttunga Chōdadēva, the resort of all the worlds, the lord of Fortune and the Earth  
 Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, Paramabhātāraka, the ornament of the solar race, the fore-  
 most of the Chōla family, the (god of) death to the Pāṇḍya family, the refuge of all kings, (styled)  
 Rājarājēndra, Vīramahēndra, Vīkrama Chōda and Vijayābharana Chōdamandala  
 (is) the ornament of the whole world and is the resort of illustrious men therein is the division of  
 Tīrmaṇṇaiyūr-nādu which is resplendent with all kinds of crops in that (division), the  
 resort of happiness, is the city of Mandalañjērī, well known in the world and (filled with?)  
 punnāga (trees) The chief of it was Śīrilangō, the foremost among the good Sūdras, possessing  
 the qualities of truthfulness, generosity and compassion, a Vaishnava and (one) devoted to  
 dharma His son, who bore the good name Tiruvaranga, was a good Vaishnava, the sole resort  
 of the poor in this world, the abode of the goddess of heroism and truth, and had obtained  
 prosperity by being devoted to the feet of Rājēndra-Chōda He, named [Pa]llavarāja, was  
 the fine sprout of the creeper of fame of Rājēndra Chōda, the lord of the earth and was like  
 the arm of the kingdom decorated with the insignia of royalty (?) such as the chāmara, the parasol  
 that wards off rain and heat, the conch, the flag, etc By the order of Rājēndra Chōda, this chief  
 Chōdachandra effected the conquest of the quarters, killed the enemies and was volun-  
 tarily espoused as lord by the goddess of heroism The courtyard of his master was made wet

<sup>1</sup> Metro Śardūlavakṛīḍita<sup>2</sup> Read amlurābham<sup>3</sup> Metro Śalinī<sup>4</sup> Read pratishṭham<sup>5</sup> Metro Śalinī<sup>6</sup> Metro Anushubh<sup>7</sup> Metro Śalinī<sup>8</sup> Metro Śardūlavakṛīḍita<sup>9</sup> Read Drākshārāmē<sup>10</sup> The last two lines, which are found in the text on p 429 of S. I. I, Vol IV, are not in the impression

with the ichor flowing from his marching elephants and the heaps of skulls of his enemies sang his heroism. He, who, ploughing the battlefield with the hoofs of his steeds, flooding it with the blood of his foes, sowing (*therein*) the seeds of pearls issuing from the heads of elephants cut to pieces by his sharp sword, caused to grow the creeper of fame of his master Rājendra Chōḍa, is the crest jewel of the good Sūdras, named [Vendu]varāja

Reducing to ashes the whole of the Kalinga country, subduing the Ganga (*king*) in battle and destroying the chiefs Dēvēndravarma and others with the multitude of swords of Kōśala (*i.e.*, with the help of the Kōśala army)<sup>1</sup> this hero named Pallavarāja set up a fine pillar of victory on the borders of the Ōdra (*country*) as if raising aloft the fame of his lord Rājendra Chōḍa. This illustrious chief constructing with black granite a beautiful temple to Vishnu in the *agrahūa* of Ālavēli as if it were the plant of his fame, is now enjoying the universe. This wise person made an excellent image of Vishnu and set it up there and getting some land in this village gave it with devotion for the daily offerings of the god. And for feeding five *tapasvins*, ten Brāhmanas, and five *Vāṇalārmīns* in the vicinity of the Brahmāvara temple, he bought at the village of Ōlarāpakam (*such an extent of*) land that could be sown with thirty *ḷhandikas* of seed paddy and gave it free of all taxes (*To provide*) for offerings to the temple of the god Pamchavati-Hari on the bank of the Gōḍāvarī whose swelling waters during floods run with unlimited force, and situated in the beautiful country of Vēngi-manāla, he gave in *ṛti* viśaya to last as long as the sun and the moon. And Pallavarāja having made pavilion at the city of Diākshārāma in Guddavādi-viśaya filled with rich and generous persons. Therefore (*this*) charity must not be destroyed but must be protected by the wise

(The usual imprecation)

Rājendra-Chōḍiāchārya is the engraver

## No 24 —UTTARAMALLUR INSCRIPTION OF PARANTAKA I

BY K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B.A., COIMBATORE

In editing the *South-Indian Inscriptions (Texts)*, Volume VI, I drew attention to the fact that some of the inscriptions of Uttaramallūr contained therein supply interesting references to the kind of autonomy prevailing in the Tamil country, supplementing, as they do, the information embodied in the two Uttaramallūr inscriptions which describe the qualifications of members of village assemblies, the mode of election and the names of committees into which they were formed. One of the inscriptions that relates to the choosing of persons for testing the correctness (*i.e.*, the fineness) of gold in current use in the village, is No 295 of the said volume<sup>2</sup>. This inscription is registered as No 12 of the Madras epigraphical collection for 1898, and remarking on it, the late Dr. Hultzsch has noted 'Seems to contain rules regarding the exchange of gold'. A romanised text and translation of the inscription is given below.

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Dr. N. P. Chakravarti for this translation of the phrase *Kōśala ḷhanda vāla mīṇaiṇ*. He kindly suggested that *ḷhandavāla* might have been used in the vernacular sense of *ḷhaḍga* formed on the analogy of *ḷit karavāla*. If *vāla* stands for *bāla*, as *v* is often substituted for *b*, and *ḷhanda* means a division of country, the phrase may be rendered "with the multitude of young men of the Kōśala division". In either case, Kōśala appears to have been allied with the Chōḷa. No such alliance is known. The Chōḷa king Virarājendra is said to have cut to pieces a certain Śungan of Kōśala (above, Vol. XXI, p. 211). Perhaps Kōśala continued since then to be on friendly terms with the Chōḷa.

<sup>2</sup> See page 149

The record is in the Tamil language and alphabet and is well preserved like most of the other inscriptions found in the Vaikuntha Perumāl temple at Uttirainallūr. Grantha letters are used in writing Sanskrit words. For instances, see *śaśti śrī* and *śabhai* in line 1, *samañjasa*, *iyavasthai*, *viddha* and *bāla* in line 2, *samātsa* in line 5 and *iyavasthai*, *śabhai*, *madhyasta* and *dāsa* in line 7.

There are a few words of lexical interest which may be noted here. These are *Mādaṭṭi*, *Śaṅkarappāṭṭi*, *samañjasa*, *parimāru* and *śūlirru*. Of these, *mādaṭṭi* means 'a street having storeyed buildings'. Sometimes it is found to be the name of a particular street. Generally, such streets surround the village temple and as their names indicate appear to have been the residence of wealthy and distinguished people. In the Tamil work *Maṇimēgalai*, the term *mādaṭṭi* actually occurs<sup>1</sup> and it is there described as 'the beautiful street of the actresses (*nāḍaqa madandaṭṭar*) containing storeyed buildings with gold carvings (*āḍaqa cheṭṭey imai mūḍam*)'.<sup>2</sup> From inscriptions, we learn that the construction of storeyed buildings and mansions was a privilege given only to a few and that such buildings were made of burnt bricks. Since the subjoined inscription states that the election by the people of Mādaṭṭi was for or from their *chīri*, it seems to denote a particular quarter of the village where perhaps the privileged persons and wealthy people lived. As *pāṭṭi*, like *chīri*, is applied to denote a quarter of a big village or town, Śaṅkarappāṭṭi has to be taken to mean another part of the same village resorted to by, or containing the residences of, a different class of people. In an inscription of Chudambaram, Śaṅkarappāṭṭi figures as a separate class of inhabitants (*kuḍigal*) and are mentioned along with *ṭyāpār* (merchants), *ṭellālār* (cultivators), *śālār* (dealers in cloth) and *Pattinaiyar*.<sup>3</sup> The same inscription gives a second group distinctly called *Kāḷkalanai* including in it *Tachechar* (carpenters), *Kollar* (blacksmiths), *Tattār* (goldsmiths) and *Kāḷiyar*. We see here that while the latter group embraced the artisan classes, the former combined together businessmen and other classes such as *ṭellālār* and *Śaṅkarappāṭṭiyār*. Another inscription mentions a group of inhabitants specifically termed *Puṇḍalalanai* which included in it *Śālīyar*, *Vāṇiyar*, *Kāḷṭōlār* (dealers in cloth), *Śenai angāḍiyār* and *Kōyil angāḍiyār*, i.e., shopkeepers of the military and of the palace or temple (quarters).<sup>4</sup> We see that this group consisted only of merchants. The inclusion of *Śālīyar* in this group of *Puṇḍalalanai*, as well as in the first part of the previously cited inscription, and the fact that, like the other, this consisted chiefly of merchantmen may suggest that both the inscriptions refer to the same group of *Puṇḍalalanai*. Though we do not know what the avocation of Śaṅkarappāṭṭiyār was, the inclusion of the class of *ṭellālār* among the *kuḍigal* of the first inscription seems to point to its inclusion also of other classes of inhabitants than *Puṇḍalalanai* which, according to the second inscription, appears to have consisted entirely of merchants.

I would like to draw attention to three more references to Śaṅkarappāṭṭiyār which seem to suggest that some of them at least were merchants who were members of the *Naḡara* constitution and that these people had a corporate body. One of these references is in an inscription<sup>5</sup> of Tiṇḱkalakkuṇṇam dated in the 26th year (= A.D. 1044) of the reign of Rājādhirāja I. It

<sup>1</sup> Canto IV, line 76

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, lines 51-2

<sup>3</sup> No. 223 of *South Indian Inscriptions* (Texts), Vol. IV, p. 25 f. The portion under reference runs as follows —  
Indaḷkunaṁ[mē]nogaipurattu ṭṛina vivāpariṇalum ṭellālārūm Śaṅkarappāṭṭiyārūm Śālīyarūm pattinai-  
yarūm ulṭitta kuḍigalum tachechar kollar tattār ṭellār ulṭitta kāḷkalanaiyalum konḍu sannaṇḍam kēndir-  
āḍittavar ēluttakkaḍavāḍ āḡarum

<sup>4</sup> No. 298 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910. The text runs as follows —

Kāḷkōlār Śālīyar vāṇiyar śenai angāḍi kōyil angāḍi marum eppṛṇṭṭa puṇḍalalanaiyūm utpaṭṭa muṇḍa-  
lla kuḍiyum pinbu ṭṛum kuḍiyum ṭṛiṇṭi lonḍu tārakkāḍamai pēṭṭāḍamai marum iṇṇarṇṇi koḷṭum pala varu-  
galum pala upāḍigalum

<sup>5</sup> *S. I. I* (Texts), Vol. V, No. 465.

records that the merchants that composed or constituted the *Nagara* of Tirukkaṭukkuniam al a-  
Ulagalandaśōlapuram sold a piece of land to be granted to the temple of Brahmīsvara on the  
hill at the place and made it also tax-free. In mentioning these members, the names of two  
persons are given after the calling *Vyāpārī*, one appears with the calling *Śāliyar* and two after the  
designation *Śanlarappāḍiyār*. That all these were merchants is first stated in the inscription  
itself. From this it appears that in the composition of the *Nagara* constitution, besides those  
who were purely merchants by profession, there were others, such as *Śāliyar* and *Śanlarappā-  
ḍiyār* who were also merchants but were called by the class to which they belonged or the  
quarters which they occupied. The next reference is found in an early Chōla inscription<sup>1</sup> dated  
in the 3rd year and 215th day of the reign of a king (of whose name only Kēśarivarman is  
preserved). It records that the *Śanlarappāḍiyār* of Vadakkīl angāḍi (North bazar) quarter  
of Uttaramēru chaturvēḍimangalam, a rent free village in the district of Kālyūr kōttam gave  
a written document stating that they received 15 (*kalaṅṇu*) of gold from Śēndan Ganapati  
alias Śūrasīkhāmanī-Pallavaraiyan of Mannum-Perum Paluvūr in Kunra kūṟam, a subdivision  
of Śōla-nādu and agreed to supply one *ulakku* of oil daily, as long as the sun and the moon  
would last, for a sacred lamp which the donor had placed in the temple of Tiruppulivalattu-  
Māhādēva. The phrases *Vadakkīl angāḍi Śanlarappāḍiyōm eluttu, oṭṭi eluttittu kuduttōm* and  
*chandrāḍityāyar* used in this inscription would suggest that there was a regularly constituted  
body of the people of *Śanlarappāḍi*. Against the suggestion of a regularly constituted  
body, it may be said that a few of the *Śanlarappāḍi* might as well have given such a joint  
undertaking. But in this case, it would be natural to expect the mention of their names and also  
the insertion of a clause to the effect that the agreement will be binding not only upon them-  
selves but upon their descendants also. The Madras Museum plates of Parakēśarivarman Uttama-  
Chōla in reciting the contents of a *vyāsaśāhā* (standing order or regulation) made by the *Nagara*  
corporation of Kachchippēdu, i e, Conjeevaram in the 18th year of the reign of Parāntaka I  
(=A.D. 925) refers to the *Śanlarappāḍiyār* of the three *chēris* (suburbs) of the village of Rana-  
jayappāḍi, Ēkavīrappāḍi and Vāmana Śanlarappāḍi and states that they received 20 *lalaṅṇu*  
of gold for the upkeep of a lamp in the temple. Here also one cannot but find a suggestion that  
the *Śanlarappāḍiyār* of the three *chēris* should have had a corporate body which received the  
amount.

All that we (could) gather about the *Śanlarappāḍiyār* from the references cited above is  
that they formed part of the *kudī* (inhabitants), that they were chiefly in big cities (Kāñchīpuram,  
Gunamēnagaipuram, Ulagalandaśōlapuram and Uttaramēūr), that some of them at least, if  
not all, were merchants and took part in the transactions of the *Nagara* constitution which  
we find prevailing in such cities and that they had a corporate body among them.

The use of the word *samaṅṇasa* in the phrase *samaṅṇasan=kaṇa* leaves no doubt as to its mean-  
ing "to verify or test the correctness of". The personal noun formed from this word is *samaṅ-  
ṇitan* which is met with in some of the inscriptions of the Travancore State. In one of them the  
*Samaṅṇitan*'s duty is clearly stated to be verification of some items of expenses according to pre-  
scribed scales.<sup>2</sup> As *Samaṅṇitan* figures along with *sābhā* and *Tiruvadi*,<sup>3</sup> it appears that *Samaṅ-  
ṇita* and *Tiruvadi* are the designations of particular offices in the *sābhā* and it is not unlikely that  
they represent the secretary (Skt. *Kāryadarsī*) and President. In this connection it is worthy  
of note that the transactions of the *sābhā* are mostly recorded by one individual who is called  
the *madhyastan* or *karanattān*. It is not unlikely that he also performed the duties of the

<sup>1</sup> S. I. I (Texts), Vol. VI, No. 363

<sup>2</sup> Travancore Archaeological Series, Vol. II, pp. 136 and 174.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 50-51

accountant He is bidden to do it at the command of another who is called in some cases *sabhai-Tirunadi*. As these two officials are stated to be in the assembly, there is not much doubt that they were at the same time members of the assembly and took part in their deliberations. The word *paramāru* is formed by adding the prefix *pari* to the verb *māru* 'to exchange'. It is generally used in the sense of serving. But in our inscription it has acquired the meaning 'in usage or current'. It will be noted how the prefix has altered the original meaning of the verb. *Sū-lirru* is a compound word with a slight mistake in spelling. The proper form ought to be 'sūlurru' as suggested in the note under the text. It is composed of 'sūl' (imprecation) and 'urru' (uttering or pronouncing).

The inscription is dated in the fifteenth year and fifty-fifth day of the reign of the Chōla king Parakēsarivarman, who took Madura, i.e., Parāntaka I. Its date is, therefore, A.D. 922. It registers a standing order (*vyasisthā*) made by the members of the assembly (*sabliā*) of Uttaramēru-chaturvēdimangalēm fixing the number of persons to be chosen for testing the correctness (i.e., fineness) of gold current in the village, the method of choosing them and the procedure to be followed by the persons so chosen in conducting their work. The inscription lays down that the people of Mādaviḍi should write on palm leaf (tickets) the names of persons that are capable of testing gold, from among the rate payers of their quarter, who are neither very old nor infants, and put them in pots. From the names so entered and put in pots, four persons shall be chosen from their quarter. Two persons from the army and three persons from the Śankarappāḍi shall be chosen in the same manner. The nine persons so selected shall test gold by using the touch stone and without partiality to any body. It is enjoined that they should hand over daily the wax used by them, without misappropriating any cut gold, to the great men of the Tank Committee (*ēri vāriya perumakkal*), and, once in three months, appear before the great men of the Annual Committee (*samvatsara vāriya perumakkal*) and make a declaration to the effect that if they had acted contrary to this stone inscription they shall (incur the curse of) living with hunger. The clause damaged at the end of the record seems to register that these nine persons shall receive individually 7½ *maṇḍi* of gold each month, perhaps as remuneration for their work.

The point that calls for special attention here is that the nine persons, selected for testing gold, did not form a committee at all, and should not, therefore, be confused with the Gold Committee<sup>1</sup> *Pon vāriyam* of which mention is made in the two Uttaramallūr inscriptions published in the *Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* for 1904. The texts of the two published records take particular care to use the word *vāriyam*—and this occurs more than once to show that it was a committee that was formed, while in the inscription under publication the word *vāriyam* is studiously avoided in referring to persons selected for the testing of gold to indicate distinctly that the nine persons did not form a committee though the very record employs the words *vāriyam* and *perumakkal* when it speaks of the Tank and Annual Committees. Again while the Gold Committee is not made dependent on or subordinate to any other body in the two published inscriptions of Uttaramallūr, the epigraph now under publication makes the nine individuals submit to the authority of the great men of the Tank Committee and make them appear once in three months before the Annual Committee and take an oath of declaration. We have drawn special

<sup>1</sup> The text relating to Gold Committee runs as follows —

A Pañcha vāra vāriyattukkum pon vāriyattukkum muppadu lūdumbilum muppadu kuḍav olai ittu śēriyāl oruttarai-kkudav olai parittu panniruvāṇḍilum aruvar pañcha vāra vāriyam āvad āgavum aruvar pon vāriyam-āvad āgavum —

B Pañcha vāra vāriyattul kum pon vāriyattulku[m\*] muppadu-(k)kudumbilum kuḍav olaikku pēr tittu muppadu vāy olai kattum puga ittu muppadu lūdav olai parittu muppadilum pannirandu pēr parittu kkolvad-āgavai a parittu panniruvāṇḍilum aruvar pon vāriyam aruvar pañcha vāra vāriyam āvanā āgavum



Seventh line

Section I



Section II



Section III



Section IV



attention to the above, for the method of selection of persons by pot-tickets and the object of testing gold might be a temptation strong enough to infer that the nine persons formed into a committee—though the inscription does not warrant it—and to identify it with the one known to us from the two published inscriptions

The inscription makes it sufficiently clear that the nine persons chosen for testing gold currency, whose monthly emoluments were fixed, were subordinate to the great men of the Tank Committee and rendered technical aid in the discharge of their duties

## TEXT

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Maḍirai-konda kō-pParakēsarīpanma[r\*]kkū<sup>1</sup> yānlu paḍi-  
nandu<sup>2</sup> nāl aṁbhattandu<sup>3</sup> i-nnālāl Uttaramēru-chaturvēḍimangalāṭṭu  
sabhayōm emm-ūril parimāiṁ
- 2 pon samañjasaṁ=kānbadaikkū<sup>4</sup>=cheheyda vya[va~]sthaiy-āvadu [ |\* ] sālavum vrid-  
dharum bālarum=a[ |\* ]lādār nai kkudigal pon-kāna vallar-ena-
- 3 ppaduvārai nōkki Māḍavīdiyār kūḍi=kkudav ōlai eḷuḍi=ppugavittu tangal sēriyil  
nālvarai=kkudav ōlaiyil pōṇḍārai=kkolvaḍ āgavum [ | ] i pparisē sē[nai]yilum
- 4 iruvārai=kkolvaḍ-āgavum [ | ] i pparisēy Śāṅkarappāḍiyilum mūvarai=kkol(v)vaḍ-āga-  
vum [ | ] i argal=ellā-jaṇattukkum=okka pon kānbā[r\*]gal āgavum [ |\* ] parun-  
kallil uraiyādē
- 5 ponn aṁḍanaiyē urāippad-āga [ |\* ] aṁaikkai-aiṁaikkū uraitta melugu ēri vāriya-ppe  
rumakkal kaikkē vetti mudal āga vañjiyādē kuduppad-āga [ |\* ] mu mmūnru-  
māsam pōṇvārē śam[vā]tsara-vāriya-
- 6 pperumakkalidaikkē sepru engal-urāḍu nāgal=eduttadanai nālum silā lēkaippaḍi  
[p]lāikka eduttōmāyil paṣittu vālvōm-eniṁ solli=ch[chū]-irru viduvārgal-āgavum  
[ |\* ] i-ppariśu em
- 7 m-ūril ponn edupp[ā\*]kkū<sup>6</sup> vyavasthai śeydōm Uttaramēru chchaturvēḍimangalāṭṭu  
sabhayōm [ |\* ] i-ppariśu edu duvuk rukku meyv-  
vēru-vagai tingal=ēl-arai [mañ]jāḍi pon peuvad-āga [ |\* ] iḍu [kuiyul=i]rundu  
n madhyastan Śivadāsan Tiruvaṁgalēn ||—

## TRANSLATION

Hail! Prosperity! The following is the standing order made by us, (*the members of*) the assembly of Uttaramēru-chaturvēḍimangalam, on this the fifteenth year and fifty-fifth day of (*the reign of*) King Parakēsarīvarman, who took Maḍirai (*i e*, Madura), for examining the correctness of gold current in our village —

The people of Māḍavīdi shall write on palm-leaves (*the names of such of*) the rate payers, as are not very old or infants, and as could be called capable of testing gold, and put them into pots. From among those whose names had been so entered on palm-leaves and put into the pots, four persons shall be chosen from their *chēru* (*i e*, quarter). In this (*i e*, the aforesaid) manner, two persons shall be chosen from the army. In the same way, three persons shall be chosen from

<sup>1</sup> The syllables *Maḍirai konda kō pParakēsarīpanma* are engraved in three lines below *Svasti śrī*

<sup>2</sup> Read *paḍinaindu*

<sup>3</sup> Read *āṁḍandu*

<sup>4</sup> Read *ōḍarllu*

<sup>5</sup> Read *urru*

<sup>6</sup> Read *eduppārkkū*



Śankarappādi These (i.e., the nine persons) shall test gold with impartiality towards all people. They shall not rub gold on big stones, but use only the touch stone. (They) shall hand over daily, to the great men of the Tank Committee, the wax used in rubbing, without misappropriating (any of) the cut (pieces). On the expiry of every three months, (they) shall appear before the great men of the Annual Committee and declaring the (following) imprecation leave them. 'If against the orders contained in (this) stone inscription, we had misappropriated any (gold) that had been brought to and handled by us on any day, we shall (be cursed to) live with hunger (for ever)'. Thus, we, the members of the assembly of Uttaramēru-chaturvēdimangalam, made (this) standing order for testing gold in our village. In this manner, . . . shall receive individually, every month, seven and a half mañṇādi of gold. Being present in the assembly, I, the madhyasta, Śivadāsan Tiruvadīgal . . . this

## NO 25—IRDA COPPER-PLATE OF THE KAMBOJA KING NAYAPALADEVA

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This copper-plate, which is edited here for the first time, belongs to Chaudhuri Mrityunjay Narayan Praharaj, Zemindar of Irdā in the Balasore District of Orissa, whose estate is at present under the Court of Wards. About the beginning of 1934, the plate was sent on loan from the Balasore Collectorate to Mr. W. V. Duke, M.A., the then Principal of the Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, who was requested to have its inscription deciphered and interpreted. In December 1934, when I was staying in Cuttack on leave, the plate was handed over to me for this purpose, with the consent of the present Principal Dr. B. K. Singh, by Professor Nirmal Chandra Banerji, M.A., of the College. I am grateful to Dr. Singh for the facilities afforded to me in the College laboratories in cleaning up the plate and taking photographs and estampages of it, and also to Professor Banerji for the ungrudging help I received from him in various ways. My thanks are further due to Rai Bahadur Radhacharan Das, Collector of Balasore, for permission to publish the inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica*. Unfortunately, I have not yet been able to ascertain the actual findspot of the record and the circumstances under which it was discovered. As it is, the document may be called after the place to which it now belongs, although, as internal evidence would show, it must have come originally from a locality in South-west Bengal.

This is a single sheet of copper,<sup>1</sup> measuring 10.7" by 9.7". It is engraved with writing on both sides, and bears at the top a circular seal affixed by soldering. The seal, which has a diameter of 4.2", is divided into two semicircular panels. The upper one contains the *Dharmachakra* device, i.e., a wheel between two couchant deer, and across the lower panel is the inscription Śrī-Nayapālādēvasya, i.e., 'Of (King) Nayapālādēva', which is cut in bold relief. Similar Dharmachakra seals are found also on the copper plates of the Pāla and the Chandra kings of Bengal. But the way in which this seal is affixed is somewhat different. In the case of the Pāla and Chandra plates, the lower portion of the seal comes into the writing and thereby causes a break in the middle of the first few lines on both the sides. But in the present plate the seal is fixed above the writing, so that it does not affect the arrangement of the text in any way. This seal again is not pointed at the top like those of the copper-plates of the Pālas and the Chandras.

It contains altogether forty-nine lines of writing. The letters are engraved with care as far as line 31. But thereafter, the incision is done rather perfunctorily, the letters being as a rule formed by shallow strokes and not always completely made out. These circumstances, as also

<sup>1</sup> In l. 49, it is called *tāmra phālī*.

the corroded condition of many of the letters, make the reading of the concluding part of the inscription at places hopelessly difficult. A triangular piece of the plate is missing from its edge, which appears to have been cut away by some sharp instrument. With this portion some three or four letters have completely disappeared, but it is possible to restore two of the missing letters with certainty. There are a few indistinct passages on the reverse, belonging to the donative verses, which I have failed to decipher, fortunately, these do not form any important parts of the document.

The characters of the inscription are Proto-Bengali, representing a stage midway between the Bādal Pillar inscription of the time of Nārāyanapāla<sup>1</sup> and the Bāngarh grant of Mahipāla I.<sup>2</sup> This is illustrated, for instance, by the forms of the letter *śa*. On the seal of the Irdā plate, the letter occurring in the conjunct *śrī* has clearly a loop joined to the right hand upright by means of a horizontal stroke, as is generally the case in the Bādal Pillar inscription. But in the rest of this record, the *śa* takes a more cursive appearance, in which the loop shows, in the majority of cases, a slight opening at the base. This form later leads on to the open type of *sa* of the Bāngarh grant. The letter *ja* of our plate resembles the type occurring on the Bādal pillar. But in the Bāngarh record its left curve is extended upwards, in which respect it approaches more to the modern Bengali form. Palæographically, the Irdā copper-plate may be placed in the latter part of the 10th century A. D. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, the text being partly in prose and partly in verse. Lines 1, 18-21, 26-32 and 49 contain prose text, but it will be seen that the major part of the inscription is in metrical form. It contains in all thirty-two and a half verses, of which none except the usual donative ones occurs in any of the published records.

As regards orthography, the following points may be noted. the *avagāha* sign is often used and often omitted, the final *t*, *n* and *s* are indicated by an oblique stroke put below the individual letter, e.g., in ll 25, 36 and 40, the *anusvāra* invariably takes the place of final *m*, the dental nasal is substituted for *anusāra* in *mīmāṃsā* in l 29, and single and double *dandas* are frequently used in the metrical portion of the text. As is usual in the inscriptions of this period, no distinction has been made between *v* and *b* in writing.

The inscription opens with salutation to the god Śiva, although the seal itself bears a purely Buddhist device. The first five verses give a description of Priyangu, the capital (*rājadhānī*), from which place the document appears to have been issued. The subsequent verses introduce the family of the donor. First is mentioned King Rājyapāla, a scion of the Kambōja race, whose queen was Bhāgyadēvī (vv 6-8). She gave birth to a son Nārāyanapāla who was a devotee of the god Vāsudēva (v 13). Nārāyanapāla had a younger brother Nayapāla who gained ascendancy after him (vv 14-15). Rājyapāla is described as a *saugata*, i.e., a worshipper of the Buddha, and he, as well as his son Nayapāla, has full imperial titles, viz., *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhattachāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja* (ll 18-20). The object of the document is to record the gift of the village of Brihat-Chhattivannā, adjoining to Kanti, Sammāsha and Bādakhanda, within the Dandabhukti mandāla of the Varddhamāna bhukti (ll 20-21). The various appurtenances and conditions of the property are related in vv 18-21. The king gave it away on a *naramī* day in the month of Kārttika to the Pandita Asvatthasarmman, who was born at Drōṇa but actually hailed from Kuntira. The donee was the great-grandson of Bhatta-Divākaraśarmman, grandson of the upādhyāya Prabhākarasarmman and son of the upādhyāya Anukulamisra. He belonged to the Vātsya gōtra and the Bhārggava-Chyavana-Aurvya-Jāmadagnya Āpnavāna pravara, and was an adherent of the Chhandōga charana and the Kauthuma śākhā (of the Sāmaveda, ll 26-31). An enumeration of the officers,

<sup>1</sup> Ante, Vol II, p 160 and Plate

<sup>2</sup> Ante, Vol XIV, p 324 and Plate.

and persons of the royal household, who are expected to keep the document in force, is given in vv. 22-21. Vv. 25-31 and 33 are customary stanzas relating to land grants, while v. 32 makes a reference to the royal donor. Finally, in line 19, is mentioned the date of the gift, viz., the 2nd (?)<sup>1</sup> day of Kārttika, the regnal year 13.

The record is of much historical importance. Rājyapāla, Nīrjyapāla and Nityapāla are names well known in the genealogy of the Pāla kings of Bengal, and Rājyapāla I of this dynasty had also a queen Bhāgyadēvī, like the Rājyapāla of the present record. One is tempted, therefore, to identify the two Rājyapālas, but there are certain other facts that make this proposition quite unlikely. In the first place, the kings Nīrjyapāla and Nityapāla, sons of Rājyapāla, cannot be the same as those mentioned in the Pāla records. The son and successor of Rājyapāla I of the Pāla dynasty was Gōpāla II, whose name appears in the Bāngarh Āmṛāchhī and Manārah plates. Secondly, Rājyapāla of this record has the epithet *Kāmbōja samātilāla*, i.e., 'an ornament of the Kāmbōja clan'. In the *Rāmcharita* of Śaṇḍilyākara Nandī, the Pālas are supposed to have descended from the 'Samudra-lūla', whatever that may mean, and in the Kemuli grant of Vṛndādevī they are represented as belonging to the Soluk race (*Mukhasya samā*). But no here has the Kāmbōja origin been attributed to the Pālas. The name-ending 'Pāla' need not again mislead us, since there were several ruling families in Northern India in the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D. which had this appellation. The Irdā copper plate, therefore, introduces us to a **new line of kings**, who, judging from the characters of the inscription, should be referred to the second half of the tenth century. It evidently belongs to a time when the Pāla kingdom was in a state of turmoil and the rivals of the Pālas were gradually asserting themselves.

The only other inscription that speaks of a Kāmbōja king of Bengal is the one on a pillar from Bāngarh (Dinājpur District), now in the Mahārājīś palace at Dinājpur, which also on paleographic grounds can be assigned to the tenth century A.D.<sup>2</sup> It records the construction of a Śiva temple (evidently at Bāngarh) by a king of Gauda (*Gauda pati*) whose name is not specified but who bears the epithet *Kāmbōj āmāyaja*, i.e., 'born in the Kāmbōja line'. This family could not have made themselves masters of Gauda without ousting the Pālas, and it follows, therefore, that they held possession of the Pāla territories in Bengal for some time during the tenth century. This Kāmbōja occupation is usually referred to the latter half of the century, that is to the period before the accession of Mahīpāla I. A passage of the Bāngarh grant credits Mahīpāla with having recovered his paternal or ancestral kingdom (*pitṛyam rājyam*) which had been *anadhīlīta*, i.e., not taken possession of, and *ulup'ta*, i.e., lost. This passage which is repeated also in the Āmṛāchhī and Manārah grants is supposed to bear allusion to the Kāmbōja occupation of Bengal and its subsequent recovery by Mahīpāla. The Kāmbōja king of Gauda of the Dinājpur pillar inscription and the princes whose names appear in the Irdā copper plate presumably represent one and the same family. From the evidence of the present record it is now clear that the Kāmbōjas seized not only North Bengal, but also the south western portion of the province including

<sup>1</sup> [See below p. 157, n. 5—T'd.]

<sup>2</sup> Chanda, *J. P. A. S. B.*, 1911, p. 619 and *Gaudaraja nūli*, p. 35. I agree with Dr. R. C. Majumdar [*Vangai inī* (in Bengali) 1330 B.S., p. 259], that the expression *Kuñjara ghaṭa varshana* of the inscription is to be taken as an epithet of the *Gaudapati* and not as a chronogram.

<sup>3</sup> It may also mean 'lost owing to non-occupation' (*anadhīlīta*, i.e., *anadhīlīta*). A. K. Mitra takes *anadhīlīta* in the sense of *anadhīlīta*, i.e., usurper, and compares the term *adhīlīta* in *Amara*, II. 8.8 (*Gauda'skhamilī*, p. 100, footnote), which, however, is a purely official designation and would not with a *na* prefixed to it, yield this sense. The form *anadhīlīta* could perhaps be supported as an instance of *mativarthīya* acc.—*anadhīlīta* *pitamasya* as, like *vibhaktā bhṛatarah* and *pīta garah* of the *Mahabharata* (under *Purāṇa*, 3.4.67). But this appears to be somewhat far-fetched. In any case it follows that the kingdom prior to Mahīpāla's accession had passed into the hands of some other ruling family.

the Vardhamāna *bhukti* They had their capital at a place called Priyangu, which remains for the present unidentified

But who were these Kāmbōjas, and from where did they come ? In the inscriptions of Aśoka a Kāmbōja country is mentioned along with the Yōna which lay on the North western frontier of India The Kāmbōjas are mentioned along with the Yavanas as north-western tribes in the *Mahābhārata*, and, as Grierson has shown, the Kāmbōjas spoke a language partly Indo Aryan and partly Iranian <sup>1</sup> Their country had great reputation for horses, to which there are allusions in the *Mahābhārata* and in the Buddhist literature <sup>2</sup> This reputation must have reached even far off Eastern India, as is evident from the reference to the Kāmbōja horses of Dēvapāla (*Kāmbōjēshu yēna vāṇi-yuvabhūh*, etc.) in his Mungir and Nālandā grants If horses could be brought into Bengal from the North-western frontier of India during the Pāla period, it is not unreasonable to suppose that for trade and other purposes some adventurers could also have found their way into that province No doubt it can be shown that there was a Kāmbōja on the North-eastern frontier as well <sup>3</sup> In the Tibetan work *Pag sam ṣon-zang*,<sup>4</sup> there are references to both the Kāmbōjas, and the eastern one is identified with the Lushai Hill tracts between Burma and Bengal But the work belongs to a much later period, and there is nothing to show that the Kāmbōja of the North eastern frontier was in existence as early as the tenth century A D It has been suggested by some scholars<sup>5</sup> that the Kāmbōja invaders penetrated into Bengal from the north-east and that they belonged to a Mongolian stock which is now represented by the Kōch tribe There is, however, no sure evidence in favour of this supposition

As regards the localities mentioned in the copper-plate, some remarks are necessary Varddhāmāna *bhukti*, comprising the major portion of the Burdwan Division of Bengal, is already well-known from inscriptions <sup>6</sup> But the information, that it had a *mandala* called Dandabhukti, is now furnished by the Irdā copper plate for the first time The *Rāmcharita* mentions a certain ruler of Dandabhukti, named Jayasinha, who was an ally of King Rāmapāla of Bengal and defeated Karnakēśari of Utkala, i.e., Orissa R D Banerji<sup>7</sup> has observed that this conflict would not have been possible if Dandabhukti were not situated in South west Bengal That Dandabhukti was included in the Vardhamāna *bhukti* lends support to this view and disposes of once for all the contention of H P Sastri<sup>8</sup> and Krishnaswami Aiyangar<sup>9</sup> who identify it with Bihār

Dandabhukti appears also in the list of conquests of Rājēndrachōla, in his famous Tirumalai inscription <sup>10</sup> Between 1012 and 1024 A D, the Chōla King proceeded towards Bengal from the South, taking the route along the eastern coast The territories he conquered on the way seem to appear in the list in due geographical order Thus we have Odda-vishaya (Orissa), Kōsala nādu

<sup>1</sup> *J R A S*, 1911, p 802, and 1912, p 255

<sup>2</sup> On the Kāmbōja horses see *J R A S*, 1912, p 256 For a detailed account of the Kāmbōjas see B C Law, *Some Kshatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, 1924, pp 230-51

<sup>3</sup> Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol I, pp 308-9 Dr Raychaudhuri is of opinion that the Kāmbōjas came to Bengal from the north west, like the Gurjjaras—*ibid*, p 311, n 1

<sup>4</sup> Ed S C Das, Part I, pp 4, 74 and Index, p 10 I am obliged to Dr P C Bagchi for having drawn my attention to these references

<sup>5</sup> Chanda, *J P A S B*, 1911, p 619 S K Chatterji thinks that the word *Kōch* or *Kēch* was derived from Kāmbōja—*Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Part I, p 69

<sup>6</sup> *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol III, p 94

<sup>7</sup> *Mem A S B*, Vol V, No 3, p 89

<sup>8</sup> *Rāmcharita*, Introduction, p 10

<sup>9</sup> *Journal of Indian History*, Vol 2, 1922-23, p 331

<sup>10</sup> *Ante*, Vol IX, p 233

(Dakshina-Kōśala), Tandabutti (Dandabhukti), Takkanalādam (Dakshina-Rādhā), Vangāladēśa (East Bengal), and finally, Uttiralādam (Uttara-Rādhā). Judging from the order in which the different territories are mentioned, it has been already suggested by R. D. Banerji<sup>1</sup> that Dandabhukti coincided with the Midnapur and Balasore Districts. He further thinks that the name is recognizable in modern 'Dantan' in South Midnapur. Whatever be the value of the latter suggestion, it is quite clear that in the Trimalai inscription Dandabhukti is specified separately along with Kōśala and Dakshina-Rādhā, and, therefore, it could not have formed part of either. Again, the mention of this locality *between* Kōśala and Dakshina-Rādhā would also show that it could not have been much further away from the tract immediately to the north of Balasore. Taking all this evidence into consideration, we can safely conclude that the Dandabhukti *mandala* comprised at least the southern and south western portion of the Midnapur District, including the lower reaches of the Suvarnarēkhā river, if not a portion of the Balasore District itself.

Chhattivannā, the name of the village granted, is possibly derived from Prākṛit *chhattivanna* (Sanskrit *saptaparna*, Bengali *chhātin*). This equivalent is given in Vararuchi's *Prākṛitapraśāsa* (II 41)<sup>2</sup>. It is rather tempting to identify the place with modern Chhātinā in the Bankura District, which name is also supposed to have originated from the Chhātin tree<sup>3</sup>. The adjective *Bṛihat*, prefixed to the name (Bṛihat-Chhattivannā), suggests, however, that there must have been at least two places bearing this name. In the District Map of Midnapur,<sup>4</sup> a place 'Chhatina' is shown on the Suvarnarēkhā, between Belyabera and Nayabashan, and it is not impossible that this is the Chhattivannā of our inscription.

#### TEXT \*

[Metres vv 1 5, 7-11, 13, 18-21, 26, 28, 29, 33, *Anushtubh*, vv 6, 12, 16, 23-25, *Vasantatilakā*, v 14, *Indravajrā*, vv 15, 27, *Upajati*, vv 17, 22, *Varāliya*, v 30, *Śālinī*, v 31, *Pushpitāpū*, and v 32, *Śāndūlavakṛidita*]

#### Obverse

- 1 Ōm<sup>o</sup> namah [Śivā]ya | svasti | Dūra-vyōm ōdgama k[ī]āntair=iva yatra surālayaḥ |  
chalat patākā jibv-āgrair=vvāhaya
- 2 [nt] payōmuchah || [1\*] Yasyām hōm āgni dhūm aughah karōt[ī] gagan-ōdgataḥ |  
ma[kha-hūta]-Sunāśīra vāhan-āmbhōda-vibhramam || [2\*]
- 3 Apīm gīhanā pānābhyām jaditā iva tōyadāh | haimān=agni ruchō yasyām prā-  
kārān=adhiśtratī || [3\*] Sphātī-
- 4 kīni sphut-ābhāni gōpurāni v[ī](b)bhartti yā | yaśōbhīr=iva hptāni nitya nurggāmi-  
[bhū]h prabhōh || [4\*] Tasyā
- 5 visma[ya\*]niy arddhīr=varddhamāna-gun ōdgatēh | nisthāma dharmma-rājāyā rāja-  
dhānyāh Priyangutah || [5\*] Kamvō(mbō)ja-vanśa-ti

<sup>1</sup> *Mem A S B*, Vol V, No 3, pp 71, 89. *Bungalar Itihas*, 2nd ed., Vol I, p 248

<sup>2</sup> Chatterji, *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Part I, p 335

<sup>3</sup> Beglar, *I S R*, Vol VIII, p 199. For the ending *annā* cf Paduvannā, a place name in the *Ramacharita*, p 37. It may be noted that many places in the Midnapur District are called after some tree, the names ending in *lari* or *lurree*, e.g., Jumbani and Palāsbani (near Jhargram), and Phoolbunnee (near Contai).

<sup>4</sup> Published by the Survey of India (as corrected in 1915)

\* From the original

\* It is preceded by the usual auspicious symbol





- 6 [laka<sup>1</sup>]h<sup>1</sup> sthira-vikrama śrīr=śrānta dāna-mahimā-mahita-prabhāvah | kshmapāla-mauli-  
chaya-chumbita-pāda-pīthah pri-
- 7 [thvī pa<sup>2</sup>]t<sup>h</sup> Ppithur=abhūd=iha Rājyapālāh || [6\*] Śrīmatō Rājyapālasya vī-  
valaya-mēkhalām | nīshkantakam=anā-
- 8 pāyam paripālayatō bhuvam || [7\*] Sūnus=sūnrita-vāg=yasya janani jana pūjitā |  
śrīmatī Bhāgyadēvī=tī dēvī=va
- 9 Hīmasailajā || [8\*] Yēna pāda-nakha-jyō[t]snā-jalēn=ālika samsthītāh | prakshāhtā  
vipakshānām=aśubh-ā[ksha]
- 10 ra-panktayah || [9\*] Darppa-jvarō vīrya-kandur=ādhmānam yēna mānājam | chi-  
kītsitāni mahatā pratāpēn=aiva vidvī-
- 11 shām || [10\*] Bhuvam [yajñ-ā]śinō dēvā divam sōma sutas=tathā | āvasanti nripē  
yasmin=nyamēn=aiva lōkayōh || [11\*]
- 12 Nārācha ruddha-nabhasām=ari-vāhinīnām=angaiś=chaturbhīr=api jētum=ayātam=ājau |  
ēkah prasūnamaya-pa-
- 13 [ñcha] śaras=tv=Anangō yam jēshyat=itī kuta ēva kathā pravṛttīh || [12\*] Sa Vāsu-  
dēva-pād āvja(bja)-pūjā nīrata-mānasah [1\*]
- 14 śrī-Nārāyanapāl-ākhyah kalyānī kshīpō='bhavat || [13\*] Nārāyanasy=ēva Narō  
mahātmā Samkarshanasy=ē-
- 15 va cha Śārngapānīh | Dharmmātma-jasy=ēva Dhanañjayō=bhūt=tasy=ānujah śrī  
Nayapālādēvah || [14\*] Lavdh(bdh) ōdayō-
- 16 bhrātur=anantaram yah śriyam samāsādyā durāsadō='bhūt | astāmchalam<sup>3</sup> chandra-  
masī prapannē divam vivasvān=ī
- 17 va gāhamānah || [15\*] Yēna divishām na ganitāni mahā va(ba)lāni n=āpēkshīnah<sup>3</sup>  
parījanō=pi nījah samīpē |
- 18 ēkākīn=aiva bhūja Mandara-mathyamānāl=lav(b)dhā samīka-jaladhēh śataśō jaya-  
śrīh || [16\*] Paramasaugatō<sup>4</sup> ma-
- 19 hārājādhīrāja-paramēśvara paramabhāttārakah<sup>5</sup> śrī-Rājyapālādēva pād-ānudhyātāh pa-  
ramēśvara-parama-
- 20 bhāttārakō(ka)-mahārājādhīrājah śrīmān=Nayapālādēvah kuśali | śrī Varddhamāna-  
bhuktāv=antahpētī 'Danda-
- 21 bhukti-mandalē Kanti-Sammāsha-Vā(Bā)da<sup>6</sup>khanda prativa(ba)ddha-Vri(Bri)hach-  
Chhattivannā-grāmē | Karanair=vyavahārīnah sāmān
- 22 kṛishakāmīn=ch=aiva<sup>7</sup> nīvāsībhīh=tathā [1\*] divīja-pūj-ādi-pūrvvam=ādīśaty=avagachchhantu  
bhavanta idrīśam || [17\*] Prasiddhayā paricchhi-
- 23 nnah svayā sīmā samantatah | vāstu-kshētra jalādhāra-gartta-mārg[ga] sama-  
nvitah || [18\*] S-ōshar-āvashkara<sup>8</sup>-sthāna-nivita<sup>1</sup>la
- 24 van āka[ra]h | sahakāra madhūk ādi taru shand-ādi manditah || [19\*] Varjītah sarvva  
pīdābhīr=a-chāta-bhata gōcha-
- 25 rah | rāja-grāhyēna sarvvēna pratyāyēna samanvitah || [20\*] Sa hatta ghata sa  
tara ā chandr ārkka-kshītim yāvat | [21\*]<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The right hand flourish of the *la* is visible in the original, so the reading *tlalaḥ* is certain

<sup>2</sup> Read *astāchalam*

<sup>3</sup> Read *apēkshītah*

<sup>4</sup> Read *paramabhāttāraka*

<sup>5</sup> Read *kṛishakāmīn=ch=aivā*

<sup>6</sup> Read *bhukti antahpātī*

<sup>7</sup> Read *śāshkara*

<sup>8</sup> Read *astāchalam*

<sup>9</sup> This is only half of a verse

<sup>3</sup> Read *apēkshītah*

<sup>4</sup> Read *paramabhāttāraka*

<sup>5</sup> Read *kṛishakāmīn=ch=aivā* The metro in the third  
pāda of this verse is faulty

<sup>9</sup> This is only half of a verse



## Reverse

- 26 bhūchchhidra nyāyēna bhatta-śrī-Divākaraśarmmanah prapautrāya upādhyāya śrī-  
Prabhākaraśarmmanah pau-
- 27 trāya upādhyāya-śrī Anukulamśrānām putrāya Drōn-ōdbhava-Kuṇṭira-vinirggatāya  
Vātsya sagō-
- 28 trāya Bhārggava-Chyavana Auvvya Jāmadagnya-Āpnuvāna pravarāya chChhandōga-  
charanāya Kauthuma śākh-ā
- 29 dhyāyinē bhatta-putra pandita śrī-Asvatthaśarmmanē mīmāṃsā<sup>1</sup>-vyākaraṇa tarkka-  
vēdī-vēdinē grā-
- 30 mō=yam Yugādyā[m] navamyām snātvā vidhivad=udaka-pūrvvakam kṛtvā mātā  
pitṛōr=ātmanāś=cha punya-ya[śō]
- 31 'bhivridhdhayē | bhagavantam Śankara bhattāarakam=uddiśy=āsmābhīs=tāmraśāsanikṛitya  
dattah | Tad [y —]<sup>2</sup>
- 32 pratyāyam samagram=asmai vidhēyatām gatvā kāl-ōchitam [dadānāh] sukhēna  
nivasath(t<sup>2</sup>)=ēha || Mahishī yu
- 33 varāja mantrinah saha ritvighbhir=a[tō] purōhitam | ○○—○○—r=nniyōginō dha-  
rmmaññāms=cha sa-
- 34 [mam] pradēsh[tu]bhūh || [22\*] Adhyaksha-varggam=akhilam karanaś=samētam | <sup>4</sup>  
sēnāpatiū=cha saha samika-samgha
- 35 mukhyaih [l'] dūtān sa gūdhapurushān saha man[tra]pālair=anyān=apī kshiti-  
patēr=anujivinaś=cha || [23\*]
- 36 Āgāminō=pi nripatīn=nīya tīrtha yuktān sē—na(?)<sup>5</sup> vīkshatī vadaty=anūśāstī ch=[āpī] |  
asmān samikshya
- 37 hara[nē] cha nisa(śa)mya dōsham dānam bhavadbhūr=anupālyam=idam sad=  
arva || [24\*] Asmān=pratisphurati yaś=cha vichāra-
- 38 nīyām dānān=mahān=atīśayah paripāla[nē cha?]<sup>6</sup> — — ○—○○○—○ m=athō na kimchit —  
— ○<sup>6</sup> pālana-
- 39 m=apālanam=āhur-ēnah || [25\*] Bhūmim yah pratigrihnāti yaś=cha bhūmim pra-  
yachchhati | ubhau tau punya karmmanau ni-
- 40 yatas(tam) svargga gāminau || [26\*] Yē brāhmanānām=a-yathā haranti pradēśa mātṛām=  
apī bhūta-dhātṛīm | purisha-kūpē pitṛibhi-
- 41 s=samētās=tē kalpa kōtār=apī yāpayanti | [27\*] Svadattām para dattām=vā yō  
harēta vasundharām [l\*] sa viśthāyām kṛmīr=bhū-
- 42 tvā pitṛibhis=saha pachyatē || [28\*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabis=Sagar-  
ādibhih | yasya yasya yadā bhūmīs=tasya
- 43 tasya tadā phalam || [29\*] Sarvvān=ētān bhāvīnah pārtthiv-ēndrān bhūyō bhūyah  
prārtthayaty=ēsha Rāmah | sāmānyō=

<sup>1</sup> Read *mīmāṃsa*<sup>2</sup> For this reading I am indebted to the editor [Evidently the reference is to the *Kṛtayugādī* day which falls on *Kartika* *su* 9 See L. D. Swami annu Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol I, Pt 1, p 59 —Ed.]<sup>3</sup> After *ta* there is no space for more than two letters<sup>4</sup> *Ḍanda* unnc=ssary<sup>5</sup> Probably the reading should be *snēhēna* [I would read *sarvvān=adhīcchhati*, *se*, requests all —Ed.]<sup>6</sup> [The reading seems to be *dīnat=pararī* ○○○ *saram=athō na kimchit(t)d dharmmas=cha* After *chi*, *t* seems to have been written at first and then scored out —Ed.]

- 44 yam dharmma-sctur=nripinām kālē kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhūh || [30"] Iti kamala dal-  
āmvu(mbu)-vindu-lōlām śriyam=anu-
- 45 chintya manushya jīvitañ=cha | sakalam=idam=udāhṛitañ=cha vuddhā<sup>1</sup> na hi  
purushaḥ para-kīrttayō vilōpyāh || [31']
- 46 Ēvam bhīma pā(pa)rākrāmō narapatir=v(b)rūtē vivichya svayam — — — ∪—∪—va  
hi kalau — — ∪— — ∪
- 47 rah<sup>2</sup> | dātum n=ōtsahatē manō yadī tadā=py=anyai[r=yad=asmā]drīśair=dattam — ∪ ∪ —  
∪— sukṛtinah — — ∪—
- 48 —∪—<sup>3</sup>|| [32"] Gām=ckām suvarnam=ckam bhūmīr=apy=arddham=angulam | haram<sup>4</sup>  
narakam=āpnōti yāvad=āhūta samplavam || [33"]
- 49 Samvat 13 [Kārtti]ka-dīnē 2 (?)<sup>5</sup> ancna tāmra phalī 1 -jō<sup>6</sup> anu ni [||\*]

## TRANSLATION

(Line 1 ) Ōm ! Salutation to Śiva ! Welfare !

(V 1 ) Where the temples, as if tired in ascending up to the distant firmament, lick the clouds with the tips of the tongues of their fluttering banners

(V 2 ) Where the mass of smoke, rising up to the sky from the fire of oblations, creates the illusion of cloud, the carrier<sup>7</sup> of Indra (*who is*) invoked in sacrifices

(V 3 ) Where the clouds, exhausted as it were, by bathing and drinking of water, rest over the golden rampart walls which are as resplendent as fire

(V 4 ) Which bears crystal gateways, shining white, as if anointed with the glories of the king continuously flowing out through them

(V 5 ) From that capital city of Priyangu, which is of wonderful wealth and increasing virtue, and is (*the seat of*) powerful and righteous kings—

(V 6 ) Here flourished Rājyapāla, an ornament of the Kamboja family, who was (*the very*) Prithu, the lord of the earth He (*possessed*) steadfast prowess and fortune, his majesty was heightened by the glory attained in ceaseless donation, and his foot stool was kissed by the multitude of the heads of kings

(Vv 7-8 ) To (*that*) illustrious Rājyapāla, ruling without obstacle or calamity over the earth girt by the sea-coast, (*was born*) a son whose mother (*was*) the illustrious Bhāgyadēvī, she was of gentle speech and worshipped by people, like the goddess who is the daughter of Himālaya,

(V 9 ) Who (*i e*, the son), by the water of moon light emanating from the nails of his feet, washed away the syllables portending evil written on the foreheads of his enemies ,

<sup>1</sup> Read *buddhā*

<sup>2</sup> [Probable reading *śrīyas sādhanam=ēlam=ēva hi Kalau danam [viśeshāt=tv] vaḥ —Ed ]*

<sup>3</sup> After *dattam* we should perhaps read *at paripālānē suḥ rūtinaḥ [i-urva]nti —t ādaram*

<sup>4</sup> Read *haran=*

<sup>5</sup> There was probably no other numeral sign after 2 [I find two digits here and would read them as 18 The second numerical figure is clearly 8 as shown in the plate In the first digit the scribe seems to have first engraved the symbol for 0, probably without thinking, as the grant was made on the 9th day, which he later corrected into 1 The reading cannot be 2 as the grant was made subsequent to that date It is more likely that though the gift was made on the *navamī* day, the plate in confirmation of this was actually issued on the 18th—Ed ]

<sup>6</sup> The preceding letter has entirely disappeared.

<sup>7</sup> The elephant of Indra

(V 10) Who, by dint of his great prowess, cured his enemies of the fever of arrogance, the itching of power and the swelling caused by pride

(V 11) During the (rule) of that king, the sacrifice devouring gods came down to dwell on earth and likewise the performers of Sōma sacrifices went up to live in heaven, according to the law (established) in the two worlds

(V 12) Even the four fold army (the four *angas*) of his enemies, who had filled the sky with their arrows, did not approach in battle to gain victory over him, how could then there be even a talk of the god of love (*Ananga*)<sup>1</sup> defeating him—the god who is all alone and has only five arrows of flowers?

(V 13) He, who was known as Nārāyanapāla and had his mind devoted to the worship of the lotus feet of Vāsudēya, became the prosperous ruler of the earth

(V 14) As the high souled Nara is to Nārāyaṇa, the holder of the Śāruṅga-bow (i.e., Krishna) is to Saṁkarshana (i.e., Balarāma), and Dhanañjaya (i.e., Arjuna) is to the son of Dharma (i.e., Yudhisṭhira), so also was his younger brother Nayapālādēva (to himself)

(V 15) Having gained ascendancy after his brother and secured Fortune, he became unconquerable, just as when the moon has set, the sun rises in the sky and becomes unapproachable in its glow

(V 16) Neither did he care for the mighty forces of his enemies, nor did he depend on his own friends near him, he alone, churning the sea of battle by his arm resembling Mount Mandara, obtained on a hundred occasions the fortune of victory

(Ll 18 21) The *Paramīśvara*, *Paramabhātāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious *Nayapālādēva*, in good health, meditating on the feet of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramīśvara*, *Paramabhātāraka* Rājyapālādēva, the devout worshipper of Sugata, (i.e., the Buddha), in the village of *Brīhat-Chhattivannā* adjoining to *Kaṇṭi*, *Sammāsha* and *Bāḷakhanḍa*, within the *Dandabhukṭi mandala* belonging to the *Vardhamāna bhukti*—

(V 17) (He) is thus addressing the tradesmen together with the clerks, and the cultivators together with the householders (of the village), after having paid (due) respect to the Brīhmanas May it be known to you —

(V 18) (This village)—bounded on all sides by its own well established limits, together with homestead and arable land, water courses, pits and paths, (V 19) together with land which is barren and also where sweepings are thrown, including salt mines, and adorned with groups of trees like mango, *madhūla* (*Bassia latifolia*), etc., (V 20) exempted from all oppressions, not to be taken notice of by *Chūlas* and *Bhātas*, and together with all the taxes due to the king, (V 21) also with the markets, bathing places and ferries, for as long as the sun, moon and the earth endure—

(Ll 26, 29 31) this village is granted by me according to the principle of *Bhūmicchhūda* by means of a copper charter, in the name of the god Śankara bhātāraka (i.e., Śiva), after having bathed on the *naranī* day commencing the (Kṛita)-yuga, with the customary observance of the touching of water, for the increase of merit and fame of my parents and myself,—

(Ll 26 29) to the *Bhātāputra*, *Pandita* *Asvatthaśarmman*, who was born in *Drōṇa* and emigrated from *Kuntīra*, of the *Vātsya gōtra* and the *Bhārgava-Chyavana* *Auravya Jāmadagnya* *Āpnuvāna prāraṇa*, an adherent of the *Chhāndōga charana* and a student of the *Kaṭhuma sālkhā* (i.e., of the *Sāmaveda*), who is conversant with the *Mīmāṃsā* philosophy, grammar, logic and the

<sup>1</sup> There is here a play on the word *anga*

\* The expression *sa tara*, and not *sa taru* as previously read by me, occurs also in l 25 of the Rāmgun copper plate of Iśvaraghōṣa (Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol III, p 154)

Vēdas, and is the great grandson of *Bhatta Divākarasarmman*, grandson of the *upādhyāya* *Prabhākarasarmman* and son of the *upādhyāya* *Anukulamisra*.

(Ll 31-32) So (you) should live here in happiness, having timely paid to this (person) all the dues as enjoined

(V 22) The queen (*mahishī*), the crown prince (*yuvaiāja*), the ministers (*mantrin*) and the priest (*purōhita*) along with the *śrīrīks* and the *dharmañās* with the *pradīśhtris*<sup>1</sup>

(V 23) All the heads (*adhyakṣha*) of departments along with the clerks (*karana*), the commander in chief (*sēnāpati*) along with the heads of military associations (*sainika sangha mulhya*), the ambassadors (*dūta*) with the officers of the secret service (*gūḍha puruṣha*) and the political advisers (*mantrapālas*), as well as other subordinates of the king, as also the future kings engaged in their appropriate places—(all of them) he (i.e., the donor) sees, addresses and orders—

(V 24) Having regard to us and also considering the blame attaching to the person who deprives a gift, this should always be protected by you

(V 25) He who praises us in our consideration that the protection (of a gift) is much more glorious than the gift itself

[Here follow vv 26-31 which are some of the customary ones occurring in landgrants]

(V 32) Thus says the mighty king after duly considering if one does not feel encouraged in mind to make a grant

[Here occurs v 33 which is again of the same group as vv 26-31]

(L 49) The year 13, on the 2nd (?) day of Kārttika By this, copper plate 1

## No 26 —THE SARKHO PLATES OF RATNADEVA II OF THE (CHEDI) YEAR 880

By PROF V V MIRASHI, M A, NAGPUR

This set of two copper plates was found in 1916 in a tank called Gadhua in Sarkhō<sup>2</sup>, a village near Jānjgir in the Bilāspur district, Chhattīsgarh, C P. Mr Lochan Prasad Pandeya, Honorary Secretary of the then Chhattīsgarh Gaurava Prachāraka Mandali (now Mahākōsala Historical Society), came to know of them in 1925 and took immediate steps to acquire them for his Society. They are now in the possession of the Society at Bilāspur. Mr Pandeya has published them in the Hindi Monthly *Mādhuri* of Lucknow (Vol V, pp 317-22). As the plates had not, however, been edited in any research journal, I requested my friend, Mr W G Mandape, B A, LL B, Additional District and Sessions Judge at Bilāspur, to procure them for me. I feel highly obliged to him for doing so and to the Mahākōsala Historical Society for kindly permitting me to edit them.

They are two substantial plates measuring 13 5" in length, 8 6" in breadth and 1" in thickness. The first plate weighs 174 tolas and the second 181½ tolas. There is a hole 6" in diameter at the centre of the top of each plate for the ring which must have originally connected them. But no such ring or seal has yet been discovered. The edges of the plates are raised into rims for the protection of letters. There are 36 lines in all, 18 being inscribed on the inner side of each plate.

<sup>1</sup> The class of officers called *pradīśhtri* is referred to in the Arthasāstra of Kautilya and may be identical with *pradīśhika* of Aśoka's inscriptions.—Bhandarkar, *Asoka*, 1925, pp 54-55.

<sup>2</sup> For the concluding letters *anu ni*, cf *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol III, p 149, n 3. The figure 1 after 'copper-plate' indicates that the charter consisted of only one sheet.

<sup>3</sup> The name appears as Sirko in the Degree Map 64 J.

The letters on the first plate were not deeply engraved and have been somewhat damaged by rust. There are also depressions on its inscribed surface in some places. Still there is no uncertainty in its reading.

The characters are Dēvanāgarī as in the other plates of the Kalachuri kings of Ratanpur and call for few remarks. The form for *ṛ* is made up of two curves with a looped or a hooked end turned in opposite directions and placed one below the other (cf *ṛi* in ll 9 and 16, *ṛha* in l 20, *ṛndōr*, l 25, etc.), *ṛ* has the form of a triangle with the base turned upwards (cf *ṛvam*, l 30), the medial *u* is shown in two ways (1) generally with a curve attached to the foot of the vertical stroke and turned to the left (cf *purushah*, l 2, etc.) and (2) occasionally with a curve turned downwards and attached to the middle of the vertical stroke (cf *śruti*, l 19). The medial *ā* and *ō* are shown in some cases by means of a *prishthamātrā* (cf *tad anvayī* and *putrō* in l 2), both the *mātrās* for medial *a* and *au* are occasionally placed above the line (cf *tasmai*, l 25 and *chandr ārkkaṭau*, l 27), in other cases one of them appears as a *prishthamātrā* (cf *sarv-ādāyāṭh*, l 25 and *sākshinau*, l 27). *Va* and *ba* are not generally distinguished, e.g., *vandhūn* for *bandhūn* in l 8, in the case of the grammatical form *babhūva* (ll 7, 21) and the conjunct *bāh* (of *labdh*<sup>o</sup> in l 17), however, *ba* is denoted by the sign for *ma* without its left hand loop<sup>1</sup>, the letters *pa* and *ya* are not properly distinguished in some cases (cf *tasya*, l 21 and *visarppati*, l 30), so also *cha* and *ia* (cf *ch-ava*, l 31). As regards orthography we might note that the dental *sa* is used for the palatal *śa* in such cases as *-santōshīt śsam* (for *santōshīt śam*), l 1, *śatrūn* for *śatrūn*, l 11, and *vice versa* also, though rarely, as in *sahasrēna* for *sahasrēna*, l 33, *ya* is used for *ja* in *Vāyapāya*, l 33, and possibly in *Yāmavat*, l 18. The class nasal is occasionally used for *anusvāra* as in *-ama(ba)rasya*, l 2, the consonant following *r* is only in a few cases reduplicated (cf *Kārttavīryah*, ll 2 3, *-taṭṭka*, l 17, etc.). The following orthographical mistakes may also be noted *kāmṇta* for *lānta*, l 13 and *tattajñō* for *tattajñō*, l 23.

These plates were granted by Ratnadōva II, a Kalachuri king of Ratanpur in Chhattisgarh. The first eleven verses give his genealogy as in other plates of his dynasty. From Kārtavīrya were descended the Haihayas. In their family was born Kōkkala who had eighteen sons. The eldest of them became the ruler of Tripurī. He made his brothers lords of *mandalas*. In the family of a younger brother of these<sup>2</sup> was born Kalingarāja who had a son named Karmalarāja. His son was Ratnarāja (I) who married Nōnallā. Their son was Prithvidēva (I) who had a son named Jājalladēva (I) by Rājalladēvī. Jājalladēva's son was Ratna-

<sup>1</sup> In the Amōdā plates of Jājalladēva II (above, Vol. XIX, pp. 209 ff.) and those of Prithvidēva II (*Inl His Quart.*, Vol. I, pp. 405 ff.) *ba* in such cases is shown by a letter closely resembling *pa*.

<sup>2</sup> This expression, which occurs in most of the charters of the kings of Ratanpur, seems to show that Kalingarāja was a remote descendant (and not a grandson) of Kōkkala. The Ratanpur Inscription of Jājalladēva II (1114 A. D.) also distinctly says 'The family of a younger son of these produced in course of time (*kramēṇa*) Kalingarāja'. If so, this Kōkkala must be taken to be Kōkkala I. This view is corroborated by some inscriptions of the main dynasty at Tripurī. The Benares copper plate inscription of Karna (1042 A. D.) describes in a Prākṛit verse that Prasiddhadhavalā, the son of Kōkkala I, took Pāli to provide for the future great descendants of the family. The Bilhārī stone inscription says that Mugdhatunga (who is identical with Prasiddhadhavalā), the son of Kōkkala I, took the country of Pāli from the lord of Kōzala. Pāli is probably the name of the country round the modern village Pāli, 11 miles north of Ratanpur, where there are ruins of exquisitely carved temples (See *Archaeological Survey Report* for 1922-23, p. 51). It seems that these descendants of Kōkkala I had their capital at Tummāna. They seem to have lost the country in course of time. The Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladēva (1114 A. D.) says that Kalingarāja selected Tummāna as his capital as the place had previously been selected for the purpose by his ancestors.

It must, however, be noted that the description of Kōkkala, given in the Amōdā plates of Prithvidēva I (1079 A. D.), if historically true, would apply only to Kōkkala II as pointed out by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti (above, Vol. XVI, p. 161).

dēva (II) the donor of the present plates. As the description of these princes is merely conventional, no new historical information can be gleaned from it. The next sixteen verses give the genealogy of the donee Padmanābha. His great-grandfather Mahasōna, a Brāhmana of the Vatsa-gōtra and five *pravaras*,<sup>1</sup> hailed from *Sōnabhadra* in the Madhyadēśa (Middle Country) of the Bhāratavarsha (India). He had mastered all the Vēdas, Āgamas as well as the six Śāstras. He observed a fast unto death for fifty days at the holy place (*tīrtha*) Jāmbavat.<sup>2</sup> His son was Sōmēśvara who had a son named Kulachandra. The latter's son was Padmanābha. Padmanābha was proficient in astronomy and knew two Siddhāntas.<sup>3</sup> In the presence of all astronomers in the assembly of Ratnadēva he asserted that there would be a total lunar eclipse when three quarters of the night had passed and the moon was in the asterism Rōhinī on Thursday, the Paurṇimā (fifteenth *tithi* of the bright half) of Kārtika in the year 880. When the eclipse occurred at the predicted time, the king became pleased and donated the village Chīmchātālāi situated in the *maṇḍala* of Anarghavalī to Padmanābha. The record closes with the usual imprecatory verses. The last verse states that the plates were engraved by Kīrtidhara, the owner of the village Jamdēra in the same (province of) Anarghavalī.

Only one other set of plates issued by Ratnadēva II has been discovered so far, *viz*, the Seorinarayan plates<sup>4</sup> dated towards the close of the (Chēdi) year 878, recording the donation of the village Tinēri in the Anarghavalī *viśhaya* to a Brāhmana named Nārāyana. The present plates increase his reign by more than a year. Neither of these records contains any reference to Ratnadēva's victory over Chōdaganga, though it is frequently referred to with pride in the later records<sup>5</sup> of this dynasty. This Chōdaganga must be identified with Anantavarman Chōdaganga, the well-known king of the Eastern Ganga dynasty, who came to the throne in A D 1078 and had a long reign of 70 or 75 years.<sup>6</sup> We cannot, of course, necessarily infer from this that the victory was not gained before the Chēdi year 880 (A D 1128), for the records of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur are extremely meagre in references to historical events. The earliest reference to Ratnadēva II's victory over Chōdaganga occurs in the Ratanpur stone inscription of the time of Prithvidēva II,<sup>7</sup> dated Vikrama Samvat 1207 (A D 1149-1150). Prithvidēva's own Amōdā plates (two sets, dated A D 1149 and 1154 respectively) make no reference to this brilliant victory of his father. The absence of any reference to it, therefore, in the present plates does not necessarily prove that the victory was not attained before A D 1128.

The exact year of this victory cannot, however, be ascertained. The recently discovered plates of Pratāpamalla state that Ratnadēva defeated Chōdaganga and Gōkarna. The date of this

<sup>1</sup> These are mentioned as Vatsa, Bhārgava, Chyavana, Āpnuvāna and Aurva in the Amōdā plates of Jājalla dēva II, above Vol XIX, p 209.

<sup>2</sup> See below text p 165, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> These were probably the Sūrya Siddhānta and the Brahmagupta Siddhānta.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind His Quart*, Vol IV, pp 31 ff.

<sup>5</sup> See e.g., The Ratanpur inscription of Prithvidēva II (above, Vol I, 47 ff.), Seorinarayan inscription (A D 1165) (*P R A S W C*, 1904, pp 52-3), Kharōḍ inscription of Ratnadēva III (1181-82 A D) (above, Vol XXI, p 159). The recently discovered plates of Pratāpamalla (A D 1213-14), facsimiles of which have been kindly sent to me by Mr L P Pandeya, also contain a reference to this victory.

<sup>6</sup> *S I I*, Vol V, No 1018.

<sup>7</sup> Kielhorn first assumed this king to be Prithvidēva III but later on corrected himself by saying that he should be identified with Prithvidēva II (*Supplement to Northern List*, p 17, fn 1). So Dr Rajendralal Mitra's reading of the date (*viz*, V S 1207=A D 1149-1150) will have to be accepted, for we know that Prithvidēva II was ruling till 1154 A D at least (*cf* his Amōdā plates, second set, *Ind His Quart*, Vol I, pp 412 ff.). The recently discovered plates of Pratāpamalla (dated Chēdi year 965=1213-14 A D) state that Ratnadēva III was succeeded by Pratāpamalla.

event could be settled approximately if the latter king could be satisfactorily identified. But we have no means of doing so at present.<sup>1</sup> We also do not know the reason of this war. From the Kormi plates of Anantavarman Chōdaganga<sup>2</sup> dated Śaka 1034 (A D 1113) we learn that he reinstated the king of Utkala who had been deposed. The name of his enemy has not been mentioned, but it is likely that he was Jājalladēva I<sup>3</sup>, the ambitious father of Ratnadēva II, whose friendship was sought by the kings of Kanauj and Jājābhuktika and who had defeated Sōmāśvara and made the rulers of Kōśala, Āndhra, Kūmīdi, Vairāgara, etc., pay tribute.<sup>4</sup> Jājalladēva seems to have tried to extend his empire in the east by deposing the king of Utkala. The latter's cause was however espoused by Anantavarman-Chōdaganga who succeeded in reinstating him before A D 1113. This event must have occurred during the reign of Jājalladēva, for his Ratanpur inscription was incised in the Chōdi year 866 (A D 1114). It is likely that this defeat of Chōdaganga occurred towards the end of his career, when he was engaged in making conquests in the north, west and south, and bringing the whole country lying between the Ganges and the Gōdāvari under his firm control as stated in an inscription dated A D 1135 at the Kūrmāśvara temple in the Ganjam District.<sup>5</sup> It seems that this whirlwind campaign of Anantavarman Chōdaganga received a check in the west by the prowess of Ratnadēva II. The Malhār Stone inscription<sup>6</sup> of the time of his grandson Jājalladēva II describes him as 'a fierce cloud putting out the continuously raging flames of the enormous spreading fire of the valour of king Chōdaganga'. The hostilities continued in the next generation also, for the Kharōḍ inscription mentions that Ratnadēva's son Prithidēva II defeated Chōdaganga's son Jaṭśvara *alias* Madhukāmārṇava.<sup>7</sup>

It is also interesting to note the occasion for making the grant. It seems that the other astronomers of Ratnadēva's court were using older methods of astronomical calculations. Their predictions of eclipses were not accurate and did not, therefore, come true. Padmanābha, the grantee of the present plates, discovered the mistakes in the older methods and, making the neces-

<sup>1</sup> Mr N Lakshminarayan Rao has kindly drawn my attention to two records which mention a prince named Gōkarna. The first of these was incised at the temple of Madhukāśvara in Kalanganagara in Śaka 1013 (= 1091 92 A D) and apparently mentions a king named Gōkarna 'who was expert in the *diśha* of the extermination of the multitude of his foes'. It is, however, doubtful if this Gōkarna could be identified with the one mentioned in the plates of Pratāpamalla; for, Jājalladēva I, the father of Ratnadēva II, was reigning in 1114 A D (see his Ratanpur Inscription, above, Vol I, pp 32 f). Even supposing that Ratnadēva came to the throne in the very next year and the battle with Chōdaganga and Gōkarna was fought in the same year (both of which suppositions are unwarranted), there would be a difference of 21 years between the date of the above record and Ratnadēva's victory over the Ganga king and Gōkarna. The second inscription is at Guḍiṇṇāḍa in the Bimlpatam *taluka* of the Vizagapatam district. It refers to a grant by a certain Gōlarnarāja who was a subordinate of Anantavarman. Even if we suppose that this Anantavarman is identical with Chōdaganga, it does not seem likely that a poet would refer to Ratnadēva's victory over Chōdaganga and his feudatory in the same breath. Besides, the record is not useful for our purpose, as it is undated. The Kharōḍ inscription (l 7) seems to mention Jaṭśvara as associated with his father Chōdaganga in this war. If so, Gōkarna may have been another name of Jaṭśvara. This would also make it probable that the battle was fought in the latter part of Chōdaganga's reign. [There is nothing against the victory over the overlord and his feudatory or feudatories being mentioned together, cf for example, the Tirumakūdal Inscription of Virarājendra (above, Vol XXI, p 241) where his victory over Ahavamalla and his feudatories is described.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> *J A H R S*, Vol I, pp 106 124

<sup>3</sup> The Kharōḍ inscription mentions Jājalladēva's victory over Bhujabala, the lord of Suvarṇapura (modern Sonpur), who was evidently a feudatory of the king of Orissa.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol I, pp 32 ff

<sup>5</sup> *S I I*, Vol V, No 1335, cf *J A H B S*, Vol VII, p 57

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol I, p 39.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol XXI, p 162.

sary *bīja samskāras*, correctly calculated the time of the particular lunar eclipse<sup>1</sup> The inscription gives full details of this eclipse, *viz*, that it occurred on Thursday at three-quarters of the night when the moon was in the asterism Rōhini, on the Kārttika Purnimā in the year 880. This date must evidently be referred to the Chēdi or Kalachuri era in which nearly all the inscriptions of the Ratanpur dynasty are dated According to Diwan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillay's *Indian Ephemeris* the Kārttika Purnimā in A.D. 1128 (corresponding to the Kalachuri year 880) ended at 50½ *ghatikās* (20 hours 10 minutes) after mean sunrise on 8th November As stated in the present inscription, the week-day was Thursday and the *nakshatra* Rōhini which began at 13 hours 30 minutes after mean sunrise There was also a lunar eclipse on that day According to Mr K. L. Daftari of Nāgpur who has kindly calculated for me the time of the eclipse, the moon was totally eclipsed between 48 *ghatikās*, 42 *palas* and 52 *ghatikās* and 54 *palas* after mean sunrise at Ratanpur Three quarters of the night were over at Ratanpur at 52 *ghatikās* and 34 *palas* when, as shown above, the moon was totally eclipsed The date and the time of the eclipse can thus be completely verified

It would not be out of place to say here a few words about the engraver Kīrtidhara He is described in the present plates as the owner of Jamdēra. From the two sets of plates of Prithvidēva II discovered at Amōdā and dated in the Chēdi years 900 (1149 A.D.) and 905 (1154 A.D.) respectively which were incised by Vatsarāja, son of Kīrtidhara, we learn that the latter belonged to the Vāstavya family Several members of this family were patronised by the royal house of Ratanpur Thus the engraver of the earlier Ratanpur stone inscription of Jājalladēva I (Chēdi year 866=1114 A.D.) whose name is lost, was born in the Vāstavya family The Ghotia plates<sup>2</sup> of Prithvidēva II were also incised by Kīrtidhara's son Vatsarāja The latter's son Dharmarāja<sup>3</sup> engraved the Amōdā plates of Jājalladēva II (dated in the Chēdi year 912=1161 A.D.) This family produced some good poets also. Thus Dōvagana who composed the Ratanpur inscription of the time of Prithvidēva II and his father Ratnasimha who wrote the *Malhār prasasti* in the reign of Jājalladēva II, Chēdi year 919 (=1167-68 A.D.), were born in the same family and had considerable poetic talent.

As for the geographical names occurring in these plates *Chimchātālāi*, the donated village, is probably Chichōlā (Long 82 39, Lat 22 10) on the left bank of the Hasdo in the Jānjgir *taluk* of Bilāspur It is only about 8 miles N.E. of Sarkhō The district of *Anarghavallī* in which both *Chimchātālāi* and *Jamdēra* were situated is roughly represented by the present Jānjgir *taluk* *Sōnabhadra* from which the donee hailed cannot be satisfactorily

<sup>1</sup> Mr K. L. Daftari, a noted astronomer of Nāgpur, conjectures that Padmanābha may have used for his calculation the *Rājyamṛigana* a *Larava* work ascribed to King Bhōja of Dhārā in which the *bīja samskāras* seem to have been fixed after actual observation of planets This work, though composed in Śaka 964 (=A.D. 1042), i.e., 86 years before the date of the present plates, may not have been known to the other astronomers of Ratnadēva's court Padmanābha could, therefore, score an easy victory over them (cf. Sh. B. Dikshit's *History of Indian Astronomy* (Marāṭhī), second ed., p. 238)

<sup>2</sup> Mr L. P. Pandeya has kindly drawn my attention to this reference R. B. Hirral considered the plates to be spurious (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIV, p. 41) They seem to be an incorrect copy of the original plates made subsequently by an ignorant engraver Hence the numerous lacunae in the text Mr L. P. Pandeya suggests that the date of the original, misread by the ignorant copyist as 1000, may have been 900 of the Chēdi era (=1148 A.D.) This falls in the reign of Prithvidēva II who, we know, was actually reigning till 1151 A.D. (*Ind. His. Quart.* Vol. I, pp. 405 ff.) If the plates had been spurious the details about the names of the engraver, his father and village would not have talked Even if it is a forgery, we need not reject all historical information in it (cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, p. 201)

<sup>3</sup> The name of the engraver was not Chitrabhānu as R. B. Hirral supposed (above, Vol. XIX, p. 210) The word Chitrabhānu, which occurs twice in the last verse, is used only to describe Dharmarāja He was the Chitrabhānu (sun) to the lotus bed in the form of the Vāstavya family, and was also Chitrabhānu (fire) to the fuel in the form of the helpless warriors of the enemy



identified It was situated in the well-known Madhyadēśa or Middle Country I know, however, no place named Sōnabhadra in the above territory<sup>1</sup> Jāmbavat where the great-grandfather of Padmanūbha fasted himself to death was a *tirtha* It is perhaps identical with the Jambutirtha mentioned in the *Padmapurāṇa*,<sup>2</sup> where there was a Śiva *linga* called Jāmbavantēśvara which was said to have been established by the lord of bears Jāmbavant who helped Śrī-Rāmachandra From the context it appears to be somewhere in the vicinity of the river Śvabhramatī (modern Sabarmatī) Jamdōra the village which was owned by the engraver Kirtidhara is probably identical with Jondra (Lat 82 21 and Long 21 41) on the bank of the Sonāth river just outside the south west limit of the Jājgir *tahsil*

I edit the inscription from the original plates

### TEXT.

[Metres Vv 1, 9, 12, 13, 18 and 22 35 *Anushtubh*, vv 2 and 6 *Upajātī*, v 3 *Sragdharā*, vv 4, 10, 14, 17 and 19 *Śārdūlavil riṇṇita*, vv 5, 7, 8, 11 and 15 *Paśantatilālā*, v 16 *Mālinī*, v 20 *Śālinī*, v 21 *Āryā*]

#### First Plate

- 1 सिद्धिरस्तु<sup>3</sup> श्रीं नमो ब्र(द्र)ह्मणे ॥ निर्गुण व्यापकं नित्य शिव परमकारणम् ।  
भावयाद्य परं ज्योतिस्तस्मै सद्ब्र(द्र)ह्मणे नमः ॥१॥
- 2 यदेतद्ग्रेसरमन्व(स्व)रस्य ज्योतिः स पूषा पुरयः पुराणः । अयास्य पुत्रो  
सगुरादिराजस्तदन्वयेभूः<sup>4</sup>वि कार्त्त-
- 3 वीर्यः ॥२॥ देवः त्रिकात्तवीर्यं चित्तिपतिरभवद्भूषणं भूतधात्रा हेलोत्तिष्ठति-  
वि(वि)भ्यत्तुद्दिनगिरिसुतास्त्रे(त्रे)-
- 4 पसन्तोषितेस(श)म् । दोर्दंडाकाडसेतुप्रतिगमितमहावारिरेवाप्रवाहव्याघूतत्र्यक्षपूजा-  
गुरुजनितरूपं रावणं यो
- 5 ववं(वव)ध ॥३॥ तद्वंस(श)प्रभवा नरेन्द्रपतयः स्यातां चित्ती हैहयास्तेषामन्व-  
यभूषण रिपुमनोविन्ध्यस्ततापानलः । धर्म-
- 6 ध्यानधनानुसंचितयशा. स(श)स्त्र(स्त्र)क्षता सौख्यसन्नेयान्स्वर्गुणान्वितः समभव-  
त्त्र्यो(च्छ्री)मानसो कोकिलः ॥४॥ अष्टादशारि-
- 7 करिकुंभविभगसिद्धा पुत्रा वभूवुरतिसौ(श्री)र्यपराद्य तस्य । तत्राग्रजो नृपवर-  
स्त्रिपुरेश चाशो(सी)त्से(च्छे)पाद्य सलपतीक्ष

<sup>1</sup> The hill where the well known river Son, a tributary of the Ganges, takes its rise is called Sōnabhadra Cf "The Son rises near the Nābadā at Amarakantak in the Maikal range, the hill on which its nominal source is located being called Sōnabhadra or more commonly Sōnmundā", *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol XXIII, p 76 Mr K N Dikshit kindly writes to me that Sōnabhadra is probably the same as Śrāvabhadra to which two Brāhmaṇas donees of the Narwhal plates of Vākpatī Muṇja (V S 1038) belonged Like the donee of the present plates, both of them belonged to the Vatsa-gotra and had five *pravaras* He thinks that Sōnabhadra might be somewhere in Bihār on the bank of the Sōna or Sōnābhadra

<sup>2</sup> Cf *Padmapurāṇa* (Venkatesvara Press ed, *Uttarakhaṇḍa*, *Adhyāya* 160). [*Śāndapurāṇa* (same ed, *Arbudakhaṇḍa*, *Adhyāya* 60), places Jambutirtha in mount Arbuda—Ed]

<sup>3</sup> Expressed by a symbol (cf above, Vol XVII, p 352)

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by the letter *ṣ* with a dot over it

[illegible]

## Second Plate

[illegible]



- 8 चकार वं(वं)धून् ॥५॥ तेषामनू<sup>१</sup>जस्य कलिगराजः प्रतापवह्निक्षपितारिराजः ।  
जातोन्वये द्विष्टरिपुप्रवीरः<sup>२</sup> प्रियान-
- 9 नांभोरुहपार्वणेंदुः ॥६॥ तस्मादपि प्रततनिर्मलकीर्तिकान्तो जातः सुतः कमल-  
राज इति प्रसिद्धः । यस्य प्रतापतर-
- 10 णावुदिते रजन्या जातानि पंकजवनानि विकासभाजि ॥७॥ तेनाथ चद्रवदनो-  
जनि रत्नराजी विस्रो(श्रो)पकारकारणार्जि-
- 11 तपुल्यभारः । येन स्ववा(वा)हुयुगनिर्मितविक्रमेण नीतं यशस्त्रिभुवने विनिहृत्य  
स(श)नून् ॥८॥ नोनस्राख्या प्रिया त-
- 12 स्य शूरस्येव हि शूरता । तयोः सुतो नृपश्रेष्ठः पृथ्वीदेवो बभूव ह ॥९॥  
पृथ्वीदेवसमुद्भवः समभवद्राजसदेव्री(वी)सुतः शू-
- 13 रः सज्जनवांश्चि(छि)तार्थफलद कल्पद्रुमः श्रीफलः । सर्वेषामुचितोर्चने सुमनसां  
तीक्ष्णद्विषत्कः पश्य(श्य)त्कां(त्का)न्ततरांगना[ग]-
- 14 मदनो जाजसदेवो नृपः ॥१०॥ तस्यात्मजः सकलकोसलमंडनश्रीः श्रीमान्सभा-  
हृतसमस्तनराधिपश्रीः । सर्वचि[ती]-
- 15 श्वरसि(शि)रोविहितांक्रिसेवः सेवाभृतां निधिरसौ भुवि रत्नदेवः ॥११॥  
इलावर्तादिवर्षाणा मध्ये भारतसुत्तमम् । मध्यदेस(श)स्तु त-
- 16 त्रापि सोणमद्रोस्ति यत्र सः ॥१२॥ श्रीसोणमद्रनिर्यातः पचाषीं वत्सगोत्रजः  
म[ह]सोण इति ख्यातो बभूव द्विजवंस(श)जः ॥१३॥ यः ष-
- 17 द्दुर्ककलाकलापकुस(श)लो निःसे(शे)षवेदागमज्ञाता ब्र(व्र)ह्मसमः समस्तजनताल[व्या]दः  
सर्वदा । यः पंचास(श)दहानि चान्तसमये त्य-
- 18 क्वास(श)न या(जां)व(व)<sup>३</sup>पतीर्थे प्राणविसृक्तिमाप निपुणो वेदान्तसिद्धान्तगः ॥१४॥  
प्रज्ञानिधिः सकलवेदविदां वरिष्ठो नानाविधाध्व-

Second Plate

- 19 रविधानविभु(शु)डवु(वु)द्धिः । तस्यात्मजो द्विजसभाजविभूषणश्रीः सोमेश्वरः सगभ-  
वहुवनप्रसिद्धः ॥१५॥ श्रुतिसमुचित-
- 20 शीलस्तत्त्व(च)विज्ञागमाना निरवधिगुणरासि(शि)र्व्यासकथ्यो(त्वी) ज<sup>४</sup>नेषु । इह हि  
जगति शपानुग्रहाभ्या समर्थस्तदनु च कुल-

<sup>१</sup> The vowel of नू is lengthened for the sake of metre

<sup>२</sup> Read द्विष्टरिपुप्रवीरप्रियानना<sup>०</sup> as in all other plates of the kings of Ratanpur

<sup>३</sup> The second letter of this word appears more like *cha* than *va*, but *va* and *cha* appear almost like each other in this inscription (of *chaiva*, l 34 *infra*) and other records of the period (cf above, Vol XIX, p 75, l 23) Besides वाचवत् makes no sense I, therefore, propose to read जाववतीर्थे य is substituted for ज here as in वायपेय in l 33 *infra*

<sup>४</sup> After *ja* a superfluous *danḍa* was engraved and scored out

- 21 चद्रस्तस्य सप्तर्षभूव ॥१६॥ प्रज्ञामगनवेऽस्मिन्विस्मयकाराभ्यासः समस्तागमे पुण्यात्मा  
सत्तुर्कर्मधर्मनिपुणः प्रावीण्यवाञ्छ्यो(ज्यो)-
- 22 तिपि । तस्याशेषगुणाकरस्य मतिमान्पुत्रः पवित्रात्मनो ब्र(व्र)ह्माभ्यासनिवेशपेस(श)-  
लमतिः श्रोपञ्चलाभोभवत् ॥१७॥ यः सिद्धा-
- 23 त्वय वेत्ति होरासागरपारम् । सहितासा(शा)स्त्रतत्त्व(क्ष)त्रो वाराहमिहिरोपमः  
॥१८॥ तेनासो(श्री)त्यधिकाष्टवत्स्थते जाते दिने गोपते-
- 24 : कार्तिक्यामथ रोहिणीमसमये रात्रेश्च यामत्रये । श्रीमद्रत्ननरेश्वरस्य सदसि ज्योति-  
विदामुग्रतः सर्वत्रासमनुष्णगोः प्रव-
- 25 दत्ता तीर्ण्णी प्रतिज्ञानदी ॥१९॥ इदोर्मुक्ति कुर्वतायं तदानी सर्वादायैर्भ-  
लेनध्वङ्ग्या(ह्याम्) [1<sup>१</sup>] धन्ना तुष्टेनाथ चिचातलाईग्रामस्तस्मै सा(शा)-
- 26 सनीकृत्य दत्त ॥२०॥ तपेति न तपन प्रखरो मरुदपि नो वाति शासने  
तीव्रः । ब्र(व्र)ह्मस्त्रोपातकमतिम(श)यधीम समालोच्य ॥२१॥ चद्रा-
- 27 कौ गगने यावत्तपतो लोकसाक्षिणी । तावदव्याहत स्वेद्याहानमेतन्महीपतेः ॥२२॥  
द्विजाश्च नावमन्तव्यास्त्रैलोक्यस्थितिहेतवः ।
- 28 देवत्वपूजनीयाश्च दानमानार्चनादिसिः ॥२३॥ यैः कृतः सर्वमच्चोम्निरपेयश्च  
महोर्दधः । क्षयी चाप्यायितः सोमः को न नश्ये(श्ये)-
- 29 लुकोप्य तान् ॥२४॥ सं(श)ख भद्रासन च्छ(क्ष)त्र गजास्त्र(ख)वरवाहनम् । भूमि-  
दानस्य चिह्नानि फल स्वर्गः- पुरंदर ॥२५॥ ब्र(व्र)ह्मभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राज-
- 30 भिः सगरादिसिः । यस्यो यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥२६॥  
यथाप्सु पतित स(श)क्र तैलवि(वि)न्दुर्विसर्पति । एव भूमिस्तत दान स-
- 31 खे सखे प्ररोहति ॥२७॥ भूमि यः प्रतिगृह्णा(ह्णा)ति यस्तु भूमि प्रयच्छति ।  
उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणी नियतौ स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥२८॥ पूर्व-
- 32 दत्ता(त्ता) द्विजातीना यत्नाद्रक्ष पुरंदर । मही(ही) महीभृता स्ने(श्रे)ष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयो  
हि पालनम् ॥२९॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वसुधराम ।
- 33 स विष्टाया<sup>१</sup> कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह पचते ॥३०॥ अस्त्र(ख)मेधसहश्रे(से)ण  
वाय(ज)पेयस(श)तेन च । गवां कीटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्ता न सु(शु)-
- 34 ष्यति ॥३१॥ षष्टिं वर्षसहस्रा(स्र)सि स्वर्गे वसति भूमिदः । आच्छेता चानु-  
मन्ता च तान्येव नरकं व्रजेत् ॥३२॥ इष्ट दत्तं हुतं चैव य-

- 35 लिचिधर्मसचितम् । अर्धगुलेन सीमाया हवलेन प्रस्य(श्य)ति ॥३३॥ न  
विषं विषमित्याहुर्न(र्न)हस्त्रं विषमुच्यते । विषमेकाकिनं ह-
- 36 न्ति ब्र(ज)ह्मस्व पुत्रपौत्रिकम् ॥३४॥ तस्यामेवानर्चवक्ष्या शोमलीर्त्तिधरः सुधीः ।  
जडिग्रामनाथोयं लिलेखाच्चरसो(शो)भनम् ॥३५॥

## No 27 —TIRODI PLATES OF PRAVARASENA II

By PROF. V V MIRASHI, M A, NAGPUR

These plates were found some years ago at the Manganese mine of **Tirōdi**, eight miles south-east of Katangi in the Bālāghāt District of the Central Provinces. Mr T A Wellsted, Manager of the Manganeēse mines, Mansar, who is keenly interested in the history of the Vākātakas, came to know of their existence in April 1934 and secured them with great difficulty from a Manganese contractor of Tirōdi. The plates have since been deposited in the Nāgpur Museum. I am obliged to Mr Wellsted for permission to edit them.

They are four copper-plates, each measuring 7 7" by 3 8". The first and the fourth are inscribed on one side only and the other two on both the sides. Their ends are neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims, still, the inscription is in a perfect state of preservation. The last plate bears in five places marks of indents from the blows of a pickaxe. About 2 1" from the proper right margin, the plates have a roundish hole 4" in diameter for a circular ring to connect them. The ends of this ring, which is 3 3" in diameter, were flattened off so as to overlap and were joined with a pin. They were so secured when the plates were sent to the Nāgpur Museum for cleaning and taking ink impressions. On this ring slides a small circular band about 7" broad and 3 8" in circumference, to which is secured with a rivet a flat circular copper seal 2 7" in diameter. The ring and the seal thus closely resemble those of the other plates of Pravarasēna II. The weight of the plates is 126 *tolas* and that of the ring, the band and the seal is 18½ *tolas*.

The plates were slightly corroded when first found, but have since been cleaned by Mr M A Saboor, Coin Expert of the Nāgpur Museum. Each inscribed side of the first two plates contains six lines, that of the third five lines and that of the fourth only four lines. The seal contains the legend inscribed in four lines. The letters are deeply cut, but do not show through on the reverse. The size of the letters varies from 25" to 4".

As in the other plates of Pravarasēna II, the characters are of the box-headed variety of the Central Indian alphabet. They closely resemble those of the Siwani plates of Pravarasēna II and of the Riddhapur plates of his mother Prabhāvatīguptā. The boxes at the top of the letters are not scooped out hollow as in the Chammak plates, but appear in the form of small squares as in the other plates of Pravarasēna II. The letters *ṛ*, *ḥ*, *n* and *l* and the subscript form of *m* appear without a box at the top, cf *Vāṇapēya* and *Bṛhaspati* in l 1 and *amālā jala* in l 5. The box is not completely incised at the top of a few letters, see, for instance, *n* in *atyanta* l 7, *chr* in *hṇachr* l 23, *ya* in *yaś=cha* l 24. The *rēpha* at the top of letters is, in some cases, shown with, and in others without, a box (cf *chāturvaidya* l 19, *Āptōryyāma* l 1). The length of medial *i* is denoted either by a ringlet in the curve representing short *i* as in *pramāni* l 29, or by another curve turned in the opposite direction as in *trayōviśē* l 31. Medial *u* is shown in three ways—

with the *u* sign (1) turned to the left, cf *ānugāmī* l 23, (2) turned to the right, cf *bhuñjatō* l 23 and (3) shown by a hook to the right bending downwards, cf *kuryyāma* l 26. The *mātrās* for medial *ē*, *ai*, *ō* and *au* are generally added at the top, but occasionally at the middle or even the foot of a consonant, cf *Āśāmēdha* l 2 and *m aśvarya* l 15. The medial *ō* is shown in two ways (1) with a *mātrā* on each side of a consonant as in *śhōḍasya* l 1, and (2) with a curve on the right side only, cf *bhuñjatō* l 23. The medial *au* is everywhere bipartite, cf *dauhitra* and *Gautamī* l 5, etc. *D* and *d* are not clearly distinguished, cf *śhōḍasy* l 1 and *samuditasya* l 8, so also *v* and *ch*, cf *Brihaspatisava* ll 1 2, and *chatur-Āśva*° l 2, *t* appears with a loop in *-vastavya* l 18 and *dattā*[m°] l 29, *th* is generally distinguished from *dh* by a ringlet on the base line, cf *thi* in *Prithivisēna* l 10 with *dhi* in *Yudhishtira* l 9, but contrast *tha* in *Athērvāna* l 18. Independent *b* which is distinguished from *v* appears in two forms (1) the rectangular one as in *paribādha* l 25 and (2) that derived from *p*, cf *Brihaspati* l 1, the subscript *b* is only in one place distinguished from *v*, viz, in *Kōśambakhanda* l 17, but cf *āyur-bbala*-l 15 and *-udvahana*-l 4. A vowel-less consonant is written in a smaller form below the line, cf *drishtam* l 1 and *samāt* l 2. The *visarga* ° denoted by two dots or hook-shaped lines, the former signify also a double mark of punctuation in ll 13, 24, 26, etc. The completion of the record is indicated by a long horizontal stroke.

The language is Sanskrit. Except the legend on the seal and the usual imprecatory verse towards the close, the whole record is in prose. As regards orthography, we may note the absence of external *sandhs* and the use of short for long vowels in several places. Such orthographical mistakes as *bhantakva* for *bhaktiva* l 8, *kēnachivvyāghāta* for *kēnachid-vyāghāta* l 23 are evidently due to the carelessness of the engraver. The *visarga* is wrongly dropped in *gunar samuditasya* l 8 and changed to *cha* in *bhatāch=chhātrās=cha* l 14. The *anusvāra* appears superfluous after its change to a nasal in *Vākātahānām=Mahārāja* l 9, etc. The dental *n* is written for *ṇ* in *kārunya* l 7. *ḷ* is used instead of the vowel *ḷ* in *akhpt-ōpakhptah* ll 22 23, and *ri* for the vowel *ṛ* in *drishtam* l 1 and *dushkrutam* l 30. On the other hand *ri* occurs for *ṛ* in *sarvvaḷṛyābhik* l 24. The consonant following *r* is reduplicated in some cases, e.g., *āṇṇava* and *śauryya* l 7, *abhi-vaiddhamāna* l 8, similarly *v* coming after *anusvāra* in *sā*[m°]*viatsarē* l 31. The consonant preceding *y* is reduplicated in *Bhāgīratthyāmala* l 5 and *sarvv-āddhyaśha* l 13. The *upadhmānīya* occurs in ll 10, 16 and 29. The final consonant is wrongly dropped in *Narattangavārī śhūnā* l 1, *dvāḍasyā* l 31, etc.

The plates were issued from the place *Narattangavārī* by *Mahārāja Pravarasēna II* of the *Vākātaka* dynasty. Their date is recorded in words as the twelfth day of the dark fortnight of (the month) *Māgha* in the twenty-third (regnal) year. Like almost all other complete *Vākātaka* plates<sup>1</sup> they open with the word *drishtam* which must be taken, as was subsequently done by Kielhorn, to mean 'seen' and was evidently intended to signify the genuineness of the inscription.<sup>2</sup> The genealogy of *Pravarasēna II* is copied almost *verbatim* from his previous plates, his maternal grandfather *Chandragupta II* being called *Dēvagupta* as in the other records. The plates record the grant of the village *Kōśambakhanda* to a *Brāhmana* named *Varunāryya* of the *Hārḥari gōtra*<sup>3</sup> and the *Atharvavēda*, who was a resident of *Chā*[m°]*drapurā*<sup>4</sup> and proficient in the three *Vēdas*. The donated village was bounded on the east by *Jamali*, on

<sup>1</sup> The only exception is the *Riddhapur* plates of *Prabhāvatiguptā*. It does not appear in an odd *Vākātaka* plate which has recently come to my hands, but I have reason to think that, like the *Bālāghāt* plates of *Prithivishūna*, the inscription was left incomplete.

<sup>2</sup> Above Vol IX, pp 268 9

<sup>3</sup> The *gotra* is named *Hārḥari* in the *Gotra pravara nibandha Lādamba* (Lakshmi Vēṇkatesa Press, Bombay, 1917).

<sup>4</sup> See below, Text, p 172, note 20

the south by Varddhamānaka, on the west by Mrigasima and on the north by Mallakapēdhaka. As the order is addressed to the officers and soldiers in the western division (*aparapatta*) of Bēn-nākata, it is evident that the donated village was situated in it. The grant was written by the chief minister (*Rājyādhipāṭya*) Chamiḍāsa<sup>1</sup> himself.

We know that the Dudia plates of Pravarasēna II were issued on the tenth day of the fourth fortnight of the rainy season<sup>2</sup> in his twenty-third regnal year. If Kielhorn's view<sup>3</sup> that the date refers to the bright half of the month Bhādrapada is accepted, the present charter, though issued in the same regnal year, would be later than the Dudia plates by about four months and a half<sup>4</sup>. One other record of the Vākātakas (*viz*, the incomplete Bālāghāt plates of Prithivishēna)<sup>5</sup> has been found in the Bālāghāt district. This is, however, the first inscription of Pravarasēna II to be discovered so far to the east of his kingdom. As stated below, the donated village Kōsambakhandā is to be identified with Kōsambā about 6 miles to the south-west of Tīrōḍi, the find-spot of the present plates in the same district. The present inscription shows, therefore, that the country under the direct rule of Pravarasēna II extended to the east as far as South Kōsala (modern Chhattīsgarh) and comprised the modern districts of Bālāghāt, Bhandāra and Chānda of C P. These districts were evidently included in ancient Vīdarbhā. In the Sanskrit play *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa, who is now generally taken to be a contemporary of Pravarasēna II, the country of Vīdarbhā is shown to be divided by the river Varadā (modern Wardhā)<sup>6</sup>. Bēnnākata of the present plates seems to have been one of the districts of Eastern Vīdarbhā.

Almost all other charters<sup>7</sup> of Pravarasēna II are issued from Pravarapura which was evidently his capital. The place Narattangavārī from which the present plates were issued seems, therefore, to be a holy place (*tīrtha*)<sup>8</sup> where he had gone to bathe in the month of Māgha and where he granted the present charter. The month of Māgha is specially praised in the Purāṇas as very sacred and various legends are narrated in them to evince the great merit of bathing at a holy place during that month<sup>9</sup>. The eleventh day of the dark half of this month, when *pūrṇimānta*, which is called *Shattilā ēkādaśī* and is observed as a fast day, is highly glorified in the *Padmapurāṇa*<sup>10</sup>. Pravarasēna may, therefore, have gone to the Narattangavārī *tīrtha* to bathe on the Shattilā ēkādaśī day and have made the present grant on the following day before breaking his fast. We may note in this connection that a similar grant was made by his mother Prabhāvatiguptā<sup>11</sup> at the holy place of Rāmāgiri (modern Rāmtēk near Nāgpur) on the twelfth day of the bright half of Kārttika, evidently after observing a fast on the preceding Prabōdhinī ēkādaśī<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> [Or Navamīdāsa, see below p 174, n 10 —Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol III, p 262

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol III, p 260

<sup>4</sup> Kielhorn has evidently adopted the *pūrṇimānta* scheme in calculating that date. The same is followed above. The interval between the two dates would be 5½ months if the *amānta* system is adopted in both the cases.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol IX, p 267

<sup>6</sup> Cf *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Act V, śl 13

<sup>7</sup> The only exception is the Siwani Copper plate Inscription of Pravarasēna II (O I I, Vol III, pp 243 ff) in which, however, no place of issue is mentioned. The Patna Museum plate also, being the third plate of the set, does not naturally mention any place of issue.

<sup>8</sup> Narattangavārī cannot be taken to be the site of his camp during a campaign, for there is no word like *vāsakāt* added to it.

<sup>9</sup> कामघ्नितुर्थं काम चिन्तामयिस्तु चिन्तितम् । साधुसत्त ददातीह तद्वत्सर्वमनोरथान् ॥ *Padmapurāṇa* (Vēṅkaṭēśvara Press ed.), *Uttarakhaṇḍa*, *Adhyāya* 124, śl 64 5

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*, *Uttarakhaṇḍa*, *Adhyāya* 43, śloka 5 ff

<sup>11</sup> Her Poona plates also, though issued from the then capital Nandivardhana, were granted on a similar occasion.

<sup>12</sup> This day is referred to by Kālidāsa in his *Mēghadūta* (śl 115)



As the present grant was not made at the capital, the expression *vanayānē dharmasthānē* 'at the victorious office of justice' which regularly occurs in all other charters of Pravarasēna II issued from Pravarapura are omitted in the present plates.<sup>1</sup> This grant was made by Pravarasēna II for increasing his *dharma* (religious merit), life, strength and prosperity, for securing his well being in this world and the next, as well as for augmenting the religious merit of his mother (*mātuh puny āpachayārtham*). This last expression occurs in none of the complete charters of Pravarasēna II.<sup>2</sup> As he mentions only his mother and not his father also, who was long since dead, it is likely that she was living at the time of the present grant and may have accompanied him to the holy place. From the description in her Riddhapur plates<sup>3</sup> she seems to have been an old lady at the time of that grant which was made only four years before the issue of the present plates.

As for the geographical names that occur in these plates, Narattangavārī was probably a *tirtha* as suggested above. I know, however, of no place in C. P. and Berār, which exactly corresponds to this name. It may, however, be taken to mean Vārī near Narattanga on the analogy of Nāgarpura-Nandivardhana (Nandivardhana near Nāgpur) in the Deoli plates<sup>4</sup> of the Rāshtrakūta king Kṛṣṇa III. In that case it can be identified with Wārī also called Bhairavgarh, now a deserted village on the river Bān or Wān in the extreme north west of the Akola Taluk (Akola District, Berār). It is only 18 miles to the west of the old fort of Narnālā, which probably represents ancient Narattanga, and is still regarded as a holy place.<sup>5</sup> Kōsambā<sup>6</sup> Kōsambā<sup>7</sup> Kōsambā<sup>8</sup> Kōsambā<sup>9</sup> Kōsambā<sup>10</sup> Kōsambā<sup>11</sup> Kōsambā<sup>12</sup> Kōsambā<sup>13</sup> Kōsambā<sup>14</sup> Kōsambā<sup>15</sup> Kōsambā<sup>16</sup> Kōsambā<sup>17</sup> Kōsambā<sup>18</sup> Kōsambā<sup>19</sup> Kōsambā<sup>20</sup> Kōsambā<sup>21</sup> Kōsambā<sup>22</sup> Kōsambā<sup>23</sup> Kōsambā<sup>24</sup> Kōsambā<sup>25</sup> Kōsambā<sup>26</sup> Kōsambā<sup>27</sup> Kōsambā<sup>28</sup> Kōsambā<sup>29</sup> Kōsambā<sup>30</sup> Kōsambā<sup>31</sup> Kōsambā<sup>32</sup> Kōsambā<sup>33</sup> Kōsambā<sup>34</sup> Kōsambā<sup>35</sup> Kōsambā<sup>36</sup> Kōsambā<sup>37</sup> Kōsambā<sup>38</sup> Kōsambā<sup>39</sup> Kōsambā<sup>40</sup> Kōsambā<sup>41</sup> Kōsambā<sup>42</sup> Kōsambā<sup>43</sup> Kōsambā<sup>44</sup> Kōsambā<sup>45</sup> 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into two parts by the river Waingangā, the ancient Bēnnā<sup>1</sup> Kōsambā which now represents ancient Kōsambakhandā is only 20 miles from the Waingangā and was evidently included in the western division (*aparapatta*) of Bēnnākata. Of the villages that formed its boundary, only one can now be traced Jamālī which bounded it on the east is probably modern Jāmuntolā, 3 miles to the east of Kōsambā Chāndrapura, where the donee was living is probably identical with Chāndpur which lies only twelve miles to the south east of Kōsambā and contains an old fort<sup>2</sup>. The other villages cannot be identified.

I edit the inscription from the original plates<sup>3</sup>.

### TEXT

#### First Plate

- 1 द्विट्ठम्<sup>4</sup> [१<sup>५</sup>] नरत्तङ्गवारिस्थाना[त्\*] । अग्निष्टोमाप्तोर्थासौक्यषोडश[ति]रात्रवा-  
जपेयकृद्दत्तस-  
2 वसायस्त्वचतुरश्वमेधयाजिनः<sup>5</sup> विष्णु(ण्)वृद्धसगोनस्य सभाट्<sup>6</sup> वाकाटकानामहाराजश्री-  
3 प्रवरसेनस्य । सूनोः । सूनोरत्यन्तस्वामिसहामैरवभक्तस्य ।<sup>8</sup> अंसभारसन्निवेशि-  
4 तशिवलिङ्गोद्घनशिवसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवशाना पराक्रमाधिगतभागी-  
5 रत्था<sup>9</sup>[म]लजलभू<sup>१०</sup>भिषिक्तानाम्भारशिवानामहाराजश्रीभवनागदीहिचस्य गौतमी-

<sup>1</sup> The river is called Vñā in the *Mahābhārata* (*Sabhaparvan*, *Adhyaya* 31), *Padmapurana* (*Starga Khandā*, *Adhyaya* 39, śl 30 32; Bombay ed.), *Matsya purāṇa* (*Adhyāya* 114, śl 27 28) and Vñyā in the *Mārkaṇḍeya purāṇa* (*Adhyāya* 57, śl 24). Vñvā in the *Vāyupurāṇa* (*Ad* 45, śl 102) and Vinnā in the *Kūrma* (*Ad* 47, śl 32) seem to be derived from Vēnyā (See Fargiter's Tr. of the *Mārkaṇḍeya purāṇa*, p 300). Bēnnā in Bēnnākata of the present plates and Bēnnā in Bēnnā-kārapara bhāga of the Siwani plates are evidently corrupt forms of Sanskrit Vēnyā and refer to the Waingangā. The Bēnnā-kārapara bhāga of the Siwani plates seems to be a subdivision (*bhāga*) of Bēnnākata. It cannot be located in modern Berār. Fleet's suggestion that Kōllapura in that charter is 'possibly Kolāpoor twenty one miles south of Ellichpur' (*C I I*, Vol. III, p. 244) is manifestly impossible. Khōlāpur (for, that is its correct name) was founded by Khōlāśvara, a well known general of the Yādava king Smāghana. As stated in his Āmbī inscription, it is on the bank of the Payōshnī (Pūrpā), see G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan* (Narāthi), p 64. I would identify Kōllapura (in the Bēnnā-kārapara-bhāga) of the Siwani plates with modern Koolpā about 30 miles to the east of the Waingangā in the Amgaon Zamindari Karañjaviraka which was a village (and not a river as supposed by Fleet) in its vicinity is represented by modern Kāranjā, a mile to the N. E. of Koolpā. For viraka at the end of a village name see Vyāghraviraka in the Khāmkhēd plates (above, p 96).

<sup>2</sup> Kielhorn's suggestion about the identification of Chandrapura mentioned in the Dudia plates with the abovenamed Chāndpur cannot be accepted, for, as he has himself admitted, none of the other villages mentioned in those plates can be identified in its vicinity. That Chandrapura is probably identical with Chandur in the Amraoti district of Berār, as shown by R. B. Hirālāl (See his *List of Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*, second ed p 93).

<sup>3</sup> The accompanying plates have been prepared from photographs kindly taken by Mr M. A. Saboor of the Nagpur Museum.

<sup>4</sup> Read ६८५.

<sup>5</sup> Here and in many places below, the rules of *Santhi* have not been observed.

<sup>6</sup> Read सभाजी.

<sup>7</sup> The box at the top of त् is not complete.

<sup>8</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>9</sup> Read भागीरथ्यमल. The box of *ma* is not connected with the vertical stroke of the letter.

<sup>10</sup> Read मू<sup>१०</sup>भिषिक्तानाम्. One other adjective, दशमेधायकसत्ताना which occurs in all other plates is omitted here.

6 पुनस्य पुनस्य वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेनस्य सुनो.<sup>2</sup>

*Second Plate, First Side*

7 अत्यन्तमाहेश्वरस्य सत्याज्ज<sup>3</sup>वकारव्य<sup>4</sup>शौर्यविक्रमनयविनयमाहात्म्यधिमत्त्व<sup>5</sup>

8 ग<sup>6</sup>तभन्तिक्क<sup>7</sup>धर्म्मविजयित्वमनोनेम्य<sup>8</sup>दिगुणै[.°] समुदितस्य वर्षशतमभिवर्द्धमा-

9 नकोशद<sup>9</sup>साधनसन्तानपुत्रपौत्रिणः युधिष्ठिरवृत्तेर्वाकाटकानां<sup>10</sup>महा-

10 राजश्रीपृथिविसेनस्य<sup>11</sup> सुनो[.] भगवतश्चक्रपाणे प्रसादोपार्जितश्रीसमुदयस्य

11 वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेनस्य सुनो. महाराजाधिराजश्रीदेवगुप्त-

12 सुताया<sup>12</sup>ममवतिगुप्तायामुत्पन्नस्य ।<sup>13</sup> वाकाटकानाम्महा-

*Second Plate, Second Side*

13 राजश्री<sup>14</sup>प्रवरसेनस्य वचना[त्.°] । वेन्नाकटस्य अपरपट्टे ॥<sup>15</sup> अत्यन्तकास्त्रव्या-  
ध्वल्लनियोग-

14 नियुक्ता आज्ञासचारिकुलपुत्राधिकृता भटाच्छा<sup>16</sup>नाथ व्युधितपूर्वमयाज्ञाया<sup>17</sup>ज्ञाप-  
यितव्याः [।°]

15 विदितमस्तु वः यथेहास्माभिरात्मनो धर्म्मायुर्वल्लमै<sup>18</sup>श्रूर्यविहृषये इहामुचहि-

16 तार्थं मातु<sup>19</sup>पु<sup>10</sup>ख्योपचयात्थं जमत्वा अपरपार्थं वर्द्धमानकस्य उत्तरपार्थं

17 मृगसिमस्य पूर्वपार्थं मल्लकपेधकस्य दक्षिणपार्थं कोशस्वखण्ड नाम ग्रामः

18 चाह<sup>20</sup>चाट्ट<sup>20</sup>पुरवस्तव्यश्वधेर्वीण<sup>21</sup>हर्करि<sup>22</sup>सगोनवरण्यात्थाय त्रिवेदाय दत्तः<sup>23</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read श्री°

<sup>2</sup> Read सुनो <sup>3</sup> The subscript ज is not complete

<sup>4</sup> Read वकारव्य°

<sup>5</sup> Read धिमत्त्व None of the Vākāṭaka plates discovered so far gives this expression correctly

<sup>6</sup> The engraver first incised गन and then corrected it into गत Read पानगतमकित as in the Siwani and Dudia plates

<sup>7</sup> The engraver seems to have wrongly joined the right hand horizontal stroke of the dagger of क, to the vertical stroke of त्व

<sup>8</sup> Read नैम्य्यादि°

<sup>9</sup> The box head of द is not completely incised

<sup>10</sup> The anusvāra is superfluous

<sup>11</sup> Read पृथिवीयस्य

<sup>12</sup> The anusvāra is superfluous

<sup>13</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous,

<sup>14</sup> Read श्री°

<sup>15</sup> It is difficult to say if this is a sign of Visarga or of double punctuation. It is superfluous in either case

<sup>16</sup> Read भटाच्छानाथ

<sup>17</sup> Read नियुतपूर्वमयाज्ञाय° as in the Siwani and Chammak plates

<sup>18</sup> Read °वल्लम्यै°

<sup>19</sup> The lower horizontal stroke of p is not engraved

<sup>20</sup> For other cases of the wrong omission of an anusvāra see अस्मिन् 1 28 and साव्यत्सरे चादक्ष्या in I 31 below

<sup>21</sup> Read आयव्य Instead of affixing the stroke denoting the length to a, the engraver wrongly prefixed it to the following letter

<sup>22</sup> The gotra is named Hārkari in the गोनवरनिधनकदम्ब (published by the Vēnkats'śvara Press)

<sup>23</sup> This word is superfluous,

# TIRODI PLATES OF PRAVARASENA II

2  
3  
4  
5  
6

22a

20  
22

22a

8  
10  
12

22b

24  
26  
28

22b

14  
16  
18

22b

30  
32

22b

Seal



Actual size

## Third Plate, First Side

- 19 अपूर्वदत्ता<sup>1</sup> उदकपूर्वमत्तिष्ठ<sup>2</sup> [1\*] उचिताश्वास्य पूर्वराजानुमताचा(तांश्चा)तु-  
र्व्वद्यग्रामम-  
20 र्यादापरिहा<sup>3</sup> रान्वितरामः<sup>4</sup> स्तद्यथा अकरदायि<sup>5</sup> अभटच्छत्रपावेश्य<sup>6</sup> अपारपरगो-  
21 बलिवर्द्ध[ः] अधुष्यक्षिर<sup>7</sup>सन्दोह. अचारासनचर्माङ्गारः अलवनक्षिण<sup>8</sup>क्रो-  
22 णिखनकः सर्वविष्टिपरिहारपरिहृतः<sup>9</sup> सनिधिः<sup>9</sup> सोपनिधि[ः] सक्षि(क्लृ)प्तो-  
23 पक्षि(क्लृ)प्तः आचन्द्रादित्यकालीयः पुत्रपौत्रानुगामी भुञ्जती न केनचिद्व्याघात<sup>10</sup>

## Third Plate, Second Side

- 24 कर्तव्यः सर्वक<sup>11</sup>याभिस्तरक्षितव्यपरिवर्द्धयितव्यश्च ॥ य<sup>12</sup>श्चास्मच्छासनमग[ण]य-  
25 मानस्त्वल्पामपि परिवाघा<sup>13</sup>त्कुर्व्यात्कारयित<sup>14</sup> वा तस्य ब्राह्म<sup>15</sup>क्षैर्व्वे<sup>16</sup>दितस्य सदण्ड निश्र-  
26 ह कुर्व्याम ॥ अस्मि<sup>17</sup>श्च धर्माद्वि(धि)<sup>18</sup>करणे अतीतानेकराजदत्ता सचीन्तन<sup>19</sup>परि-  
27 पालन<sup>20</sup>क्ष<sup>21</sup>तमुत्थागुकीर्तनपरिहारालेख क<sup>22</sup>र्त्तयामः सकल्पाभियोग<sup>23</sup>परा-  
28 क्रमोपजिताव(न्व)र्त्तम(मा)नानाज्ञापयामः पथ<sup>24</sup>तत्कालप्रभविश्वगौरवा-

<sup>1</sup> Read अपूर्वदत्ता<sup>2</sup> The box head of छ is not complete<sup>3</sup> The Chammak plates read चातुर्व्वेद्यग्राममर्थादान्(म्) and the Dudia plates चातुर्व्वेद्यग्रामनर्थादान्-  
परिहारार्थान्(म्) The Poona plates have चातुर्व्वेद्यायहारपरिहारान्<sup>4</sup> Read वितरामस्तद्यथा<sup>5</sup> Read अकरदायी<sup>6</sup> Read अभटच्छत्रपावेश्य The reading in the present plates is however found in all the Vākātaka plates discovered so far<sup>7</sup> Read अधुष्यक्षिरसन्दोह<sup>8</sup> Read अलवनक्षिण<sup>8</sup> as in the Chammak and Dudia plates, Only the Poona plates of Prabhāvatiguptā read *līna* in place of *līnna* The Siwani and Riddhapur plates read *līnna* An unpublished copper plate found at Rāmtēk reads अलवनक्षिणी क्षेणिसूतका<sup>9</sup> The *visarga* is not complete<sup>10</sup> Read केनचिद्व्याघात<sup>11</sup> Read सर्वक्रियाभि- The engraver has not completed the subscript *va* Again, he first wrote *ka* and afterwards changed it into *ka*<sup>12</sup> The box head of य is not completely engraved<sup>13</sup> Read परिवाघा कुर्व्यात्<sup>14</sup> Read कारयेद्वा<sup>15</sup> The subscript म is not completely engraved<sup>16</sup> The subscript *va* is not completely engraved<sup>17</sup> Read अस्मिश्च<sup>18</sup> The Chammak, Riddhapur and Dudia plates read धर्माद्विकरणे The Siwani plates read धर्माधिकरणे<sup>19</sup> Read अतीतानेकराजदत्तसचीन्तन<sup>19</sup><sup>20</sup> Read परिपालन<sup>21</sup> The engraver first wrote *ka* and then thought of changing it into *ka*<sup>22</sup> Read कीर्त्तयाम<sup>23</sup> Read सकल्पाभियोगपराक्रमोपजितान् The Riddhapur plates read सकल्पाभियोगपराक्रमोपजितान् and the Dudia plates सकल्पाभिविद्योगपराक्रमोपजितान् Other Vākātaka plates have nothing corresponding to this<sup>24</sup> Read पथत्काल<sup>24</sup> The Siwani plates have पथत्काल<sup>24</sup> The Dudia plates read as in the present text.

## Fourth Plate

29 वम(ङ्ग)विथान्विज्ञापयामः [1<sup>\*</sup>] व्यासगीतञ्चात्र । श्लोकप्रमाणीकर्त्तव्य. [1<sup>\*</sup>]  
स्वदत्ताम्बर-

30 दत्ताव्वा(म्बा) यो हरेत वसुन्वरा<sup>1</sup> [1<sup>\*</sup>] गवान्श<sup>2</sup> तसहस्रस्य<sup>3</sup> हन्तुर्हरति<sup>4</sup> दुष्क्रि<sup>5</sup> त ।

31 सा<sup>6</sup>व्वत्सरे चयोवीशे<sup>6</sup> । माघनेहुलपत्ते द्वादश्या<sup>7</sup> ।<sup>8</sup> आजा

32 स्य<sup>9</sup> राजाधिकृतन<sup>10</sup> चमि<sup>11</sup> (वमि) दासेन लिखित<sup>11</sup> मिति ।

## The Seal

1 वाकाटकललामस्य

2 वृ(क्र)मप्रातत्रिपत्रियस<sup>12</sup> [1<sup>\*</sup>]

3 राज्ञ[<sup>\*</sup>] प्रवरसेनस्य<sup>13</sup>

4 शासन<sup>14</sup> रिपुशासनम्<sup>14</sup> [11<sup>\*</sup>]

## TRANSLATION

## The Plates

(Lines 1-13) Seen From the place Narattanga vāri By the order of the illustrious *Mahārāja Pravarasēna* (II) of the *Vākātakas* who was born of *Prabhāvati guptā*, the daughter of the illustrious *Mahārājādhirāja Dēvagupta* and who is the son of the illustrious *Mahārāja Rudrasēna* (II) of the *Vākātakas*, who<sup>15</sup> acquired an abundance of prosperity by the grace of the Divine (Lord) *Chakrapāni* (Vishnu) (and) who was the son of the illustrious *Mahārāja Prithivishēna* (I) of the *Vākātakas*, who<sup>16</sup> was intensely devoted to (the god) *Mahēśvara*, who<sup>16</sup> was endowed with truthfulness, straightforwardness, compassion, heroism, valour, political wisdom, modesty, high mindedness, intelligence, devotion to (worthy persons), and with the state of being a righteous conqueror,<sup>17</sup> purity of mind and such other good qualities, who<sup>16</sup> had sons and grandsons and a continuous supply of treasure and army which had been accumulating for a hundred years, who<sup>16</sup> conducted himself like *Yudhishtira* and who<sup>16</sup> was the son of the illustrious *Mahārāja*

<sup>1</sup> Read वसुन्वराम्

<sup>2</sup> Read, गवा शत<sup>o</sup>

<sup>3</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous

<sup>4</sup> Read दुष्कृतम्

<sup>5</sup> Read सव्वत्सरे

<sup>6</sup> Read चयोविशे.

<sup>7</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous

<sup>8</sup> Read द्वादश्याम्

<sup>9</sup> Read स्वय

<sup>10</sup> Read राज्याधिकृतेन [The reading may be *Rājyādhiṣṭa Naramidāsēna* This official is, apparently identical with *Sēnāpati Namidāsa* of the *Dudia plates*—Ed.]

<sup>11</sup> Read लिखितेति ।

<sup>12</sup> Read त्रिपत्रिय

<sup>13</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous

<sup>14</sup> Metre—*Anushtubh*

<sup>15</sup> I e, *Rudrasēna* II

<sup>16</sup> I e, *Prithivishēna* I

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *Kautilya Arthaśāstra* (Second ed. by Shreni, Sastriy), p. 382

*rāja Rudrasēna* (I) of the *Vākātakas*, who was the son of *Gautamīputra*,<sup>1</sup> who<sup>2</sup> was intensely devoted to (*the god*) *Svāmī-Mahābhairava*, who was the daughter's son of the illustrious *Mahārāja Bhavanāga* of the *Bhārasīvas* whose royal family was created by *Śiva* who was greatly pleased by (*them*) carrying the *linga* of *Śiva* like a load placed on (*their*) shoulder and who were besprinkled on their head with the pure water of the (*river*) *Bhāgīrathī* (*Ganges*) that had been acquired by their prowess, and who<sup>3</sup> was the son of the son of the illustrious *Mahārāja Pravarasēna* (I) of the *Vākātakas*, the *Samrāt* (Emperor) who performed *Agnishōma*, *Ap'oryāma*, *Ulthya*, *Shōdashin*, *Atirātra*, *Vājapēya*, *Bṛhaspatisava*, *Sādyashra* and four *Āśīamēdhas* and who was of the *Vishnuṛiddha-gōtra*

(Lines 13 14)—Our officials of noble birth, who are employed by the order of the General Superintendent<sup>2</sup> and who exercise their authority by (*our*) command<sup>3</sup>, (*our*) soldiers and umbrella-bearers<sup>4</sup> in the western division (*aparapatta*) of (*the district*) *Bēnnākata* should be directed by the following command which is already well-known to them —

(Lines 15 19)—Be it known to you that in order to increase our religious merit, life, power and prosperity, to secure our well being in this world and the next and also to augment the religious merit of (*our*) mother, the village named *Kōsambakhanda* which lies to the west of *Jamali*, to the north of *Varddhāmānaka*, to the east of *Mrgasima* and to the south of *Mallaka pādhaka* is bestowed here with (*a libation of*) water as a grant not previously made upon *Varunāryya* of the *Atharvavēda* and the *Harkkarī gōtra*, who has (*mastered*) the three *Vēdas* and is a resident of *Chāddha* (<sup>2</sup> *Chāmdra*)pura<sup>5</sup>

(Lines 19-26)—And we grant<sup>6</sup> the following exemptions from restrictions as (*are*) customary and (*are*) incident to a village belonging to Brahmins proficient in the four *Vidyās*, (*as*) approved by former kings, viz (*it is*) not to pay taxes, (*it is*) not to be entered by soldiers and umbrella-bearers, (*it does*) not entitle (*the State*) to the customary cows and bulls,<sup>7</sup> (*it does*) not (*also entitle it*) to (*the royalties on*) flowers and milking, to pasturage, hides and charcoal, to the purchase and digging of salt and fermenting drugs, (*it is*) to be exempt from forced labour, (*it carries*) with it the right to hidden treasures and deposits, to major and minor taxes (*khṛpta* and *upakhṛpta*),<sup>8</sup> (*it*

<sup>1</sup> I.e., *Rudrasēna* I. This is how all previous editors and historians have taken these expressions. The construction in that case seems to be faulty, for *Gautamīputrasya* should have been placed after *Pravarasēnasya sūnoh* and the word *putrasya* following *Gautamīputrasya* should have been dropped. Again the epithet *atyanta svāmī Mahābhairava bhaktasya* should have followed *dauhitrasya*. (See the position of *atyanta mahēsvarasya*, below.) As the expressions stand, they seem to qualify *Gautamīputrasya*. But in that case the successor of *Pravarasēna* I would be his great grandson as *Gautamīputra* did not evidently come to the throne. (Note the absence of the expression *Vālālakānām mahārājasya* in his case.) Besides, there is no reason why the name of *Pravarasēna*'s son should have been omitted.

<sup>2</sup> This *Sarīṇḍhyalsha* seems to be the same as *Rājyādhiṛita* mentioned at the end of this record.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. who move about, etc.

<sup>4</sup> I have followed Fleet in the translation of *chhātras* but they seem to correspond to the *chātras* in later records and may be a class of irregular soldiers.

<sup>5</sup> See above, text, p. 172, note 20.

<sup>6</sup> Lit. confer.

<sup>7</sup> The right to demand the first calf of a cow is perhaps referred to here. The next three expressions exempt the grantee from certain taxes in kind which were paid to the State. Cf. *Manusmṛiti*, *Adhyaya* VII, sl. 130 132. There is no reason why these rights should be reserved for the villagers against the grantee as supposed by Fleet (*C I I*, Vol. III, p. 242, ft. note 1).

<sup>8</sup> *Kautilya Arthasāstra* (second ed. by Shama Sastry, p. 60) gives *khṛpta* in the sense of fixed assessment. The expression *khṛpta* and *upakhṛpta* correspond to the terms *bhūga* and *bhōga* which occur in the almost contemporary records of the kings of *Śarabhapura* and *Udrāṅga* and *uparikara* in those of later kings (cf. Altekar—*The Rāshṭralātas and their Times*, pp. 213 216). *Khṛpta* may therefore be taken to mean land tax and *upakhṛpta* to some petty taxes in kind.



is) to be enjoyed as long as the sun and the moon (*will endure*), (*it is*) to follow the succession of sons and son's sons. None should cause an obstruction while (*the donee or his successor*) is enjoying it. (*This grant*) should be protected and increased by all means. And whosoever, disregarding our command, shall himself cause or make others cause the slightest obstruction, upon him, when complained against by the Brāhmanas, we will inflict punishment and fine.

(Lines 26-29)—In showing thus (*our*) regard for religion we, in order to avoid mention of the meritorious deeds already done, do not refer to our care and protection of the grants of many past kings, (*but*) we issue this order to (*the kings of*) the present who have been vanquished by our resolve, attack, (*or*) valour<sup>1</sup> and make this request to (*the kings of*) the future out of regard for such as will be in power in times to come.

(Lines 29-32)—And the following verse sung by Vyāsa is to be regarded as an authority on this point.—Whosoever shall confiscate land that has been given by himself or another, incurs the sin of the slayer of a hundred thousand cows.

On the twelfth day of the dark fortnight of (the month) Māgha, this order is written by the Chief Minister Chamidāsa<sup>2</sup> himself.

#### *The Seal*

This is the enemy chastizing command of King Pravarasēna, the ornament of the Vākātakas, who has attained royal fortune by inheritance.

### NO. 28—TWO BHOR STATE MUSEUM COPPER PLATES

By PROF. A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., D. Litt., BENARES

The accompanying copper plates, which are being published here for the first time, are two of the exhibits in the State Museum at Bhōr, capital of Bhōr State in Poona district. Nothing definite is known about their find spots. But since the village granted in both the charters can be identified with a village about six miles to the east of Bhōr, it is very likely that they may have been found not far from that town. Mēhērbān Śrīmant Bābāsāheb Pāntasachiv, Rajasāheb of Bhōr, very kindly handed over the plates to me for being published in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

#### A

### BHOR STATE MUSEUM PLATES OF DHARAVARSHA DHRUVARAJA, SAKA 702

The plates are three in number. The size of each plate is 8 7/8" by 4 9/16", thickness being about 12". The edges have been raised into rims in order to protect the characters engraved. At the centre of the left side of each plate, about 3" from the edge, there is a circular ring hole, about 7/8" in diameter, but the ring, which once held these plates together, has been lost along with the seal that had soldered its ends. The weight of the plates is 190 tolas.

The inscription is written on the inner sides of the first and third plates and on both the sides of the second. On the outer side of the first plate there are seven or eight letters scribbled at a

<sup>1</sup> Here three types of feudatories seem to have been referred to, viz., (1) those who submitted to Pravarasēna when they came to know of his resolve to vanquish them, (2) those who submitted on being attacked and finally (3) such as had been conquered by valour.

<sup>2</sup> [See p. 171, n. 10.—Ed.]

much later period, resembling Marāṭhī characters of the 15th century. These are divided into two lines, the first of these seems to contain the word *śāsanapatram* and the second one *dhapunya*. It is clear that a subsequent owner of the plates has engraved these letters to enlighten his successors as to the contents of the document.

The mason has evenly distributed the contents of the record over the four sides at his disposal, each side having about 15 or 16 lines. The average number of letters per line is about 39.

The plates are in a fair state of preservation. The surface of the record is slightly damaged in a few places on the third plate, but the entire record is perfectly legible in the original. The engraving of individual letters is fairly good and rarely slipshod. The charter, however, was not revised and there are numerous examples of inadvertent omissions, cf. *tatā* for *tatāna* (l 19), *samlkhōdaksham* for *-samlshōbha daksham* (l 20), *gmē* for *ṛagmē* and *vinda rāja* for *Gōvinda rāja* (l 24), *Mālasādayah* for *Mālavēsādayah* (l 29), etc. Even wrongly repeated letters or words are not crossed out, cf. *karakata* for *karata* (l 7), *parāchya parāchya* for *parāchya* (l 31), etc.

The characters of the plates are Nāgarī and are similar to those found in the Talegāon plates of the donor's father<sup>1</sup> and the Parthān plates of his son<sup>2</sup>. The record contains no numerical figures, the stop *t* occurs a few times (e.g., in lines 13, 56, 58, etc.), and is indicated by the normal form of the letter *ta* with a short horizontal line under it.

The language of the record is Sanskrit throughout. There are, however, a number of *sandhi* mistakes like *bhūpaśuchi-* for *bhūpaś=śuchi* (l 2), *°t=śī ēyō* for *°ch=chhī ēyō* (l 61). The formal part of the record is in prose, the rest of it is in poetry with the exception of the opening letter *ōm*.

With respect to orthography, the following points may be noted. *V* is written throughout for *b*. In a conjunct of which *r* is the first member the second member is usually, but not invariably, doubled. A nasal is preferably indicated by an *anusvāra* even when followed by a dental, even *m* at the end of the verse or half-verse is usually indicated by an *anusvāra*.

The genealogical verses in this charter are already known to us from other copper plates of the dynasty. The genealogy commences with *Gōvinda I*, his father *Indra Prichchhakarāja* and grandfather *Dantivarman*, who figure in some other records,<sup>3</sup> being passed over. As the charter was issued by *Dhruva*, a cousin of *Dantidurga*, within 25 years of the death of the latter, it naturally does not omit *Dantidurga's* name from the genealogy as is done in some other records<sup>4</sup>. Some of the later records of the dynasty<sup>5</sup> omit the name of *Dantidurga* and ascribe the overthrow of the *Chālukyas* to *Krishna I*. The present charter, which is issued by a son of *Krishna I* himself, gives to *Dantidurga* alone the credit of overthrowing the *Chālukyas*. Probably neither of these statements is entirely correct. It is more probable that *Krishna I* merely completed the work of his brilliant nephew *Dantidurga*. Documents like the *Rādhapur* plates of *Gōvinda III*, which omitted the name of *Dantidurga* probably because he was a collateral, had no option but to ascribe the entire credit of the defeat of the *Chālukyas* to *Krishna I*. The real fact, however, was that the major portion of the work of annihilating the *Chālukya* prestige and power was done by *Dantidurga*, his uncle *Krishna* merely completed what his nephew had left unfinished.

The charter describes the specific exploits of *Dantidurga* in the usual way, but in the case of *Krishna I* the description of his bravery is general, the overthrow of *Rāhappa* being the only

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, Vol XIII, pp 275 ff

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, Vol III, pp 105 ff

<sup>3</sup> E.g. *Daśavātāra* cave inscription, *A S W I*, Vol V, p 87, *Sanjān* plates of *Amoghavarsha I*, *ante*, Vol XVIII, pp 235 ff

<sup>4</sup> E.g. *Kāpadwanj* grant of *Krishna II*, *ante*, Vol I, pp 52 ff, *Bagumrā* plates of *Indra III*, *ante*, Vol IX, pp 24 ff

<sup>5</sup> *Wānī Dīndori* and *Rādhapur* plates of *Gōvinda III*, *Ind Ant*, Vol XI, pp 157 ff, *ante*, Vol VI, pp 242 ff, *Kāpadwanj* plates of *Krishna II*, etc.

specific feat mentioned Rāhappa was apparently a powerful ruler, for we are told that Krishna could assume the imperial title only after defeating him. It is a great pity that we should still be unable to identify this potentate.<sup>1</sup>

Vv 21 and 22 of this charter, describing the war between the grantor and his elder brother Gōvinda II, occur only in one other charter, viz, the Paithān plates of Gōvinda III.<sup>2</sup> Some important defects in the readings of v 22 as given in that charter can be corrected with the help of the present grant. Dr Kielhorn had restored with some hesitation the 2nd and 3rd *pādas* of this verse as follows —

[*bhrā*][*tu*]=*da*[*ttā*]*ra*nē *vin*tya *ta*[*ra*]*sā* *paśchāt*=*ta*tō *bhūya*[*ta*]*h* (*bhūyasah*?)

*prāchy* *ōdichya* [*p*]*arāchya* *pāsyā*<sup>3</sup> (*parān*=*vyapāsyā*?) *cha* *lasa*-*Pāl*i *dhrva*jan=[*bhū*]*śhutam*

The last word in the second *pāda* of this verse in our charter is *bhūpatē*, which has to be corrected into *bhūpatīn*.<sup>4</sup> Obviously *bhūpatīn* and neither *bhūyatah* nor *bhūyasah* is the word intended by the poet. The line so read now shows that Dhruva first defeated his brother and then attacked his allies afterwards. Our charter further shows that the real reading of the third line is intended to be *prāchy* *ōdichya*-*parāchya*-*yāmya* *vilasat* *Pāldhva*jan=*bhūśhutam*. To judge from his emendation and translation, Kielhorn seems to have been inclined to construe the opening words of this line with the kings defeated by Dhruva. It is however clear from the above reading that the compound describes the *Pāldhva*ja. Dr Pathak has pointed out on the authority of the *Ādi Purāna* of Jinasena<sup>5</sup> that the *Pāldhva*ja consisted of four groups of 1,080 flags with particular signs arranged in the four quarters of the army. It can therefore be very fittingly described as glittering in the north and south and east and west, as 1-3 of the present verse does in our charter.

When did the revolution take place which put Dhruva on the throne? This question cannot be answered very confidently as yet. So long the earliest reference to the war between the two brothers was found in the Dūlatābād plates of Śankaragana, issued in 793 A.D.<sup>6</sup> So we could only say that the war took place sometime before 793 A.D. and after 772 A.D., the latest known date for Krishna I.<sup>7</sup> The present charter, issued early in January 781 A.D., now contains the earliest reference to this war. So we can conclude that the war was over by the end of 780 A.D. when Dhruva had succeeded in establishing himself firmly on the throne.

<sup>1</sup> For possible conjectures on this point see Altekar, *The Rashtrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> *Ante*, Vol. III, pp. 105 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Kielhorn's reading *pāsyā* is not justified by his own facsimile, which shows clearly that the correct reading in that plate also is *yāmya*. The way in which the letters *mya* in *nāmya* and *syā* in *lasya*=*ātma*ja are written in 1-6 of the Paithān plates will make it clear that we have to read *yāmya* and not *pāsyā* there also.

<sup>4</sup> [This correction is not necessary. The correct reading of this *pāda* in the Paithān Plates is *chaturddanta* *rañc* *bhūpatīh* and the same reading is intended in the present grant also. The context shows that the term *chaturddanta* which occurs also in the inscriptions of Vishnukundin rulers and in the Khamkhed Plates of Pratāpasīla (above, p. 95) has been used in the sense of *chaturanga* *sēna*. I cannot trace the word in this sense in Sanskrit lexicons but Mr. N. L. Rao draws my attention to its use in this sense in the Kanarese *Pampa Bharata*, a work of A.D. 941 by Pampa (Ch. XI, prose following verses 56 and 57), and *Pampa Rāmāyana*, a Jaina work of about 1100 A.D. by Nāgachandra alias Abhinava Pampa (see Chs. IX, verse 12 and XIII, v. 96) and also in the following verse from an unpublished Kanarese inscription in the Bijapur Museum — *Ātana* *raja* *śrīge* *nīl* *tanam* *ene* *tann* *blu* *ya* *balam* *mān* *tra* *bal* *am* *ch* *tur* *d* *lam* *ta* *ba* *lam* *rik* *hyā* *ti* *ge* *Bhāy* *ila* *cham* *ū* *pān* *=* *ā* *ś* *ra* *ya* *n* *=* *ā* *d* *a* *m* || This verse may then be translated as follows: 'When the Vallabha (i.e., Gōvinda II) did not make peace through conciliatory measures then, the great and mighty lord (*ma* *l* *ē* *n* *ō* *v* *i* *b* *h* *u* *h*, i.e., Dhruva) forthwith defeated him in a battle in which the army consisted of the four divisions and thereafter, obtained the entire sovereignty of the King, decorated with the emblems of *Pāldhva*jas glittering in the east, north, west and the south.' This interpretation would show that there is no reference to the defeat of the allies of Gōvinda II in this verse as Prof. Altekar thinks — Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 104.

<sup>6</sup> *Ante*, Vol. IX, pp. 195 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Supplied by the Bhāndak plates, *ibid.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 121 ff.

How much earlier he had ascended the throne is a question, the answer of which is beset with difficulties. The Pimpri plates of Dhruva,<sup>1</sup> issued in 775 A D, mention Dhruva as the reigning emperor, but in the Dhulia plates, issued in December 779 A D,<sup>2</sup> we find Gōvinda II described as the reigning emperor, and a son of Dhruva making a land grant apparently with the authority of Gōvinda II. Can we get over the resulting chronological discrepancy by holding that the Dhulia plates are spurious? Dr D R Bhandarkar has recently drawn attention to one very important circumstance tending to show almost conclusively that the Dhulia plates are spurious.<sup>3</sup> He points out that the composer of the Dhulia plates of Gōvinda II was well acquainted with the two verses beginning with *Tasy ānūjah śī Dhruvarājanāmā* and *Jātē yatra cha Rāshtrakūta tilakē*, which describe Dhruva as the imperial ruler. He further points out that these verses could have been composed by the court panegyrist only when Dhruvarāja had become king. 'How could these verses', says he, 'which must have been composed during the reign of Dhruvarāja alone, find a place in the Dhulia grant which refers itself to the reign of his predecessor?'<sup>4</sup>

Under normal circumstances, this argument would have been quite decisive to prove that the Dhulia plates are spurious. But there are certain special circumstances which materially affect its cogency. From the Dēoli and Karhād plates of Krishna III we know that sensual pleasures made Gōvindarāja careless of the kingdom and that entrusting fully the universal sovereignty to his younger brother Nirupama, he allowed his position as sovereign to become loose.<sup>4</sup> It is clear from this that while Dhruva was ostensibly governing the kingdom as regent for his elder brother, he was secretly trying to strengthen his position as the *de facto* sovereign. One of the steps to be taken for this purpose would be to issue land grants in his own name as the reigning emperor, ignoring his elder brother altogether. The issue of the Pimpri plates was a result of this policy of gradual and surreptitious usurpation. Since Dhruva was the *de facto* sovereign administering the kingdom for his brother, it is quite possible that not only the two verses beginning with *Tasy ānūjah* and *Jātē yatra*, but all the verses in the Pimpri plates describing the greatness of Dhruva as the emperor, could well have been composed by the court panegyrists of his faction as early as 775 A D, when Gōvinda was only a sleeping emperor, facilitating the kingdom to slip into the hands of his brother, whom he had appointed regent.

Verse 11 of the Daulatābād plates states that Dhruva took over the administration entrusted to a stranger by his brother and assumed the royal authority in order that sovereignty may not deviate from the family. It would appear that Gōvinda soon saw through the game of Dhruva when *inter alia* he began to issue charters like the Pimpri plates in his own name. He removed him from the headship of the administration and entrusted it to some one else, who did not belong to the Imperial family. For a time Gōvinda seems to have asserted himself, and v 21 of our charter shows that Dhruva thought it prudent to follow a policy of conciliation for some time. Apparently he offered outward submission and he and his son were confirmed as local governors. The Dhulia plates were issued by a son of Dhruva in 779 A D at a time when he thought it prudent not to openly flout the authority of his brother. Hence they mention Gōvinda as the reigning emperor, but at the same time contain a verse in eulogy of Dhruva.

Though outwardly at peace, the brothers were heading to an inevitable war. From the Daulatābād plates (v 11) we find that owing to his licentious habits Gōvinda's administration deteriorated and his feudatories rebelled against him. This offered a golden opportunity to Dhruva to rebel openly against his brother, ostensibly for the purpose, not of getting the throne for himself,

<sup>1</sup> Ante, Vol X, pp 81 ff

<sup>2</sup> Ante, Vol VIII, pp 182 ff

<sup>3</sup> Above, pp 102 f. I am indebted to Prof Bhandarkar for kindly placing at my disposal a copy of the first proof of his paper.

<sup>4</sup> Ante, Vol V, p 193, v 10, Vol IV, p 282, v 11

but of retaining the empire for the family. Gōvinda made an alliance with the Kings of Mālava, Kāñchī, Vengi and Gangavādī. Dhruva was however a skilful general, 12 of v. 22 of our charter shows that he first defeated Gōvinda before the latter could get help from his allies and then attacked and drove them out. The decisive battles of this war were very probably fought in the year 760 A.D. In 779 A.D. Dhruva was still recognising the sovereignty of Gōvinda as the Dhulia plates show. Before the beginning of January 781 A.D. he had defeated both his brother and the latter's allies as the present charter shows.<sup>1</sup>

We have seen already how the occurrence of the verse *Ta y ānuṣaḥ* in the Dhulia charter is not sufficient to pronounce it as spurious. It is no doubt carefully written, but that circumstance alone is not sufficient to call it spurious, as pointed out by the late R. B. Venkayya, the then editor of the *Epigraphia Indica*. It is further to be noted that *Malabarāmāntā* did take place on the 10th of the bright half of Pūṣya of Śaka Samvat 701 as proved, as the Dhulia charter asserts.<sup>2</sup> Forged grant are not very correct in the astronomical details of their dates. Further, if the donor of the Dhulia plates had set out to get a forged charter, investing him with the ownership of the village Rikkhula, he would naturally have seen to it that the donor mentioned was a well known king like Dhruva or Gōvinda III rather than an obscure prince like Karṇa Pratāpīśī, who never ascended the throne. At last, we do not know the name of this son of Dhruva from any other source.

If we assume that the Dhulia plates are spurious and that Dhruva had ousted his brother as early as 775 A.D. (when the Pimpri plates were issued), the reign of Gōvinda will be of not more than three years. Now, it may be even shorter, for his father Kṛṣṇa I may well have ruled for some months after June 772 A.D., when the Bhūndik plates were issued. Now during this short period of three years we shall have to assume that —

1. Kṛṣṇa I ruled for some weeks or months, and then died.
2. Gōvinda II ascended the throne peacefully and himself governed for some time, during which period he defeated a King named Pāṇḍita and relieved (or perhaps devasted) the city or province of Gōvardhanav (Daulatābād plates, v. 10).
3. He then appointed Dhruva as his regent who soon began to intrigue secretly against his brother (Karṇa plates, v. 10).
4. Gōvinda then detected his brother's ambition and removed him from the headship of the administration entrusting it to a stranger (Daulatābād plates, v. 11).
5. Dhruva then submitted for some time to his brother, seeking to win him over by peaceful means (vv. 21-2 of this charter).
6. Gōvinda spurned aside these overtures and formed a confederacy with the Kings of Vengi, Kāñchī, Mālava, and Gangavādī.

<sup>1</sup> [But see p. 178, n. 4 —Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 82, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. VIII, p. 183, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> [The dates given in spurious records need not always be incorrect. But there are other considerations for declaring a record spurious (see *Ind. Hist.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 202 f). In the case of the Dhulia plates, there is, first of all the chronological difficulty, secondly, the name of the donor, viz., Karṇa Pratāpīśī referred to as the son of Dhruva has not yet been verified from any other source, thirdly, the characters of the plates are indifferently formed and at least a few of them have forms which we find in the records of a later period. For example, the letters *ga*, *tha*, *ṣa*, etc., do not resemble those found in the grants of Dhruva or even Gōvinda III while they are similar to those occurring in the records of Amoghavarsha (Sanjān plates above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 213 ff) or Kṛṣṇa III (Doli plates, above, Vol. V, pp. 192 ff). All these points taken together with those already mentioned by Pathak and Bhandarkar, give rise to a suspicion about the genuineness of the Dhulia plates in spite of the arguments adduced by Prof. Altelaar in favour of their genuineness —Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. IX, p. 194 and note 1.

- 7 The two brothers then openly fought with each other, and Dhruva got the throne after defeating his brother (vv 21-2 of the present charter)

I think that three years is too short a period for these events to take place<sup>1</sup> And yet we shall have to suppose that they did take place during that short period if we are to assume that the Dhulia plates are spurious, and that Dhruva was already a full fledged king, when the Pimpri plates were issued in 775 A D I have already shown how there is yet no satisfactory evidence to show that the Dhulia plates are spurious We shall have therefore to conclude that (1) the Pimpri plates were issued by Dhruva when he was only a *de facto* and not a *de jure* emperor, (2) that he was later removed from the headship of administration when Gōvinda detected his treachery, (3) that he then tried to win over his brother by conciliation, Dhulia plates being issued at a time when he thought it impolitic to openly flout the authority of his brother, (4) that no amicable settlement could be arrived at between the two brothers, and Gōvinda formed a confederacy against his brother which the latter defeated completely during the year 780 A D, (5) that Dhruva became a *de jure* emperor only towards the close of 780 A D, our present charter being the first one known so far, to be issued by him as a *de jure* emperor

The donee of this charter is Vāsudēvabhata who was the son of Durgabhata, and was famous for his proficiency in the interpretation of the Vēdas and Vēdāṅgas (*sāṅg-ōpāṅga vēd-āṅtha-tatva vidushi*) The present charter would show that Karhāda, which is the same as Karād in Satārā district, was a centre of scholarship where Vedic exegesis was also given attention to Karād was undoubtedly a famous centre of education in the Rāshtrakūta period, for we find many of the donees of Rāshtrakūta grants hailing from that town This, for instance, is the case with the donees of the Sāmangad plates of Dantidurga,<sup>2</sup> the present grant of Dhruva and the Sanjān charter of Amōghavarsha I<sup>3</sup>

The village granted to Vāsudēvabhata by this charter was **Laghuvinga**, bounded on the north, east, south and west by the **Nirā river**, **Śrīmāla town**, **Layana-giri** and **Brihad-Vinga** respectively **Laghu-Vinga** is further stated to be situated in **Śrīmāla-vishaya** **Śrīmāla** is obviously the same as **Shirval**, a large village in Bhore state, about 32 miles from Poona on the Poona Satara road **Laghu-Vinga** village seems to be either the same or a portion of the village **Vinga**, about 3 miles to the west of **Shirval** From the information kindly supplied to me by the Bhore government, and by Mr R S Phadnis of Bhore, I find that **Vinga** is bounded on the north, east, south and west by the **Nirā river**, **Shirval village**, **Nēnādi hill** and **Vadagaon** respectively The northern and eastern boundaries of **Vinga** are identical with those of **Laghu-Vinga**, **Nēnādi hill** also is clearly the same as **Layana-giri**, the present name being the vernacular form of **Layanādi** The eastern slope of **Nēnādi hill** has several caves of the Buddhist type, majority, however, being now in a dilapidated condition One of them still possesses a *stūpa*, about 12 feet in height The caves are obviously earlier than our charter and were clearly the cause of the name which the hill bore in the 8th century To the west of modern **Vinga** is the village **Vadagaon** It is quite possible that this **Vadagaon** is **Brihad-Vinga** of our charter The derivation of the name **Vadagaon**, a popular village name in Mahārāshtra, from the presence of a *Vata* tree in the village, is due to popular etymology It would appear that **Brihad-Vinga** in course of time came to be known simply as **Brihad grāma** in contradistinction to **Laghu-Vinga** and was later changed into **Vadagaon**

<sup>1</sup> [The events occurring during this period have also been discussed by Prof Bhandarkar where he has given a different explanation (see above, pp 103 f) —Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> *Ind Ant*, Vol XI, pp 111 ff

<sup>3</sup> *Ante*, Vol XVIII, pp 235 ff

## TEXT

[Metres *Anushtubh*, vv 1, 26 7, 29, 31, *Vasantatilālā*, vv 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 15, *Upajāti*, vv 1, 19; *Gīti*, v 7, *Sāndulavṛdita*, vv 10, 17, 20, 21, 22, *Īryā*, vv 11 11, 23, 25, *Sragdharā*, vv 16, 18, *Indravajrā*, 24, 28, 30, *Pushpitāgā*, v 32]

## First Plate

- 1 श्री [1<sup>\*</sup>] स वीव्याहधसा धाम यं(यन्)नाभिकमलं क्षतं<sup>1</sup>(तम्) [1<sup>\*</sup>] हरय  
यस्य का(का)तेंदुकलया कमलंक्षतं(तम्) ।[1 १॥<sup>\*</sup>] आसौद्वि(द्वि)प-
- 2 ति(त्ति)मिरसुधतमण्डलाग्रो पु(ध्व)स्ति नयन(यन्)भिमुखो रणशर्वरीषु [1<sup>\*</sup>] भूप-  
श(पशु)चिर्विधुरिवास्त(स)दिगतकीर्त्ति-
- 3 गीर्विंदराज इति राजसु राजसिध(हः) [॥ २॥<sup>\*</sup>] दृष्टा चमून(स)भिमुखी  
सुमहाट(टाट)हासामुना(ना)मित सपदि येन रणे-
- 4 पु निल [1<sup>\*</sup>] दृष्टाधरेण दधता म्रुकुटि ललाटे खलं कुण्ड दृढयत्र  
मिजल श(स)त्व(त्वम्) ।[1 ३॥<sup>\*</sup>] खलं कराग्रा(ग्रा)न्मुखत-
- 5 च श्रीमा मानो मनस्तस(स)समेय यन् [1<sup>\*</sup>] सदाहवे नाम निगम्य  
सद्यस्तवं रिपूणा विगल<sup>2</sup>त्यकाण्डे ।[1 ४॥<sup>\*</sup>] त-
- 6 त्यात्मजो जगति विद्युतदीपेकीर्त्तिरातीर्त्तिहारि<sup>3</sup>रिविक्रम[धाम<sup>4</sup>]धारी [1<sup>\*</sup>] भूपन्ति-  
विष्टपक्षता(नृपा)नुलति(ति) क्षत-
- 7 ज्ञः श्रीवार्धराज इति गोत्रमग्निर्व(र्व)भूव ।[1 ५॥<sup>\*</sup>] तस्यो(स्य) प्राभिन(प्रभिन्न)-  
क<sup>4</sup>कट(वरट)च(च्यु)तटानि(न)दतिद<sup>4</sup>तप्रहारक्षि-
- 8 रेलि(लि)खितश(ताम)पोठः[1<sup>\*</sup>] ज्माप[<sup>\*</sup>] चितो जपितश्रुत्सूत(त्ति)नृज. सदा<sup>4</sup>कृ-  
कनकाट(ट्टि)रिवेदराज[॥ ६॥<sup>\*</sup>]
- 9 तस्योपार्जितमहसस्तनयचतुर्दधिवलयमालिन्या[<sup>\*</sup> 1<sup>\*</sup>] भोक्ता भुवः शतक्रतुसदृगः  
श्रीद(ट)-
- 10 तिदुर्गराजोभूत् [॥ ७॥<sup>\*</sup>] काश्चीशकेरलनराधिपचोर(ल)पाण्ड्यश्रीर्धवचटविभेद-  
विधानदत्त(जम्) [1<sup>\*</sup>] कर्णोत्क प(वृ)लमचित्यस-
- 11 जेयमन्ये(मन्ये)भृ(भृ)त्यै(त्यैः) कियन्निरपि यः सहसा जिगाय(य) [॥ ८॥<sup>\*</sup>]  
आ(अ)म्बिमगमष्टहीतनिशातश्च<sup>4</sup>(स्त्र)मश्रातमप्रतिह-
- 12 तात्रसपेतयल(जम्) [1<sup>\*</sup>] यो वल(ल)भ श(स)पदि दृष्ट[व<sup>4</sup>]लेन जित्वा राज्ञा-  
धिराजप[र<sup>4</sup>]मेश्वरतामराप ॥[८ ॥<sup>\*</sup>] आ सेतोर्विपुनी-

<sup>1</sup> The *anusūra* mark being shallow has not come out in the ml impression

<sup>2</sup> There is a natural depression here on the plate surface which looks like an *anusūra* mark.

<sup>3</sup> There is a natural depression after *ka* which looks like a *ra*

<sup>4</sup> The *anusūra* over *द* is shifted to the right of the letter owing to its proper space being taken by the letter *स्त्र* above it

2 2  
4 4  
6 6  
8 8  
10 10  
12 12  
14 14

2 2  
4 4  
6 6  
8 8  
10 10  
12 12  
14 14

ua

16 16  
18 18  
20 20  
22 22  
24 24  
26 26  
28 28  
30 30  
32 32

16 16  
18 18  
20 20  
22 22  
24 24  
26 26  
28 28  
30 30  
32 32



34	...	34
36	...	36
38	...	38
40	...	40
42	...	42
44	...	44
46	...	46
48	...	48

50	...	50
52	...	52
54	...	54
56	...	56
58	...	58
60	...	60
62	...	62

- 13 पलावलिलस[क्षी\*]लोर्मिमालाजलादाप्रातीयकलंकितामलशिलाजालासुधाराचलात् [1\*]  
आ पूर्वाप-  
14 रवारिराशिपुलिना(न)मांतप्रसिधा(द्वा)वधेयेनेयं जगति(ती) श्व(स्व)विक्रमव(व)लेनैकाता-  
पनीकत(ता) [॥ १०॥\*] तस्मिंदि(स्मिन्दि)-  
15 व प्रयाते वल्लभराजे चतप्रजावा(बा)धः -[1\*] श्रीकर्कराजसूनुर्महीपतिः कृष्णरा-  
जोभूत्, [॥ ११॥\*] यस्य

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 16 स्वभुजपराक्रमनिशे(शे)षोच्छा(त्ता)दितादिदिक्क<sup>1</sup> [1\*] कृष्णस्येशकृष्णं चरितं  
श्रु(श्री)कृष्णराजस्य [॥ १२॥\*] शुभतुंगतुंगतुरगप्र-  
17 वदरेणु(णू)र्द्ध(र्ध्व)रुध्ध(द्वा)रविकिरधा(णम्) [1\*] ग्रीष्मेपि नभो निखिलं प्रावृद्धा-  
लायते सष्ट(ष्टम्) [॥ १३॥\*] दीनानाथप्रणयिषु ययेष्टचेष्टं स-  
18 मोहितमजश्र(सम्) [1\*] तत्क्षणमकालवर्ध(र्ध्व)वर्धति सर्व्वार्तिनिर्व्वपणं(णम्) [॥ १४॥\*]  
राहृषसात्मभुजजातव(व)लावलेपसाजौ विजि-  
19 त्व निशितान्नि(सि)लताप्रवर्णा(द्वा)रैः [1\*] पालिद्व(ध्व)जावलिशुभामचिरेण यो हि  
राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरता-तता[न ॥ १५॥\*] क्रोधादुत्खातव-  
20 द्वाप्रभृ(स्र)तश्चिचयैः(यै)र्भासमानं सभंतादाजादु(वु)दृत(त्त)वैरिप्रकटगजघटाटोपसंक्षो-  
[भ\*]दक्षं(क्षम्) [1\*] शौर्यं त्वक्ता(चा)रिव-  
21 र्गी भयचकित[व\*]पुः[1\*] कापि दृष्ट्वैव सद्य(द्यो) दर्पाध्मातारिचक्रचयकरमगमद्यस्य  
दोर्द्ध(र्ध्व)रु(रु)प(पम्) [॥ १६॥\*] पाता यच्चतु-  
22 र[वु\*]राश्विभनालंकारभाजो भुवःस्त्रैय(वस्त्रय्या)द्यापि कृता(त)द्विजामरगुरुः(रु)प्रा-  
ज्याप्यपूजादरो(रः) [1\*] दाता मानभृदश्रणीर्गुणव-  
23 ता योसौ श्रु(श्रि)यो वल्लभो भोक्तुं स्वर्गफलानि भूरितपसा स्थानं जगामाभरं-  
(रम्) [॥ १७॥\*] येन श्वेतातपत्रहतरवि-  
24 कारप्राततापात्सलोण [ज\*]स्से नाशी(सो)रधूलीधवलितशिरसा वल्लभाख्यः सदाजा [॥ १८॥\*]  
स श्रो[गो\*]विंदराजो जितजग-  
25 दहितस्त्रैयवैधव्यहेतु (तु)स्तस्यासी[त\*] सूनुरेकः चण्णरुदलितारातिमा(म)त्तेमकुभः  
[॥ १९॥\*] तस्यानुज[ः\*] श्रीध्रुव-  
26 राजनामा सद्धानुभावोप्रहृत्प्रतापः [1\*] प्रसाधिताशेषनरेद्रचक्र(क्रः) क्रमेण वा(वा)-  
लार्कवपू(पु)र्व्व(र्व)भूव [॥ २०॥\*] जा(जा)ते यत्र च राद्रक्षुटति-  
27 लके सद्गुपचूडामणी गुर्वी तुष्टिरयाखिलस्य जगतः सुखामिनि प्रत्यहं(हम्) [1\*]  
त्व(स)त्य श(म)त्यसिति प्रसा(शा)मति स-

<sup>1</sup> The anusvara mark, being shallow has not come out in the ink impression,

- 28 ति क्षमासाक्ष(स)मुद्रातिकासासीध(इ)र्नपरे गुणानृतनिधौ सत्यव्रताधिष्टि(ष्ठि)ते  
[॥ २०॥<sup>1</sup>] श्रीकाञ्चीपतिगागवे(वे)गिकयुता
- 29 वे मान[वे<sup>1</sup>]शादयः प्राच्यानानयति अ ता(तान्) चित्तिभृतो यः प्रातिराज्यान-  
ति(पि)<sup>1</sup> [1<sup>2</sup>] माणिक्याभरणानि हंसनिचयं
- 30 यस्य प्रपद्योपरि श्व(स्व) येन प्रति त तथापि न हत चेतोन्यथा भ्रात-  
र(रम्) [॥ २१॥<sup>1</sup>] सासाक्षैरपि वणाक्षौ न हि यदा स[धि<sup>1</sup>] व-
- 31 धातं तदा(त्त तदा) चा(श्चा)तुर्दत्त(त्त)रणे धिजित्य तरसा पद्यात(त्त)तो भूप-  
ते<sup>2</sup>(तीन्) [1<sup>3</sup>] प्राच्योदीचपराचपराच्य'वास्यविन्न(न)सत्पालिध्वजै-
- 32 भूषितं चिह्नैः परमेस्वरत्वसखिलं लेखे सहेतो<sup>3</sup>(न्द्रो) विभु [॥ २२॥<sup>4</sup>] शशधर-  
कारनिकारनिभ यस्य यश सुरन-

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 33 गागसानुखे[ 1<sup>1</sup>] परिगीयतेनुरक्तेर्विद्याधरमु दरो[नि<sup>1</sup>]पक्षे[ ॥ २३॥<sup>1</sup>] हृष्टोच्चं  
योर्धिजनाय सर्व्य सर्वस्वमानंदितव(व)-
- 34 धुवर्ग[ 1<sup>2</sup>] प्रादात्तुष्टो हरति अ वेग(गात्) प्राणा[न्<sup>1</sup>] यमव्यावि(पि) नितातविद्य-  
(वीर्य) [॥ २४॥<sup>2</sup>] तेनेदमनिलविद्युच(च्च)चलमव-
- 35 लोक्य जीवितससार(रम्) [1<sup>3</sup>] चित्तिदानपरमपुण्य प्रवर्त्तिती व(व)ज्ञदायीधं(यम्)  
[॥ २५॥<sup>1</sup>] स च परमभट्टारकमहा-
- 36 राजाधिराजपरमेस्वरपरमसत्कारकथीसद(द)गजालवर्षदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारका-
- 37 सहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्वरश्रीधारावर्षश्रीध्वराजनाम[1<sup>4</sup>] श्रीनिरुपमदेव[ 1<sup>5</sup>] शुशली सर्व्वी-  
नेव य-
- 38 धा[स<sup>1</sup>]व(व)ध्यमानकं(कान्) राष्ट्रपतिविषयपतिग्रासकृटायुताका(क)नियुक्ताकाधिकारिक-  
महत्तरादौ[न्<sup>1</sup>] समा-
- 39 दिशत्यस्तु व' सविदितां यथा श्रीनीरानदीसंगमसमावासितन भया मातापितो-  
रात्मन<sup>6</sup>चैहिवा-
- 40 सुस्मि(भि)कपुण्ययशोभिध्व(इ)ये कारहाडवास्तव्यतञ्जातुर्विद्यसामान्यगार्गसगोत्रव(व)-

<sup>1</sup> The reading in the Panthān plates of Gōvinda III is अपि

<sup>2</sup> The reading in the Panthān plates of Gōvinda III is भूयत । The present reading is the better one [But see above, p 178, n 4—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> पराच्य is wrongly repeated

<sup>4</sup> The reading of this letter is doubtful The conjunct letter looks like स्त्री in the original The Panthān plates reading is महानी [The correct reading in both the grants seems to be mahinō—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> Anusāra mark has not come out here in the int impression

<sup>6</sup> Subscript च is only partly visible The hole of the ring has cut its lower portion

- 41 ऋषच(हृच)स्र(त्र)ल्लचारिणे दुग्ग(र्ग)भट्टपुत्राय सांगोपांगवेदार्यतत्वविदुषे वासुदेवभट्टः<sup>1</sup>  
 42 य श्रीमालविषयातर्गतलघुवि(वि)गन्नामा ग्रामः तस्य चाघाट्ट(ट)नानि [1\*] पूर्वतः  
 श्रीमालपतन(त्तन) द-  
 43 क्षिप्त(तो) लयणगिरि[:\*] पश्चिमतः वृ(वृ)हद्विगकाग्रामः उत्तरतः नीरा ग्राम  
 नदी [1\*] एवमथ चतुराधा-  
 44 टनोपलक्षितो ग्राम[:\*] सोद्ग[:\*] स(सो)परी(रि)करस(स्स)दण्डद्वयापराधस(स्स)भू-  
 तोपा(तवा)तप्रत्यायसो(स्सो)त्पद्यमा-  
 45 नविष्टिक[:\*] सधान्यहिरं<sup>2</sup>(र)न्या(ण्या)देपो अ(योऽ)चाटभट्टप्रवेश्यः सर्व्वराजकीयानामह-  
 स्तप्रचेपणी-  
 46 य आचंद्रार्कावक्षितिसरित्पर्व्वतसमकालीन[:\*] पू(पु)त्रपौत्रान्वयक्राभोपमो<sup>3</sup>य(यः)  
 पूर्व्वप्रत्तदे-  
 47 वना(त्र)ल्लदायरहितोभ्यंतरसिध्दा(द्धा) भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरस(श)-  
 48 तेषु सप्तसु वर्षद्वयाधिकेषु सिद्धाय(र्थ)नान्नि सवत्सरे माघसितरथसप्तम्या म-

## Third Plate

- 49 हार्पर्व्वणि व(व)लिचरवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रातिथिपञ्चमहायज्ञस्यो<sup>4</sup>त्सर्पणार्थ(र्थ) स्नात्वाद्यो-  
 दकातिसर्गेण  
 50 प्रतिपादितो(तः) [1\*] यतोस्थो<sup>5</sup> उचितया व्र(त्र)ल्लदायस्थित्या भुंजतो भोजयत[1\*]  
 कृषतः कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वा न कै-  
 51 श्विदत्वापि परिपंथना कार्या [1\*] तथागाभिभट्टनृपतिभिरस्सद्वंश्यैरं(र)न्यैर्वा स्वा(सा)-  
 मान्यं भूमिदानफल-  
 52 मवेत्य विद्युलो(लो)लान्यनित्यैश्चर्याणि<sup>6</sup> दृष्ट्याग्रलग्नजलविं(वि)दुषच्चलञ्च जीवितमाकाल-  
 य(य्य) स्वदायनि-  
 53 र्विशेषोयमस्मदा(द्दा)योनुभंतव्यः प्रतिपालै(लयि)तव्यश्च [1\*] यथाज्ञानतिमिरपटला-  
 वृ<sup>7</sup>तमतिरायि(च्छि)द्या-  
 54 दाच्छिद्यमानकं<sup>8</sup> वागुभोदेत स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैशो(शो)पपातकैश्च संयुक्त[:\*] स्या[त्\*]  
 इत्युक्तञ्च<sup>8</sup> भगव-

<sup>1</sup> A natural depression on the plate surface here looks like an *anusvāra*

<sup>2</sup> *Anusvāra*, though clear on the plate has not come out in the impression.

<sup>3</sup> Read क्रियो °

<sup>4</sup> This उ is superfluous after the preceding *sandhi*

<sup>5</sup> This letter looks like कृ, but it is due to the slipping of the instrument to the right of कृ

<sup>6</sup> The letter वृ is damaged.

<sup>7</sup> क is damaged

<sup>8</sup> Read स्यादिति । उक्त च

- 55 ता वेदव्यासेन [१\*] धष्टिं वर्षसहस्रा(त्ता)णि खर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः [१\*]  
 आच्छेता(त्ता) धानुभंता च तान्धे(न्धे)व नरः
- 56 श्रुक् वसेत् [॥२६॥\*] विंध्याटवीश्व(व)तोयासु गुप्ताकोटवासिनः [१\*] कथ्याभ्यो  
 हि जायते भूमिदानं ह
- 57 रंति वे [॥२७॥\*] अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्व्येष्वी सूर्यसुताय गावः [१\*]  
 लोकनयं तेन शवे-
- 58 धि(द्धि) दत्तं यः काचनं गाक्ष सहि(ही)च दद्यात् [॥२८॥\*] व(स)इभिर्वसुधा  
 शुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [१\*] यस्य य-
- 59 स्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) [॥२९॥\*] यानीह दत्ता(त्ता)नि  
 पुरा भवे(र)द्रेष्टानानि धर्मार्थयज्ञस्वाराणि [१\*] निर्मा-
- 60 त्ववातप्रति[सानि\*] तानि को नाम साधु[१\*] पुनराददीत [॥३०॥\*] स्वदत्ता(त्ता)  
 परदत्ता वा यत्नाद्रक्ष नराधिप [१\*] [मही\*] भक्षी-
- 61 सता(तां) श्रेष्ठ दानात्से(च्छे)द्योशुपा(पा)शनं(भम्) [॥३१॥\*] इति कमलदलांशु(स्तु)-  
 विं(वि)दुलोला गृ(त्रि)यमनुचि(चिं)त्त मनुष्यजीवि-
- 62 तश्च [१\*] अतिविमल[स\*]नीमिरात्मनीनेर्ण(र्न) हि पुरुषेपरकीर्तयो विलीय्याः  
 [॥३२॥\*] श्रीनाग-
- 63 [प]राणकदूतकं लिखितं श्रीगोवसुतेन श्रीसावं(स)तेन ॥

## B

## THE BHOR STATE MUSEUM PLATES OF KHAMBEHA II; SAKA 1001

The plates are three in number. The serial number of each plate in the set is engraved near the ring hole, a little away from the lines of the main record. The size of the plates, which is fairly uniform, is 7'8" x 1'2" and the thickness about  $\frac{1}{4}$ " The edges have not been raised into rims. The plates were originally strung together by means of a ring passing through holes, about 5" in diameter, perforated at the centre of the left side, about 5" from the edge. The ends of the ring are soldered together by means of a seal which is bell-shaped, being 1" in height and 1'2" in diameter. On the seal is superimposed the figure of a lion in the round crudely executed. The seal bears no inscription. At a subsequent unknown date the ring had been cut, but the seal and soldering are still intact. The weight of the plates along with the seal and the ring is 122 *tolas*; the weight of the plates alone is 100 *tolas*.

The inscription is engraved on the inner side of the first and the last plates and on both the sides of the second. The engraving is throughout by the same hand. Each side has 11 lines of writing with the exception of the first side of the second plate, which has only 10. The last lines of the second side of the second plate and of the third plate are only about half of the normal length. The first line of the record has 33 letters including the four numerals; probably, discovering by computation that the space at his disposal permitted a greater spacing of letters, the mason went on gradually reducing the number of letters per line, from 19 onwards we have on an average

<sup>1</sup> This is superfluous

only 22 letters per line. The last full line has however 31 letters, this was obviously done with a view to avoid the use of the outer side of the third plate.

The plates are in a fair state of preservation and the engraving of individual letters is fairly good. Only in a few cases can we detect carelessness, as for instance, in the case of *dhā* in *puncha-pradhānāḥ*, l 15, *i* in *kl=āsīt*, l 17 and the omission of two letters in v. 4.

The characters are Dēvanāgarī. Only a few letters like *i*, *ē*, *na*, *ḍa*, *dha*, and *śrī*, differ from modern characters. The following palæographical points deserve notice (1) *Prishthamātrās* occur in the case of medial *ai* and *au*, cf *paurṇamāsyām* l 2, *vairi* l 4, *Tarīlappa* ll 19, 20, etc. In the case of medial *ē*, the *prishthamātrā* occurs only in a few cases, cf *tēla* l 9, *yēna* l 21, *Kham-bhēna* l 27, in the majority of cases a slanting line to the left going upwards is used to denote it. (2) The form of *n* in *ētasmin* l 11 is obviously due to the slipping of the instrument. (3) The medial *ū* is denoted by a loop open to the right, which is very much similar to the loop used to denote the medial *ṛ*, cf *sūnuh* l 20, *pūrvam* l 26, with *nīpa* l 1 and *vriddhi* l 6. (4) The plates show two forms of *ha*, the unusual cursive one is to be seen certainly in *simha* l 15, and possibly in *vāha* (?) l 8. The numerical figures for 1 and 0 occur in the record itself and those of 1, 2, and 3 on its margin.

The following points deserve mention in connection with the orthography. (1) *ṽ* is written throughout for *b*. (2) *Sa* is written throughout for *ś*. This is the case even in conjunct letters like *śta* (ll 3, 5, etc.), the only exceptions among the conjuncts being the letters *śrī* (ll 14, 16) and *śchā* (l 4). (3) In a conjunct of which *r* is the first member the second letter is doubled only in a few cases, cf *paurṇa*° l 2, *-varggaḥ* l 21, *sarvān* l 41. A nasal is preferably denoted by an *anusvāra* including even *m* at the end of a verse or half-verse, the cases where it is denoted by the nasal of the class of the following letter, as in *mārtanḍam* and *gandam* l 4, *Vinga* ll 6 and 7, are few. (5) There are no punctuation marks at the end of prose sentences except in one case where we have two vertical strokes (l 15). (6) Verses are not numbered and their punctuation is very irregular. All such irregularities have been noticed in footnotes, added to the text.

The language of the record is Sanskrit. Prākṛit terms are however used in ll 8 and 9 where taxes are enumerated. Case endings of the names of ministers and their epithets are also in Prākṛit, cf *māmalu*, *parabalu*, *pradhānu*, l 13 and *amātyu*, l 14. The rules of *sandhi* have often been ignored especially in the portion having Prākṛit endings. In the metrical portion the language is fairly correct, but not a single line of the prose portion is without syntactical anomalies. It is clear that the draftsman did not at all know how to write correct Sanskrit. The opening clause giving the date is awkward in construction and ungrammatical. In the sentence following, the writer intended apparently to have at the beginning a clause in the locative absolute like *Khambha dēva-rāḡyē abhivardhamānē*, but he wrongly put all the adjectives of *Khambha dēva* in the accusative case, perhaps under the wrong notion that these were meant to qualify *rāḡyam* in l. 6. The next sentence (ll. 7-10) is indeed unique in having neither the subject nor the predicate. Then follows a long sentence (ll. 11-15) giving the names of the five ministers of the donor. Here we have such a plethora of epithets used in connection with these dignitaries that it becomes very difficult to discover the real names of the five ministers. In the concluding portion of the charter the word governed by *dattam* has no case ending at all. Most of these mistakes are apparently the mistakes of the draftsman and not of the engraver.

The form of this charter is rather unique and calls for notice. Usually the copper-plates first give the genealogy of the donor, then mention his name along with the names of his officers, then describe the donee and the object granted, and end by quoting the imprecatory verses. In this charter after the mention of the date, we have the description of the donor followed by the

description of the grant. Then come the names of the five ministers of the donor followed by his own genealogy. Then come imprecatory verses, and at the fag-end of the charter we have the donees' names added like an after thought.

The date of the charter is given at the beginning both in words and numerals. It was issued in the Śaka year 1001 (elapsed), named Siddhārtha, on the full-moon day of the month of Jyēṣṭha which fell on a Saturday. The corresponding date according to the Christian era is Saturday the 18th of May 1079.

The donor of the present charter is so far unknown to us from any other record or reference. He belonged to a feudatory Chālukya family, ruling at Śivalaya or modern Shirval, a large village in Bhōr state, about 32 miles from Poona on the Poona Satara road. The name of this ruler was Khambha, that of his father Tailappa, and of his grandfather Khambha again. It is clear that the family was ruling at Shirval for three generations only. No specific exploit is attributed to any of the members of this family in the genealogical description, which, as usual, speaks of their defeating the enemies, breaking the temples of elephants in the enemy phalanx, and winning fame pervading the three worlds. These rulers do not seem to have been of any consequence in the politics of the age. They were probably relatives of the Imperial Chālukya family ruling at Kalyāṇi and were allowed to hold the territory round Shirval in the feudatory capacity. The name of the donor's father Tailappa and his surname Chālukya would support this conjecture.

Li 11 15 give the names of the five ministers who were holding office when the grant was given in 1079 A.D. The plethora of epithets here renders the task of giving their personal names rather difficult, but probably they were *Humāra* Jēsingha, the prime minister, *Chāchu* the *Sāmanta* or the revenue minister, *Kōntali* *Thākura* the *Amātya* or the counsellor, *Sōmanāthayā*, the minister to the Queen *Siryādēvī* (i.e., *Srīdēvī*), daughter of King *Muñja*, and *Laiādara* *nāyaka*, the minister to Queen *Mahalādēvī*.<sup>1</sup> It would appear that the Queens *Srīdēvī* and *Mahalādēvī* were taking active part in the administration of the little kingdom of Shirval. It may be pointed out that this was quite in consonance with the tradition of the Chālukya family to which the donor belonged. We have several other instances of Chālukya kings entrusting important administrative offices to their queens. Thus *Akhādēvī*, the elder sister of *Jayasimha* III was the governor of *Kinsukād* seventy at least from 1022 to 1053 A.D.<sup>2</sup> *Manjalādēvī*, one of the queens of *Sōmāśvara* I was holding the important post of the governor of *Banavāsī* twelve-thousand in 1051 A.D. *Lakshmādēvī*,<sup>3</sup> the favourite queen of *Vikramāditya* VI, held several important posts in the administration including the governorship of the capital.<sup>4</sup>

Queen *Siryādēvī* is described as *Muñjya mahārāṇī*. The expression *Muñjya* would suggest that she belonged to *Muñja* town or country, or was the daughter of king *Muñja*. The latter seems to have been the case. The *Tidgundi* inscription of *Vikramāditya* VI,<sup>5</sup> dated 1082 A.D., refers to a *Sinda* feudatory of his, named *Muñja*, ruling in the vicinity of *Bijapur*. He was thus a

<sup>1</sup> [*Pañcha pradhana* here, I think, should not be taken in the literal sense of the term. Probably it has been used in the context in the general sense of a 'royal council'. In this case the names and offices of the members constituting the council may have been as follows: (1) *Jēsingha* or *Jayasimha*, the chief minister, (2) *Jēkhambha* or *Jayastambha*, a *suhānī*, (3) *Chāchu*, also a *suhānī*, (4) *Kōntali* or *Kōntali*, the *sāmanta*, (5) *Māmala*, a *thākura*, (6) *Amāya*, the *parabala* (commander of the army), (7) *Siddhamu*, the minister, (8) *Muñjya*, the *pradhana*, (9) *Sōmanāthayā*, the minister of the chief queen *Siryādēvī* or *Srīdēvī* and (10) *Nāyaka* (?), the chief *daṇḍanayaka* and attached to the queen *Mahalādēvī*—Ed.]

*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part II, p. 435.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 440.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 448.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 306 ff.

contemporary of Khambha II, the grantor of this charter. The latter could therefore well have married a daughter of the former <sup>1</sup>

The village granted in this charter is **Vinga** which is described as a *mahā-sthāna* or holy place. This is clearly the same village which was given 300 years before by Dhruva Dhārāvarsha to Vāsudēvabhata, a learned Brāhmana of Karād, as we know from the charter A above. Line 27 shows that king Khambha only renewed the grant. Verse 5 naively observes that the village Vinga had been given to Brāhmanas as early as the time of Rāma. We may presume from this that since the time of Dhruva the village was not resumed by any of the succeeding rulers and figured as a *brahmadēya* village on the revenue records of successive governments.

Though the village continued to be a *brahmadēya* village, its ownership did not remain in the family of Vāsudēvabhata, the original donee. Curiously enough the names of the donees do not occur at all in that portion of the grant which describes the donation. The mistake is rectified by adding a postscript to the inscription which comes at the end of the imprecatory verses. The syntax of this important sentence is not free from doubt. It reads as follows: *Śrī Kumbhadēvabhata Gangala duvēra(dēva) pramukha Vinga mahāsthāna sarvanamasya sāsamam Khambha rājēna dattam*. It is clear that we have to emend *pramukha* into *pramukhēbhyaḥ* and that Kumbhadēva and Gangaladēva received the charter as the leading personages among the donees. In other words, they did not receive the grant for themselves, but as representatives obviously of the Brāhmana community of Vinga. Vinga is described in the record as a *mahā sthāna* or holy place and seems to have been the seat of a learned Brāhmana settlement. King Khambha therefore might have granted the charter to the whole Brāhmana settlement of the place. What then about the rights of the descendants of Vāsudēvabhata? The village Vinga is situated about 70 miles from Karād and one has to pass through the difficult Khandālā pass before one can reach it from the Karād side. In the old days when communications were rather difficult, Vāsudēvabhata and his descendants must have found it difficult to manage their Vinga property from Karād. They may have, therefore, sold it to the Brāhmana community of Vinga, who in turn may have induced the government of the day to make it tax-free <sup>2</sup>

The present charter transfers to the donees the village revenues along with the right to receive some customary perquisites probably from the village artisans. The precise nature of the latter cannot be made out owing to the difficulty of interpreting the terms used for the purpose in ll 8 and 9.

### TEXT<sup>3</sup>

[Metres — *Indravajrā*, vv 5, 6, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, v 4, *Anushtubh*, vv 9, 10, *Sālinī*, v 12, *Upajātī*, vv 1, 2, 3, 11, *Rathōddhatā*, vv 7, 8]

#### First Plate

1 श्री<sup>4</sup> खलि [1\*] श्रीस(श)<sup>5</sup>क एकोत्तरसहस्र अंकतोपि १००१ नृपकालातीतसि-  
द्धार्थसवत्स-

<sup>1</sup> [If my interpretation (see p 188 n 1) is correct, Muñjēya would only be the name of the *pradhāna* and would have no connection with the queen Sūryādēvi and consequently with the Sindi chief Muñja of Bijapur —Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> [As the inscription does not give any particulars of the donees it is difficult to come to any such conclusion definitely. It may not be impossible that they belonged to the family of Vāsudēvabhata, the original donee, and there being a change in the ruling dynasty Khambha renewed the charter to them. Or this may be a fresh charter issued by the king to people not connected with the family of Vāsudēvabhata for reasons not known —Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> From the original plates

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by a symbol

<sup>5</sup> The construction of the sentence should have been श्रीशकनृपकालातीत एकोत्तरसहस्र



- 2 रांतर्गतज्येष्ठपौष्णमास्यां स(श)निदिने अदो(द्यौ)तस्मिन्काले 'समविगतप(पं)-
- 3 चमहास(श)ब्द(ब्द)महामण्डलेस्व(स्व)रं<sup>1</sup> शिरिषलयपुरवराधीस्व(स्व)रं चाल-
- 4 क्यकुलकमलमार्त्तण्डं वैरिदक्षगण्डं धर्मावतारं पु(ह)रिचंद्रग-
- 5 णावतारं समस्तराजाधलीविराजमानमहामण्डलेस्व(स्व)रं श्रीखं-
- 6 भदेवराजविजयराज्यमुत्तरोत्तरामिहृदिप्रवर्धमाने वि-
- 7 ह्ममहास्थानं हस्तोदकपु(पू)र्वकं समस्तदण्डदोष-
- 8 सहितं अर्थार्थसंव(व)हे(हं) सर्ववाहधासुर्युतये-
- 9 वरिलपुद्गलतेल(ला)<sup>2</sup>दिमाङ्गली(लि)ककारकदेणे एव-
- 10 मादिसमस्त<sup>3</sup> आचंद्रार्कप्रतिपालनीयं<sup>4</sup> [1\*] अगुंधितपुर्वि
- 11 जदर्स(श)नं [1\*] पतस्मिन् काले कुमाजेसिंघ<sup>5</sup> अमात्यकेसरि-

*Second Plate; First Side.*

- 12 साहणीजेखंभसाहणीचासुसामंत(त)कोत<sup>6</sup>लिठाकुस्मा-
- 13 मणुपरव(व)लुसामैयअमात्यसिधसुप्रधोगुमुजेयमहारा-
- 14 जी(जी)त्रीसिरियादेव्य(व्या) अमात्य सोमनाथीया राणीमहलादेव्य(देव्या),
- 15 लैयादरनायकसिंह<sup>7</sup> एते पंचप्रधा<sup>8</sup>नाः ॥ चालुक्यवंशि(शि) वि-
- 16 तते पृथिव्यां स्वव्या(वा)कुषीर्यार्जितराजस(श)ब्दः(ब्दः) ॥(1). देसे(शे) पुरा श्री-
- 17 बलयाभिधाने खंभाभिधानो नृपतिः किलासीत(त्) [॥ १॥\*].
- 18 अरिंदसः पालयिता प्रजाना धर्मेण साचादिव ध-
- 19 मंराज. । गुणैः प्रजारंजनतत्परोभूतेलम्प-
- 20 राजः किल तस्य पुत्रः [1 २॥\*] तैलप्यस्युः पुनरेव खंभः
- 21 प्रतापसंतापितस(श)नुवर्गः [1\*] अनेकसी(शे) येन रणे रिपु(पू)-

*Second Plate, Second Side.*

- 22 णामानर्तितानीह काव(व)न्धकानि [1 ३॥\*]. सु(सू)त्यापास्तमनस्विनीजनम-

<sup>1</sup> For the syntax of this sentence see the introduction.

<sup>2</sup> There is a depression on the plate surface here which looks like an anusvara.

<sup>3</sup> The constituent words in this big compound are difficult to separate or interpret.

<sup>4</sup> There is a sudden break here. The expression should have been, समस्तपरिकारीयेत.

<sup>5</sup> Here should have come a verb like ददाति.

<sup>6</sup> Read अकठितपथ.

<sup>7</sup> In this sentence, sandhi rules have been disregarded.

<sup>8</sup> What looks here like an anusvara over त is really a natural depression on the surface of the plate.

<sup>9</sup> [The reading is *damḍanāyaka-sinhā*. The preceding portion should probably be corrected as *deṣyā Vālatya* see p. 188 n. 1—Ed.]

<sup>10</sup> There is a superfluous vertical line after the letter *dha*.

- 23 नः कंदर्पदर्पस्फुरतेजःपुंजमियोजित<sup>1</sup>जगद्दीपप्रभामण्ड-  
 24 लः । खड्गाखं(ख)खिडतवैरिषा(रेणघटाकुभस्थसुताफलः की-  
 25 त्योक्तांतजगत्तयो विजयते खंभः त्रितौकत्रियः<sup>2</sup> । [ 18॥\* ] रामादि-  
 26 दत्तं किंल पूर्वभासीविं(वि)ङ्गं भृहास्यानमिदं द्विजानां(नाम्) ॥(1)  
 27 खंभेन राज्ञा तु पुनर्नमस्य दत्तं कृतं सा(शा)सनमेव-  
 28 सुद्धा । [ 19॥\* ] अस्मत्कुले यो भविता नरेन्द्रः पुष्पैरस्त्वय-  
 29 धितेः स दृष्टः । मत्ता(स्था)सनादित्यमिदं भवद्भिर्वाच्य(चं) स्वध-  
 30 मै प्रतिपालयेति । [ 20॥\* ] अन्यदत्तमथवा स्वय कृतं ब्र(ब्र)ह्मदा<sup>3</sup>-  
 31 धमिहं यस्तु पालयेत् । आत्मवस(श)मखिलं समुद्धरेत्कि(त्की)र्त्तिमानि-  
 32 ह परत्र पार्थिवः । [ 21॥\* ]

Thrd Plate

- 33 धर्म एष नृपतेः सनातनो यत्रसाध्यः खलु वैरिमण्डलं(लम्) [1\*] पा-  
 34 लयत्यखिलमात्ममण्डलं ब्र(ब्र)ह्मदायसहितं नरेख(ख)रः । [ 22॥\* ] स्वद-  
 35 तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वभुङ्क्ष(ध)रां(राम्) [1\*] धष्टिं(ष्टिं) वर्षसहस्राणि  
 36 विष्टायां जायते कृमिः [ 23॥\* ] व(व)हुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजन्यैः सगरा-  
 37 दिभिः [1\*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः<sup>4</sup> तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) । [ 24॥\* ]  
 निस-  
 38 मा<sup>5</sup> दोषं हरणे महातं<sup>6</sup> गुणं च भूमेरनुपालने<sup>7</sup> तु ।  
 39 दत्तं नरेन्द्रेः प्रतिपालनीयं से(श्वे)यो हि दानादनुपालनं तु [ 25॥\* ] सा-  
 40 मान्योय धर्मसेतुनृ(र्त्त)पाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः [1\*]  
 41 सर्वानितान्मागि(वि)नो भूमिपालान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभ-  
 42 द्रः । [ 26॥\* ] श्रीकुं<sup>8</sup> [भ\*] देवभट्टगणलदुवैरप्रमुख<sup>9</sup> विद्म महांस्यानसर्वनमस्यसा(शा)स-  
 43 न खंभराजेन दत्तं(तम्) [ 27॥\* ] भङ्गलं महाश्रीः [ 28॥\* ]

<sup>1</sup> Read ०जिताखिल-

<sup>2</sup> Read खंभ स्त्रिलोकीप्रिय [Reading is correctly Khambhaḥ kṣhītau kṣhatriyaḥ —Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> There is a superfluous vertical line after dā

<sup>4</sup> Read भूमिः<sup>0</sup>-

<sup>5</sup> Read निशम्य

<sup>6</sup> Read महात्त

<sup>7</sup> The medial & stroke is engraved in the wrong direction

<sup>8</sup> Read देव(?)प्रमुखः.

## No 29 —MALA PLATES OF VIRASIMHADĒVA, V. S.

By R. R. HALDER, RAJPUTANA MUSEUM, AJMER.

These two copper-plates, briefly noticed in the *Annual Report of the Rajputana Ajmer*, for the year 1914-15 (p. 3, item 11), and now preserved in the Rajputana Museum, were found at a place called Māla about three miles from the village Barōdā in the Dungarpur State in Rājputāna.

Each plate is engraved on one side only and has two ring holes. The first plate measuring  $10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 10\frac{1}{4}''$  contains twenty one lines of writing, while the second measuring  $10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 9\frac{1}{8}''$  has eighteen.

The characters are Nāgarī of the fourteenth century A.D. The peculiar form of *ita* in *svadattām*, l. 20, and *-pradatta*, l. 24, may be noticed. The letters *sa* in *samsārē* (l. 18) and *sia* in *svargga* (l. 20) are not fully engraved.

The language is Sanskrit, and excepting the benedictory and imprecatory verses in ll. 13-28, the whole composition is in prose. The names of the witnesses are in vernacular (ll. 28-36). Some *dr̥* words are to be found in the record, for instance, *pachhē vādaka* (l. 11) meaning the back-portion of a house, *arahamta*, l. 27 (Skt. *araghatā*), *nāḍu*, l. 27 (a small pond), *bhāṭhi*, l. 28 (a kiln), *phaliḥala*, l. 37, also called *phalā*, *phalsā*, *phaliā* meaning an entrance or gate and *guyāḍa*, l. 38, (a compound or courtyard).

As regards orthography, consonants following a superscript *r* are sometimes doubled as in *-harttā* (l. 17), *sarvadā* (l. 25), etc., *v* and *b* are not distinguished except perhaps in *chibā* (l. 34), *ś* is used for *s* in *sahasrēṇa* (l. 16) and *-sahasrāni* (l. 21) and vice versa in *sudhyati* (l. 17), *nischalah* (l. 18), *sh* occurs in place of *lh* in *Vaiśāḥa* (l. 1), *Mūshala* (l. 28), *lahitam* (l. 39), etc., apparently due to the influence of the vernacular; *anusāra* is used for nasals in *Gangā*- (l. 6), *chānumantā* (l. 15), etc., and also at the end of *pādas*, *visarga* is omitted in lines 11, 17, 21, 26, 37, etc., while *sandhi* is not observed in lines 6, 12, 14, etc. Other mistakes are pointed out in the transcript and the footnotes.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of *Mahārājakula* (Mahārāval) *Sri-Virasimhadēva* of *Vatapadraka* in *Vāgaḍa*. The charter is dated Sunday, the 15th day of the dark half of *Vaiśākha* of the *Samvat*<sup>1</sup> year 1343 corresponding to the 13th April, 1287 A.D. It records (ll. 2-12) that *Mahārājakula Virasimhadēva* granted one and a half *halas*<sup>2</sup> of land and a house with enclosures of land in its front and back at the village *Māla* in the district *Katija* (mod. *Katiyor*) to a *Brāhmana* named *Tāṭhā* son of *Vayajā* of the *Bhāradvāja gōtra* for the spiritual welfare of *Mahārājakula Dēvapālādēva*. The description of the gift is given in lines 26-28, after which the names of the witnesses are recorded (ll. 28-36). The name of the *Sūtradhāra* is given as *Bhāsana* in l. 35. Lines 36-38 mention the boundaries of the house. The last two lines record the name of the *Dūtaka* as *Sūnaladēvi* and that of the writer as *Vikrama* (*Vikrama*) who is said to have acted under the verbal orders of the *Pañchatrī Vāvāna*. *Viśala* is spoken of as one, on whose authority the names of the witnesses were recorded.

As regards the persons mentioned in the inscription, *Virasimhadēva* evidently belonged to the *Guhila* family of *Dungarpur*. He was fifth in succession from *Sāmantasimha*, the founder

<sup>1</sup> The *Samvat* is 'समवत्'.

<sup>2</sup> In some parts of *Mewar*, one *hala* of land was reckoned to be equivalent to several *bighās* of land. The practice of granting lands to *Brāhmanas* on the occasion of *Śrāddha* (death anniversary) ceremony of forefathers was not uncommon among the rulers in old days. See the *Paramūra Yaśovrman's* grant dated *Samvat* 1102 in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 348.

of the State and his earliest and latest known dates are Samvat 1343<sup>1</sup> and Samvat 1359<sup>2</sup> (A D 1286 and 1302) He was thus a contemporary of Rāval Samarasimha of Mewār, whose known dates range between Samvat 1330 and 1358 (A D 1273 1301)<sup>3</sup> *Mahārāval Dēvapāladēva* (also known as Dēdā or Dēdu) was the immediate predecessor<sup>4</sup> of Virasimhadēva

As to the places mentioned, Vāgada was the old name of the modern Dungarpur State *Vatapadraka* (now called Barōdā) remained the capital of Vāgada up to the period of Dungara simha (the grandson of Virasimhadēva) in whose time the capital was transferred to Dungarpur so called after his name

The date of the inscription weakens the contention of Colonel Tod<sup>5</sup>, Major Erskine<sup>6</sup> and other writers holding that the foundation of the Dungarpur State was laid by Māhapa or Rāhapa of Sisōdā

According to the Kumbhalgarh inscription<sup>7</sup>, dated Samvat 1517, Lakshmanasimha, a ruler of Sisōdā, fought in the battle of Chitor in 1303 A D, and was thus the contemporary of Rāval Ratnasimha of Mewār and probably of his father Samarasimha also as Ratnasimha ruled only for a year Virasimhadēva of this record, we know, was a contemporary of Samarasimha He must, therefore, have been a contemporary of Lakshmanasimha also Now, Virasimhadēva was fifth in succession from Sāmantasimha (the real founder of the State), while Lakshmanasimha was eleventh<sup>8</sup> from Māhapa or Rāhapa It is, therefore, highly improbable that Māhapa, who goes as far back as eleven generations from Lakshmanasimha, should have founded the State That it was Sāmantasimha of Mewār who laid the foundation of the present Dungarpur State is supported not only by the Mount Ābū<sup>9</sup> and the Kumbhalgarh inscriptions but also by the account of Muhnōt Nainsī<sup>10</sup>, the well known historian of Mārwār

#### TEXT <sup>11</sup>

##### *First Plate*

1 ॥ श्री<sup>12</sup> संवत् १३४३ वर्षे <sup>13</sup> वैशाख(ख) अ<sup>14</sup> १५ रवावद्येह वागडवटपट्टके  
महा[रा]-

2 जकुलश्रीवि(वी)रसिंहदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये तन्नियुक्तपञ्चश्रीवा-

<sup>1</sup> His earliest inscription is the present record, dated V S 1343

<sup>2</sup> This date is found in an unpublished inscription from Barodā, of

संवत् १३५८ वर्षे आपादशुद्धि १५ वागडवटपट्टके महाराजकुलश्रीवीरसिंहदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये . . .  
माहवसुतज्योतिषादिष्व(त्या)स्त्र(य) मगहडग्राम उदकेन प्रदत्त ।

<sup>3</sup> His first and last inscriptions are dated V S 1330 and V S 1358 respectively *Vide, Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol XXI, p 143 and *Ind Ant*, Vol LIII, p 11, note 1

<sup>4</sup> *Gazetteer of the Dungarpur State* by Major K D Erskine, Statistical table No XXI

<sup>5</sup> Tod's *Rājasthān* (ed W Crooke), Vol I, p 304

<sup>6</sup> *Gazetteer of the Dungarpur State*, pp 131 32

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol XXI, p 279

<sup>8</sup> Tod's *Rājasthān* (ed W Crooke), Vol I, p 304, note 3

<sup>9</sup> *Ind Ant*, Vol XVI, p 349

<sup>10</sup> *Ind Ant*, Vol LIII, p 102 Cf also Muhnōt Nainsī's *Khyāta*, p 19

<sup>11</sup> From impressions

<sup>12</sup> Expressed by a symbol

<sup>13</sup> The stroke is redundant

<sup>14</sup> अ stands for असित 'the dark fortnight of a lunar month' so that अ १५ is the 15th day of the dark half of the month, i e, *amāvasyā* On Sunday the *tithi* was fourteenth, but it lasted only for fifteen *ghaṭis* after which the *tithi* fifteenth, i e, *amāvasyā* fell, during which period the grant was made and the ceremony performed by Mahārāval Virasimhadēva Among the Hindus it is generally the practice to perform *Śrāddha* ceremony after 12 noon

- 3 वत्सरा<sup>1</sup>खितलप्रभृतिपंचकुलप्रतिपत्तौ ।<sup>1</sup> 'शासनपत्रमभिलिख्य'  
 4 ते यथा ॥ इहैव पुण्याभिसि [जा]त्वा नलिनीदलगतजललघतरल-  
 5 तर जीवितमाकलय्य महाराजकुल[ञ्जी]वि(वी)रसिंहदेवेन धीतश्चेत-  
 6 वाससी(सी) परिधाय भगवंत भवानीपति ई[श्व]रं परमया भक्त्या गंगादिती-  
 7 र्थोदकेन संस्नाप्य श्रीखंडागुरुकार्पूरकास्तूरिकादिभिवि(वि)लेप्य जातोव-  
 8 कुलराजचंपकप्रतपत्रिकाहि(दि)भिर्विलेप्य यथाकृतपूजया परमधार्मि-  
 9 केण भूत्वा महारा[ज\*]कुलश्रीदेवपालदेवश्रेयसे भारद्वाजगोत्राय  
 10 [दोडी<sup>2</sup>]त्रा(त्रा)ह्मवयजापुत्राय त्रा<sup>3</sup>(त्रा<sup>4</sup>)तोष्ठाशर्मणे कतीजपथके माल-  
 11 ग्रामे भूमिहस्त १॥ सार्ध<sup>5</sup>हस्तैकस्थ भूमि(मिः 1) गृह(ह) १ अयेवाटक पक्षे  
 वाडक-  
 12 खलसहितं एतत्<sup>6</sup> शासनोदकपूर्वं धर्म<sup>7</sup>संप्रदत्त ॥ अतो दानापा-<sup>4</sup>  
 13 हारसवं[धि] महर्षिप्रणीतानि स्मृतिवाक्यानि संति ॥ व(व)हुमिर्वधुधा भु-  
 14 क्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमी<sup>5</sup> तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥१  
 15 षष्टि(ष्टि) र्व(व)र्ष(र्ष)सहस्रा(स्रा)णि स्वर्भे(र्भे) तिष्ट(ष्ट)ति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चोनुमंता  
 च तान्ये-  
 16 व नरकं प्रजेत् ॥२ तडागानां सहस्रे(स्रे)ण अश्वमेधशतेन च । गवां को-  
 17 टिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्ता न सु(श)श्रूयति ॥३ चला लक्ष्मी<sup>6</sup> चला प्राणा<sup>7</sup> चल जी-  
 18 वितयौवन । चलाचले हि संसारे धर्म एको हि निस्व(स्व)ल ॥४ भूमि यः  
 19 प्रतिगृह्णाति यस्तु भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणी हा ।<sup>1</sup> वेतौ  
 20 स्व[र्ग]गामिनौ ॥५ स्वदत्तां परदत्ता वा यो हरेत्(हृ) वसु-  
 21 [ध]रां । षष्टि(ष्टि) र्व(व)र्षसहस्रा(स्रा)णि विष्टा(ष्टा)यां जायते क्षमि(मि)॥[६]

Second Plate

- 22 मम वंशक्षये क्षीणे<sup>8</sup> योन्यो राजा भविष्य(ष्य)ति [1]  
 23 तस्याहं करलग्नोस्मि न लोभ्यं मम शासन(नम्) ॥७ इमानि महर्षि-  
 24 प्रणीतानि स्मृतिवाक्यानि श्रुत्वा अस्मद[त्त]शासनमिद्वान्यैरपि

<sup>1</sup> The stroke is redundant.

<sup>2</sup> Read सार्धैकहस्त

<sup>3</sup> Read एतच्छासनो<sup>9</sup> or °सनेनो<sup>9</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Read 'पहार सन्धे'

<sup>5</sup> Read भूमिस्थ

<sup>6</sup> Read लक्ष्मीशला

<sup>7</sup> Read प्राणायुल

<sup>8</sup> Better read वशी परिचीणे,

25. भाविभोक्ति(क्त)भिर्भूपालैः सर्वदा पालनीय किंतु केनापि कदाचि-  
 26 त् न लोपनीय ॥ भूमेर्व्यक्तिः । कज्जामाग्रे(र्गे) वाटिकाया[\*] पानीयसहि-  
 27 त(त) चतुःसीमापर्यंत<sup>1</sup> अरहं<sup>2</sup> । तथा वीरूलचेन<sup>3</sup> । ता वटीयासत्कनाडु  
 28 भाटिसहितु(त) चतुःसीमापर्यंत<sup>1</sup> । <sup>4</sup>अत्र साक्षिः । पुरो<sup>5</sup> मोषल ॥ जा<sup>6</sup>  
 29 केशवादित्य । ब्रा°(ब्रा°) सोमादीत । राजगु<sup>7</sup> सूदा । वड<sup>8</sup> लष(ख)मादीत ।  
 वड<sup>9</sup>  
 30 तीकमा । [ना]गपुरो<sup>10</sup> ब्रा°मधू<sup>9</sup> । महं<sup>10</sup> सूभण । महं वीनडा । महं चवण ।  
 राउल<sup>11</sup>  
 31 धारड । राउ° धर्मदेव । राउ° रमण । राउ° लाष(ख)ण । <sup>12</sup>अष्टि°पारस । अ°मह-  
 32 ण । अष्टि° भीमा । <sup>13</sup>सा° हरसाण ॥ मालगा<sup>14</sup> दोडी° महं वेदा ।  
 महं ताण्डा [\*]  
 33 महं जोला । महं राहण । महं भो[वल] । महं भीमा । महं सादा । महं<sup>15</sup>  
 34 [चोवा] । महं ल[हु]अड । डोहली<sup>16</sup> बीजा [।] ओचि<sup>17</sup> वावण । <sup>18</sup>पंडि°  
 वाह्वा । राउ°  
 35 बीहण । राउ° रतन । <sup>19</sup>सूत्र° भोसण । <sup>20</sup>मिल° [ना]ढल । भि° राहडुया ।  
 मेह<sup>21</sup> भी-  
 36 मडा । मेह° वेल्हा ॥ गृह आवाट । गृहस्य दक्षिणस्या दिशि ब्रा°(ब्रा°) आमाग-

<sup>1</sup> Read चतुःसीमापर्यंत<sup>2</sup> Read अरहं<sup>3</sup> Read चेन.<sup>4</sup> From here up to the middle of the line 36 the inscription is in vernacular<sup>5</sup> Stands for पुरोहित, a priest<sup>6</sup> Stands for जानी, a performer of यज्ञ, from Skt याजिक.<sup>7</sup> Stands for राजगुरु<sup>8</sup> Stands for वडवा, a record keeper<sup>9</sup> Read ब्रा which stands for ब्राह्मण.<sup>10</sup> Stands for महामन<sup>11</sup> An epithet generally applied to persons of royal family or Brāhmanas of high class<sup>12</sup> A term applied to merchants<sup>13</sup> Stands for साधु<sup>14</sup> This term is not clear to me<sup>15</sup> The stroke is redundant<sup>16</sup> Stands for डोहलीया, a person who receives a land from a king for his maintenance.<sup>17</sup> Stands for ओचिय.<sup>18</sup> Stands for पण्डित<sup>19</sup> Stands for सूत्रधार.<sup>20</sup> Stands for भील, a tribe<sup>21</sup> Stands for मेहवा

37 ह । उत्तरस्या दिशि ग्रामसत्त्वफलिक । पूर्वस्यां दिशि राजमार्ग[\*] ।  
पश्चिमा-

38 या दिशि गुयाड ॥ दू<sup>०</sup> देव्या<sup>१</sup> श्रीसूनवदेवि(वी) [I\*] पचत्रो<sup>३</sup> वावणश्वदेन ।<sup>४</sup>

39 शासनमिद पच<sup>०</sup> वीरमेन लिपि(लिखित) ॥ कडू<sup>०</sup> वीसलश्वदेन साक्षिण [II\*]

No 30—ROPI PLATES OF PARAMARA DEVARAJA, VIKRAMA SAMVAT 1059

By SAHITYACHARYA PANDIT BISHESHWAR NATH RUP

This grant of *Dēvarāja* is in the possession of Audichya Brāhmanas of *Ropsi* or *Ropi*, a village 6 miles south west of Bhīmāl in the Jaswantpura District of Mārwar. While touring in that District in 1920, I came across the grant and got it photographed for the Sardar Museum, Jodhpur. It has already been noticed by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar.<sup>6</sup>

The grant contains two copper-plates inscribed on one side only. The plates, as far as I remember, measure about 9"×8" and have two holes through which are passed two plain rings. The first plate contains 11 and the second 12 lines of writing.

The characters of the grant are Nāgarī similar to those used in northern India in the tenth or eleventh century A.D. The language is Sanskrit and the clerical errors are remarkably few. The text is in prose throughout with the exception of one verse in ll. 21-23. At the end is found the signature of the donor. The orthography presents no special features.

The object of the plates is to record the grant of a field situated to the south of the city wall (*lōtta*) of Śrīmāla, the modern Bhīmāl by the *Mahārājādhirāja* the illustrious *Dēvarāja* residing at Śrīmāla to one *Aurakāchārya*, the son of *Chandaśivāchārya* and the head of the temple of *Siddhēśvaramahādēva* at *Kshamāmīthuna* (*Kshatmamāthuka*?) on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. The boundaries of the land granted were as follows: to the east the land of the Brāhmana *Gōvinda*, to the south the land of *Vāmana*, the son of *Durlabha*, to the west the village belonging to the *Mahāsāmanta* *Pūrnachanda* and to the north the land of the Brāhmana *Śrīdhara*. The date of the record is the 15th day of the bright half of *Māgha* (*Vikrama*) *Samvat* 1059 (=1002 A.D.).<sup>7</sup>

The witnesses were *Matvāka* the preceptor of *Dēvarāja* and *Pūrnachanda*. The grant was written by *Sūryaravi*, the son of *Nyāsa*.

Though no mention of the clan of donor *Dēvarāja* is found in the grant, yet on the basis of the year and the place given in it, we may assume that he was a *Paramāra*<sup>8</sup> ruler of *Ābū* whose

<sup>1</sup> Stands for दूक.

<sup>2</sup> Omī देव्या [Or read देवी. Probably she was a lady of the royal family, if not one of the queens.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> Stands for पचोली

<sup>4</sup> The stroke is redundant

<sup>5</sup> Stands for कडुआ, one of the two sects of the कुनबी tribe

<sup>6</sup> See his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 103, where he reads the year as *Samvat* 1069

<sup>7</sup> [The date is irregular. The full moon of *Māgha* fell on Thursday the 21st January when there was no lunar eclipse. The nearest lunar eclipse occurred on the full moon of *Phālguna* corresponding to Friday the 19th February. It is also not verifiable for *Samvat* 1059 current or *Samvat* 1069.—Ed.]

<sup>8</sup> For the history of *Paramāra* rulers please refer to my *Bhārata le Prachīna Rajavamśa*, Vol. I, and *Raja Bhoja* (both in Hindi)

second name was Mahīpāla and who succeeded his father Dharanīvarāha, a ruler famous in the chronicle of Rājasthān We give here a *chhappaya* often recited by bards in honour of Dharanīvarāha

મંડોવર સામંત હુવો અજમેર સિદ્ધસુવ ।  
 ગઢ પૂંગલ ગજમક્ષ હુવો લોદ્રવૈ માંણ ભુવ ॥  
 અલ્હપલ્હ અરવદ્ મોજરાજા જાલધર ।  
 જોગરાજ ધરધાટ હુવો હાંસુ પારક્કર ॥  
 નવકોટિ કિરાડૂ સજુગત થિર પવારહર યપ્પિયા ।  
 ધરણીવરાહ ધર માહ્યાં કોટ વાંટ જૂ જૂ કિયા ॥

According to this, Dharnīvarāha distributed the nine provinces of Mandōr, Ajmēr, Pūngal, Lōdravā, Ābū, Jālōr, Dhāt, Pārkar and Kīrādū among his nine brothers It is also said that owing to these nine chiefships Mārwar has come to be known as “Navakōṭi Mārwar” But there is very little truth in the above *chhappaya*<sup>1</sup>

Dēvarāja's (Mahīpāla's) son and successor was Dhandhuka who was obliged to accept the allegiance of Sōlankī (Chālukya) Kumārapāla I, the ruler of Gujārāt

#### TEXT

##### First Plate

- 1 સિદ્ધમ્<sup>2</sup> [॥\*] ઐ નમઃ શિવાય ॥ સંવત્ ૧[૦]૫૯ સા-
- 2 ષ શુદિ ૧૫ અસ્યા સવત્સરમાસપદ્ધિ-
- 3 વસપૂર્વાયાં શ્રીર<sup>3</sup>માલાવસ્થિતમહારાજા-
- 4 ધિરાજશ્રીદેવરાજઃ સ્વમુખ્યમાનવિપ્રયે
- 5 ધર્મદાયેન ક્ષેત્રશાસન(ન) પ્રયચ્છતિ ॥ યદિદૈ-
- 6 વ શ્રીર<sup>3</sup>માલીયકોટાદિચિત્તિદિમાર્ગે ક્ષેત્રં
- 7 યસ્યાધાટનાનિ ॥ પૂર્વવતો ગોવિન્દપ્રા(ત્રા)હ્નણ-
- 8 સત્કા મૂસીમા । દક્ષિણતો વામનદુર્લભસુ-
- 9 તસત્કા મૂસીમા । પશ્ચિમતો મહોસામન્તશ્રી-
- 10 પૂર્ણચણ્ડસત્ક[ગ્રા]મિણ સહ મૂસીમા ।
- 11 ઉત્તરતઃ શ્રીધરપ્રા(ત્રા)હ્નણક્ષે[ત્રે\*]ણ મૂસીમા [1\*]

##### Second Plate

- 12 એવમેતચતુરાષ(ધા)ટનામ્યંતરક્ષેત્રં ।<sup>4</sup>
- 13 અસ્માભિઃ સોમપ્રહણે જ્ઞાત્વા ત્રિલોકીયુર શંકાર-

<sup>1</sup> See also *Ind Ant*, Vol XL, pp 238 f

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol

<sup>3</sup> The figure 2 is used to denote the repetition of *tri*.

<sup>4</sup> *Danda* unnecessary



- 14 मभ्यर्च्य मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्यथशोभिद्वय(ये)  
 15 शासनेतो(नी)दकपूर्वमाचद्रार्ककालीनतया प्रति-  
 16 पादितं [१] [आ]उरकाचार्याय १ चण्डशिवाचार्यपुत्रा-  
 17 य . २ ओसिद्धेश्वरदेवस्थानाधीशाय  
 18 प्रदत्त न केनापि परिपथनीयं ॥ मस्तद्वशैरन्यै-  
 19 च भाविभोक्तृभिः । अत्र साक्षी श्रीदेवराजगुरुभक्त्या-  
 20 क । अत्र साक्षी श्रीपूर्वचण्डः । लिखितं सूर्यरवि-  
 21 णा न्यासश्रुतेन । यो य पृथिव्या राजा हि ममा  
 22 तोर्द्ध<sup>३</sup> भविष्यति । तस्याहं करलग्नस्तु शासनं सा(मा)  
 23 व्यतिक्रमै(मि)त् ॥ स्वहस्त[\*] श्रीदेवराजस्य ।

### No 31—HATHI-BADA BRAHMI INSCRIPTION AT NAGARĪ

By Prof D R BHANDARKAR, CALCUTTA

During the cold season of 1934-35, Dr Niranjan Prasad Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India, was on tour in North India. In the course of that tour he visited Nagarī, eight miles north of Chitōrgarh in the Udaipur State, and discovered a Brāhmī inscription engraved on a massive slab of Hāthi-bādā containing the same text as the celebrated inscription from the Ghōsūndī well. This is one of the big slabs, says Dr Chakravarti, in the inner side of the northern wall towards the right hand corner. The slab has a big crack in the middle, and parts of it have badly peeled off. The surface is very rough, and the letters have now become quite faint. Before the stone was cleaned, practically nothing but the letter *p*[ā] in the first line was visible. "No traces", he adds, "of a third line, if there was any, can be found now."

It is impossible to congratulate sufficiently the Government Epigraphist upon this brilliant discovery. From the middle of November 1915 to the end of January 1916 I was myself at Nagarī. During that period I carried on excavations at two places, one of which was Hāthi bādā, about half a mile east of the village.<sup>4</sup> Hāthi bādā is an open rectangular enclosure 296' 10" long and 151' broad. Its walls were crowned with a coping stone, and were originally 9' 6" high. When the Mughal emperor, Akbar, came there to reduce Chitōrgarh, he was encamped at Nagarī and used this enclosure as his elephant-stable, on account of which it has since then been called Hāthi bādā. But surely it could not have been a structure of the Muhammadan period. The high massive dressed blocks of stone piled one upon another into this structure pointed to a period very much anterior to the Muhammadan. In this connection I was revolving in my mind an inscription, referred to above, which was originally stuck up in a well at Ghōsūndī, about 6 miles from Nagarī, but which is now deposited in the Victoria Hall at Udaipur. It is well known that most of the stones used in the Ghōsūndī well, as in the archaeological monuments at Chitōrgarh, were taken from Nagarī, and looking to the massive nature of the block and the peculiar lamina-

<sup>1</sup> Danda unnecessary

<sup>2</sup> The reading seems to be *Kṣhamēmāthunē* but its meaning is not clear. [To me the reading appears to be *Kṣhatmamāthukē* and may mean 'at Kṣhatmamāthuka' where the temple of the Mahādeva Siddhāśvara seems to have been situated.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> Read *mad ūrdhvan cha* or *mama gūtrē*

<sup>4</sup> For a full description of these excavations, see *Memoirs A S I*, No 4, pp 117 ff, *PRAS, WC*, 1915 16, pp 53 54

tions of the stone on which the inscription is engraved, little doubt was left in my mind as to its having originally pertained to this structure, whose stones exactly resembled it in these respects. The contents of the inscription pointed to the same inference. It speaks of the erection of a *pūjā-śilā prākāra*, or enclosure for worship stone, of Samkarshana and Vāsudēva. This description no doubt answered to the stone enclosure represented by Hāthi bādā. But some more proof was wanted to show that the place enclosed by the Hāthi bādā was, as a matter of fact, dedicated to Vaiṣṇava worship. And after a careful inspection I lighted upon a stone in one wall of the enclosure containing some characters of the seventh century A D, which, though highly weather-worn, could be distinctly read as *Śrī Viṣṇu pādābhyām*. This clearly showed that this Hāthi bādā was once a place for the worship of Viṣṇu. Nevertheless, it must be confessed that even then it was not quite certain, though highly probable, that the Ghōsūndī inscription originally belonged to the Hāthi bādā and that this structure was really the *pūjā śilā prākāra* of Samkarshana and Vāsudēva mentioned in that record. But this matter has now been placed beyond all doubt by the find of this new inscription by Dr Chakravartī, which, as we shall shortly see, is but another copy of the text preserved in the Ghōsūndī epigraph but which to this day forms part of the Hāthi-bādā itself. The service thus rendered by the Government Epigraphist to the cause of history and archaeology can scarcely be overrated.

Before we treat of this record epigraphically, it is necessary to point out that there was also a third copy of this text which was for the first time recognised as such by the Government Epigraphist himself in his letter to me. During the touring season of 1915-16 when I was excavating at Nagarī, I discovered a stray fragment of an inscription along with two others in the heart of the village which had been found on the boundary stone of Ghōsūndī and Bassī and which contained the words *[t]na Sarvatātēna Āśvamēdha-*. This has been briefly described in a monograph of mine, entitled “*The Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Nagarī*” and published in *Memoirs A S I*, Vol IV, No 4, p 120, where I have also made the remark that “the form of its letters corresponds exactly with that of the Ghōsūndī epigraph”. This happened in 1915-16. Eleven years thereafter the *A S I*, *An Rep*, 1926-27 (p 205) announces the discovery of Rāi Bahadur Gaurishankar H. Ojha that during the year under report he recovered two of the missing portions of the well known Ghōsūndī inscription. One of these, according to this Report “supplies the words ‘*Sarvatātēna Āśvamēdha*,’ which evidently form the end of the first line of the record and enable the initial letter of its second line to be restored as *ya*, and the whole expression as ‘*Sarvatātēna Āśvamēdhayājñā*’”. The other fragment, continues the same Report, “containing the word *sarvēśvarābhyām*, Mr Ojha says, is preserved in the Udayapur Museum, and supplies the missing portion of the second line of the same inscription”. It thus seems that up till 1926-27 the first of these fragments continued to remain at Nagarī, possibly just where I found it in 1915-16. Rāi Bahadur Ojha evidently did not remember that the discovery of this fragment was first announced in the Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of India referred to above. But what is strange is that he considered the two fragments as the missing portions of the well known Ghōsūndī inscription. As remarked by me in the Memoir, as just stated, the form of the letters on these fragments no doubt corresponds exactly with that of the Ghōsūndī epigraph. But close observation will enable one to perceive not only that the draft of the fragments is written in an entirely different hand but also that their letters are of a slightly different size from those of the Ghōsūndī record. This blunder was repeated by Mr R. R. Halder in his paper on the Ghōsūndī inscription, which is published in the *Ind An*, Vol LXI, p 203, and, the text of which he tried to restore with the help of these fragments. It must, however, be said to the credit of both these scholars that they restored in the original text the words *na Sarvatātēna Āśvamēdha*° to their proper place, though they failed in regard to *sarvēśvarā(bhyām*

as was expected. As remarked above, there was one text of the record which was engraved in three different places in the Hāthi bādā. When this structure began to fall into disrepair, one stone block containing the greater portion of one inscription was carried to and stuck up into the Ghōsūndī well, two small fragments of another inscription taken as far as the boundary stone between Ghōsūndī and Bassī, but the larger part of the third is *in situ*, that is, still forms part of the Hāthi bādā itself, this last being now brought to light by the Government Epigraphist, as stated above.

Let us now turn to the epigraphic details of each. We have observed that here we have one common text running through three different inscriptions—all, however, originally incised on the block slabs of the Hāthi bādā. The best preserved of these is that found in the Ghōsūndī well and now removed to the Victoria Hall, Udaipur. Here not only is the greater portion of the record preserved, but its letters also remain in good condition. It was originally in three lines. The next best preserved record is that found by Dr Chakravarti, and, though preserved in fragment, it yet remains part and parcel of the original building. It is in two lines, each containing naturally more words than those of the first record. Of this inscription practically as much has been preserved as of the first, though its letters are faint and weatherworn. Of the third record only two small fragments are so far known, as pointed out above. The first of these, which we shall call A, was first brought to the notice of the scholars by Kavi Rāj Shyāmal Dās and transcribed in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol LVI, Pt I, pp 77 ff, No 1 and Pl V. It was afterwards edited by me in *Memoirs A S I*, No 4, p 119, and by Mr K. P. Jayaswal in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol XVI, pp 25 ff with the help of the estampages provided by me. The second of the three copies, which we shall call C, is being edited by me here for the first time according to the ink impression kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist. Of the third copy, which we shall call B, only two fragments have been recovered. One of these was first noticed by me in *Memoirs A S I*, No 4, p 120. Both together were afterwards transcribed but erroneously considered to be part of the first copy, that is, of A by Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Ojha in *A S I, An. Rep.*, 1926-27, p 205 and thereafter by Mr R. R. Halder in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol LXI, p 203. All the three copies are now being edited here with a view to see whether and how far we can restore the original text.

The characters of these texts according to Buhler<sup>1</sup> belong to an alphabet which "probably prevailed at least in the latter half of the 4th and in the 3rd century B C." Mr Jayaswal, however, seems to be right in observing that "the only thing that can be said with certainty is that the script is later than Aśōka's time"<sup>2</sup>. The letters *g*, *p*, and *v* of our inscriptions are a clear proof of this. The top of *g* is not angular, and *p* and *v* have not a round base as in the Aśōkan script. The only records with which the Hāthi bādā epigraphs can be profitably compared are the inscription of Heliodorus found at Besnagar<sup>3</sup> and those of Bahasatimitra at Pābhosā<sup>4</sup>. And a comparison will convince us that the Hāthi bādā records are perhaps slightly later than that of Besnagar, but decidedly earlier than those of Pābhosā. The top of *g* in the Besnagar inscription is as angular as that of Aśōka's, but is almost round in the Hāthi bādā inscriptions. This shows that perhaps the Besnagar record is slightly prior to those of Hāthi bādā. On the other hand, the *p*, *b*, *h*, and *l* of the Pābhosā have cornered and flat bases, showing that these inscriptions are decidedly later than those of Hāthi bādā. All things considered, our epigraphs may be assigned to the beginning of the first century B C.

<sup>1</sup> *Indian Paleography* (trans. by Fleet), p 32

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XVI, p 27

<sup>3</sup> *A S I, An. Rep.*, 1908-09, pp 128-29, Pl XLVI

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. II, p 242 ff and Pls

Some other palæographic peculiarities of the Hāthi bādā inscriptions may also be noticed In the case of the ligatures, the consonants are invariably placed below each other in their natural order somewhat unlike those of the Aśōka edicts Next, the cork-screw-like *r* is worthy of note, as in Aśōka inscriptions And further the superscript and subscript *rs* also have been clearly distinguished one from the other Thus the superscript *r* in *Samkarshana*- has been distinguished from the subscript *r* in *-putrēna* and *-prākārō* This is a noteworthy fact, for it is conspicuous by its absence even in Aśōka's inscriptions, though the words in which both the kinds of *rs* occur are by no means few

The language of our inscriptions is undoubtedly Sanskrit, and it is somewhat inexplicable why Prof Luders called it "a mixed dialect"<sup>1</sup> Probably he based his conclusion on the transcript of Kavi Rāj Shyāmal Dās, which is far from being scrupulously correct and which is not supported by the photo litho that accompanies his article The only word, that is not quite Sanskrit, is *bhagavabhyām*, which, however, is a mistake of the engraver or the scribe for *bhagavadbhyām* Besides, *bhagavabhyām*, even as it stands, is a dual which is never found in a Prākṛit It must therefore be looked upon as an inaccuracy of the scribe Such inaccuracies are not infrequent in inscriptions, about the Sanskrit language of which there can be no doubt The Hāthi bādā record is thus one of the two earliest which are couched in Sanskrit The other epigraph in Sanskrit of this early period has been found at Ayōdhya pertaining to Dhanadīva, son of Phalgudīva, a ruler of Kōśala<sup>2</sup> When J F Fleet was living, the earliest Sanskrit inscription then known was that of the Māhākshatrapa Rudradāman engraved on the celebrated rock at Junāgadh It is dated (Śaka) 72=150 A D And further, as the inscriptions ranging between 300 B C and 100 A D were all up till then in a sort of Pāli closely allied to, and based upon, the vernacular, he and the late Prof Rhys Davids maintained<sup>3</sup> that the spoken language current up to 100 A D was practically Pāli, and that the Sanskrit, or the *bhāṣā* for which Pāṇini and Patañjali wrote, could not have been a vernacular during that time On the other hand, Patañjali distinctly informs us that the language for which Pāṇini wrote was the language of those *śiṣṭas* or disciplined Brāhmins who spoke it naturally and without any study of grammar<sup>4</sup> This points to the unmistakable conclusion that up till circa 150 B C, the time of Patañjali, the *bhāṣā* or language for which *Ashtādhyāyī* was the grammar continued to be the actual speech of the disciplined Brāhmins of Āryāvarta, which was no doubt the *samskṛita* or polished form of the vernacular All that was now required to leave no ground at all for scepticism was the actual find of inscriptions of this period which were couched in Sanskrit This desideratum is now furnished by our record and also that of Ayōdhya just adverted to No sceptic can possibly contend that they are not in Sanskrit, that is, in the *bhāṣā* for which Pāṇini and Patañjali wrote or that they are not earlier than 150 A D, the date of the Junāgadh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman

Our record is also important from the religious point of view It speaks of the erection of a *pūjā śilā prākāra* by Gājāyana Sarvatāta, son of a lady of the Parāśara-gōtra, for the gods Samkarshana and Vāsudīva But what does a *pūjā śilā prākāra* mean? It may mean "a stone enclosure round an object of worship" to distinguish it from enclosures surrounding, e g, residential buildings What are called railings round Buddhist *Stūpas* are really *pūjā śilā prākāra* though they are round and that of the Hāthi bādā rectangular A similar expression is not unknown to us from an Aśōka inscription We refer here to *śilāṅgadabhihā* occurring in the Padariyā or Rummīndī pillar inscription

<sup>1</sup> List of Brahmi Inscr (above Vol X, App), No 96

<sup>2</sup> J B O R S, 1924, p 203, above, Vol XX, p 57

<sup>3</sup> T W Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p 151

<sup>4</sup> J B B R A S, Vol XVI, pp 334 ff, R G Bhandarkar's *Wilson Philological Lectures*, pp 29-30

*Śilāvigaḍabhīchā* obviously corresponds to the Sanskrit *śilā vikata bhittānī*, 'a huge stone enclosure wall' <sup>1</sup> What Aśoka here wants to tell us is that he constructed this wall round the spot of Buddha's birth, which was already an object of worship and where he actually worshipped. The word *vigaḍa*=*vikata* in this phrase, which signifies 'stupendous' is noteworthy, and is no doubt significant of the huge massive blocks of which it must have been composed exactly as in the case of the Hāthi bādā. Hāthi bādā as a *pūjā śilā prākāra* is therefore not of an unknown character. The Hāthi bādā enclosure and the railings of the *Stūpas* thus are all *pūjā śilā prākāra*, though they are of different shapes and are devoted to different worships. If any other instance of the *pūjā śilā prākāra* round a Vaishnava object of worship is required, it is furnished by the railing which I unearthed round the representation of Vāsudēva in front of the Khām Bābā during my excavations at Besnagar <sup>2</sup> Recently, however, Mr J C Ghosh has suggested a new interpretation. He takes it to mean "a rampart (*prākāra*) for the stone object of worship (*pūjā śilā*)". This *pūjā śilā* according to him is a *Śālagrāma* or a black stone from the river Gandakī which is believed to be pervaded by the presence of Vishnu and is thus a sacred stone worshipped by the Vaishnavas. "Mention of it" says he "is found in the *Mahābhārata*, III, 8102. Amongst the varieties of them mentioned in the Purāṇas, we find that one variety is called Samkarshana and another Vāsudēva (*Agni Purāṇa*, XLVI)" <sup>3</sup> Now, it is perfectly true that there is one variety of *Śālagrāma* which is known as Samkarshana and another as Vāsudēva. But the real question is to what early period is the worship of *Śālagrāma* traceable? It is, again, true that the *Mahābhārata* makes mention of this worship. But what is unfortunate here is that as the *Mahābhārata* was put together in its final shape about the 6th century A D, no statement contained in that epic can be taken with certitude as belonging to a period much prior to it. Worship of a *Śālagrāma* cannot thus be supposed to be prevalent much anterior to the 6th century A D and hardly ever in the 1st century B C to which period the Hāthi bādā inscriptions have to be assigned. The phrase *pūjā śilā prākārah* may be dissolved either as *pūjā śilāyāḥ prākārah*, as Mr Ghosh has done, or, as *pūjāyāḥ śilā prākārah* as others have done before him. But as there is no clear evidence as to the *Śālagrāma* worship being in vogue as early as the 1st century B C, it is perhaps safer to dissolve the compound word as others have done it. This agrees, as stated above, with the expression *śilā vigaḍa bhīchā*, which occurs in an Aśoka inscription. Of these last *śilā bhīchā* regularly corresponds to *śilā prākāra* of the Hāthi bādā record as also remarked above. Just as Aśoka speaks of having constructed a stone enclosure wall round the place where Buddha was born, one Jātaka mentions the erection of an enclosing wall (*prākāra*) round Sambōdhi, the place where Buddha attained to enlightenment <sup>4</sup> It is, therefore, no wonder if Sarvatāta similarly built an enclosure wall round the place where Samkarshana and Vāsudēva were worshipped. But the question arises how were Samkarshana and Vāsudēva worshipped here? In the western half of the Hāthi-bādā I found, during my excavations there, the remains of a brick platform, which originally ran from east to west <sup>5</sup> If there was any shrine upon it, it may have been a wooden structure which has now completely disappeared. Not far from it in the western part of the wall was found by me the words *śrī Viṣṇu pādābhyaṃ*, in characters of the 7th century A D <sup>6</sup> It is true that at that time Vishnu alone was worshipped. But it is worthy of note that what of him was worshipped was not an image but the footprints. And as there is absolutely no evidence of the construction of a shrine on the brick platform, it seems that even in the 1st century B C Samkarshana and

<sup>1</sup> D R Bhandarkar's *Aśoka*, pp 375-76

<sup>2</sup> *A S I, An Rep*, 1913 14, pp 198-99, Pls LVI (a) and LVII

<sup>3</sup> *I H Q*, Vol IX, p 796

<sup>4</sup> *Jat*, Vol IV, p 236, D R Bhandarkar's *Aśoka*, pp 376-77.

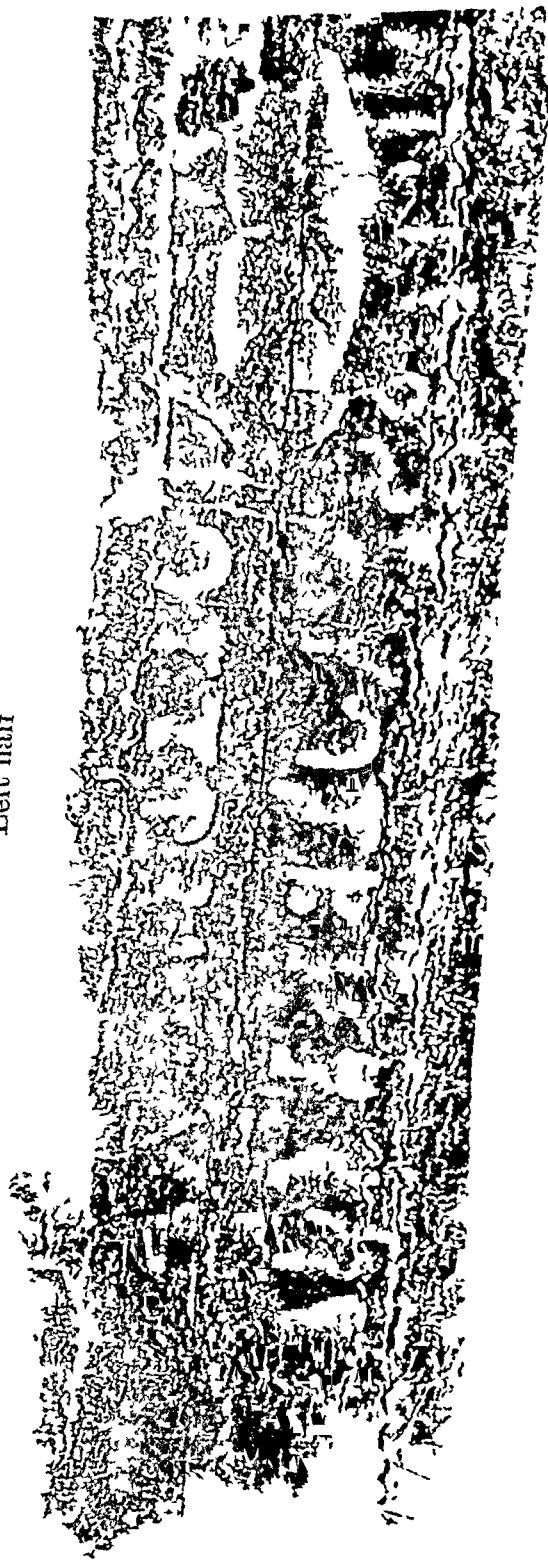
<sup>5</sup> *Memoirs A S I*, No 4, p 130

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, p 129

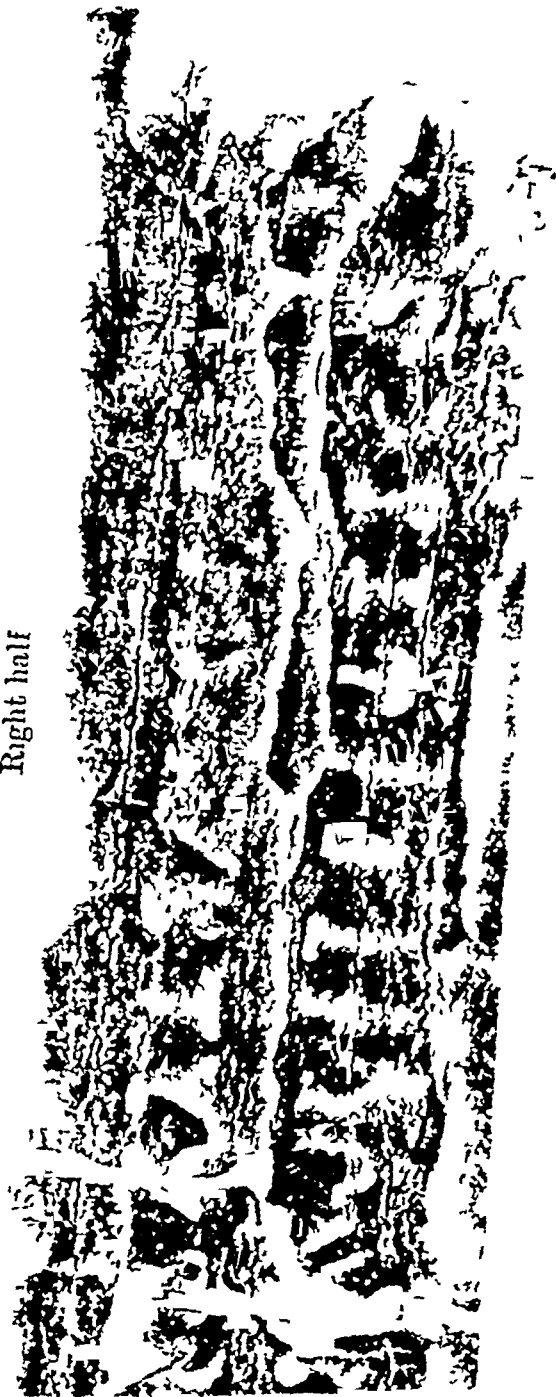


HATHIBADA BRAHMI INSCRIPTION AT NAGARI

Left half



Right half



Vāsudēva were worshipped through their footprints. If this inference is correct, we may with Mr Ghosh take the phrase *pūjā-śilā prākāra* to mean “an enclosure wall round the stone object of worship.” But the *pūjā-śilā* does not here represent Śālagrāma stones as he takes it, but rather the footprints of the two brother gods carved in stone. In course of time, however, Samkarshana lost hold of the popular imagination, and Vāsudēva alone remained the object of worship. This change of worship is noticeable even in that early period. Just as in the time of the Hāthi bādā record Samkarshana and Vāsudēva were both worshipped, the celebrated Nānāghāt inscription of Sātakarni opens with obeisance to both these divinities.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the Besnagar pillar epigraph speaks of Vāsudēva alone and styles him *dēva-dēva*, ‘god of gods’.<sup>2</sup> The three inscriptions belong to a period ranging between 135 and 35 B C. And yet at this early period we find Vāsudēva eclipsing and outliving his elder brother Samkarshana in popular worship. At Besnagar, too, Vāsudēva was being worshipped when the Greek envoy Heliodorus came and erected the column. In front of the pillar the retaining walls of a high platform were unearthed, surrounded by a solid railing. On this platform, no doubt, Vāsudēva must have been worshipped. But here too not a trace of shrine could be found.<sup>3</sup> It is not at all unlikely that here also what of Vāsudēva was worshipped was, not his image, but his footprints.

Let us now place the three copies of the record side by side with a view to see what new facts are revealed to us and also to find out how far we can restore the original text. Of these the Ghō sūndī well text runs as follows.<sup>4</sup>

## A

- 1 tēna Gājāyanēna P(ā)rāsaripuṭrēna Sa-
- 2 [j]h[nā] bhagavabhyām Samkarshana-V[ā]sudēvābhyā(m)
- 3 bhyām pūjāśilā prākārō Nārāyaṇa vāt(i)kā

The two fragments found near the boundary between Ghōsūndī and Bassī māy be transcribed as follows —

## B.

- 1 [ṭr](ē)(na) Sarvatātēna Aś[v]amēdha . . .
- 2 sarvēśvarābh(yām)

The inscription engraved in the Hāthi bādā which was recently found by the Government Epigraphist reads as follows —

## C

- 1 .. vat(ēna) [Gā]j(ā)yan[ē]na P(ā)r(āsaripu)t(rē)na [Sa](r)[vatā]tēna Aś(vamē)[dha](yā)-  
[j](h[nā])-
- 2 (na)-V(ā)sudēvābh[y]ā(h) anihatā(bhyām) sa(r)v(ē)[ś]va[r](ā)bh(yām) p(ū)[j](ā)-  
[ś](i)l(ā)-p[r]ākārō Nār[ā]yaṇa-vāt(i)[k](ā)

<sup>1</sup> *Arch Surv West Ind*, Vol V, p 60, l 1

<sup>2</sup> *A. S. I., An Rep*, 1908 09, p 128, (Text A), l 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, 1913 14, pp 204 05

<sup>4</sup> For plate see above, Vol XVI, facing p 25 and *Ind Ant*, Vol. I XI, facing p. 203.

<sup>5</sup> For plate see *Ind Ant*, Vol LXI, facing p 203



If we now carefully study Inscriptions **A** and **C**, we notice that they are fragments only in so far as their initial portions are gone, that, in other words, no letter seems to have been lost at the end of any one of the lines. This is clear particularly in the case of **A**. There is enough or even more than enough space left after the termination of every one of its lines to show that no letters have been lost after the last letter read of these lines. Secondly, it is worthy of note that whereas **A** consists of three lines, **C** contains only two, and that as both **A** and **C** end exactly with the word *Ā āyana vātikā*, we must take it that the original text ended with that word. Thirdly, if we compare **A** with **C**, it is by no means difficult to fill up the lacunae at the beginning of lines 2 and 3 of the former inscription, especially with the help of **B**. Thus line 2 of **A** must have commenced with (*ṛatātīna Aśvamēdhayājñā*, etc. Similarly line 3 of **A** must have begun with (*amhatābhyām sarvīśarā*)*bhyām*, etc. It will be seen that lines 2 and 3 of **A** have each lost nine letters. The inference is irresistible that the same number of letters, viz., nine, has been destroyed, preceding *īna*, with which line 1 commences. Now, it deserves to be noticed that whereas line 1 of **A** begins with *tīna*, line 1 of **C** does with *ratīna*. And it is not at all difficult to restore the word to (*Bhāga*)*ratīna*. Six initial letters only thus remain to be accounted for. And perhaps we shall not be far wide of the mark if we tentatively fill up the lacuna with *Ārītōyam rājñā*. We may thus restore Inscription **A** and thereby also the original text as follows —

- 1 (Ārītō=yam rājñā Bhāgava)tīna Gājāyanīna Pārāsarīputrīna Sa
- 2 (ṛatātīna Aśvamēdhayājñā bhagava[d\*]bhīām Samkarshana-Vāsudēvābhīām
- 3 (amhatābhyām sarvīśarā)bhyām pūjāsīlā prākārō Nārāyana vātikā

### TRANSLATION

(This) enclosing wall round the stone (*object*) of worship, called Nārāyana vātikā (Compound) for the divinities Samkarshana Vāsudēva who are unconquered and are lords of all (has been caused to be made) by (the king) Sarvatāta, a Gājāyana and son of (a lady) of the Parāsara-gotra, who is a devotee of Bhagavat<sup>1</sup> (Vishnu) and has performed an Aśvamēdha sacrifice

Between *Pārāsarīputrīna* and *Sarvatātīna* of the Text given above Mr Halder<sup>2</sup> reads *sa na*. But this is a mistake, because **C** clearly shows that *Pārāsarīputrīna* was followed immediately by *Sarvatātīna*. The mistake has arisen, because the two fragments comprising **B** have been taken by him to be the integral parts of **A**. That this is a misconception, pure and simple, has been pointed out above. The fragment *na Sarvatātīna* of **B** should thus be restored, not to *sa na Sarvatātīna* as he has done, but to (*pārāsarīputrīna*)*na Sarvatātīna*. That this restoration is the correct one may be seen from the estampage of the fragment supplied by the Government Epigraphist which has a clear trace of *tr(ē)* immediately preceding *na*, showing that this *na* is the ending syllable of *Pārāsarīputrīna*. This *sa na* of Mr Halder has been conjecturally restored by Mr Ghosh<sup>3</sup> to *Suśarmanā*, denoting a Kāva prince of that name mentioned in the Purānas. But this superstructure based on a bubble crashes with the bursting of the bubble.

The king who constructed the *pūjāsīlā prākāra* for Samkarshana and Vāsudēva was thus *Gājāyana Pārāsarīputra Sarvatāta*. The mere matronymic *Pārāsarīputra* cannot show to which caste Sarvatāta belonged. But the patronymic *Gājāyana* by its very formation indicates, as has been pointed out by Mr Jayaswal, that he was a Brūhman. It is true, as remarked by Mr E H

<sup>1</sup> It is very difficult to say how the term *Bhāgavata* is to be understood here. It may mean "a devotee of Bhagavat (Vishnu)" as has been translated above or "a devotee of Bhagavats (viz., of Samkarshana and Vāsudēva).

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, p. 203

<sup>3</sup> *I. H. Q.*, Vol. IX, p. 793

Johnston<sup>1</sup> that Gājāyana as a patronymic is unknown. But Mr Ghosh has correctly observed that a name similar to Gājāyana is Gādāyana (with its variant Gōdāyana) occurring in the *Matsya-Purāna* as the name of an individual *gōtra*. And it is not at all improbable to say that Gādāyana is a slip of the scribe for Gājāyana. Whether Sarvatāta, again, is the proper name or an epithet of the king is somewhat doubtful. It bears, however, the plausibility of being an epithet.

But kings even in ancient times were sometimes better known by their epithets than by their individual names. Thus the Maurya emperor, Aśōka, has styled himself Priyadarśin, which is an epithet, in all his inscriptions, except one, in this last alone he is known by his proper name, Aśōka. And even though Sarvatāta is taken as an epithet as seems very likely, it need cause us no surprise. The question now arises, who could this Gājāyana Sarvatāta be? His records show that he lived in the first century B C. His patronymic Gājāyana also shows that he was a Brāhman. And further we have to note, as Mr Ghosh has told us, that Gādāyana which obviously is a mistake for Gājāyana is mentioned in the *Matsya Purāna* as an individual *gōtra* falling under the Kānva division of the Angiras Gana. It thus appears that Sarvatāta was a Kānva. And we know from the Purānas that after the Śungas the Kānvās became the rulers of North India. The Kānvās thus exercised supremacy in the first century B C. Nothing therefore precludes us from supposing that Sarvatāta was a Kānva ruler. It is true that Sarvatāta is not found in the list of names, given by the Purānas, of the Kānva rulers. But as we have seen above, Sarvatāta is not a proper name, but rather an epithet. And it is not at all impossible that it was an epithet borne by one of the princes of this Brāhman dynasty.

## NO 32 —A CHOLA INSCRIPTION FROM UTTIRAMERUR

BY PROFESSOR K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, MADRAS

The inscription edited below<sup>2</sup> has been noticed briefly in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1923, Part II, paragraph 28. It is engraved on a stone slab built into the south wall of the Hanumān shrine in front of the Sundaravaradaperumāl temple,<sup>3</sup> Uttiramērūr. The inscription which fully covers the face of the slab occupies an area 13"×37", and the average height of the letters is 1", the ligatures sometimes measuring up to 2" and more. Only eight lines of the inscription at the beginning are preserved, but it seems unlikely that the missing part extended over more than two or three lines. In any case, what is left of the inscription enables us to form an adequate idea of its purport and significance. I edit it from two impressions, one in my possession, the other supplied by the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras.

The inscription is dated in the 158th day of the ninth year of king Rājarājakēśarivarman,<sup>4</sup> i.e. Rājarāja I, and thus belongs to A D 993-4, the reign of that king having commenced on some day in the month following the 25th June, 985 A D.<sup>5</sup> Paleographically, the inscription bears a very close resemblance to the other stone inscriptions of Rājarāja's reign, the alphabet being Tamil with the usual admixture of Grantha for Sanskrit words.

The language of the inscription is Tamil. The grammatical construction of the main sentence of the *vyavasthā* is faulty, it seems to follow local colloquial usage, but the meaning is clear. Note

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, p. 204.

<sup>2</sup> No. 197 of 1923.

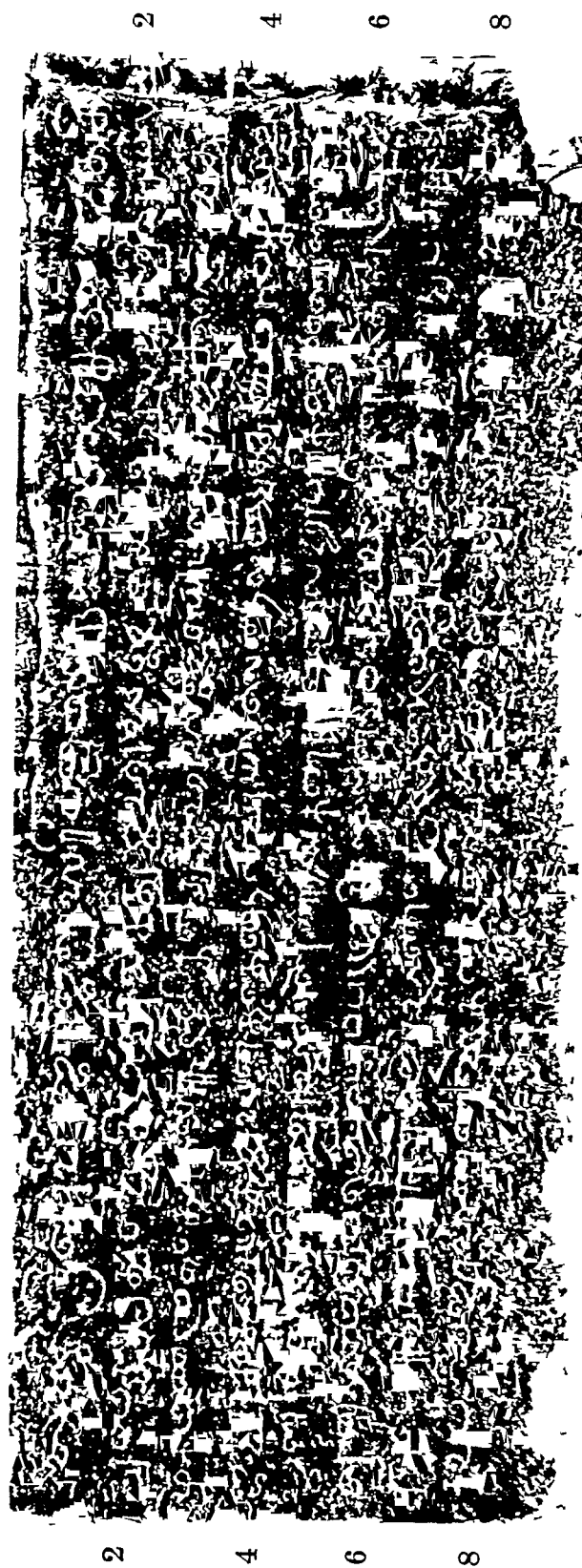
<sup>3</sup> Marked *Perumāl Kōil* in the plan of Uttiramērūr in my *Studies in Chōla History and Administration*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Nos. 176 of 1906 and 298 of 1908 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. IX, p. 217.



A CHOLA INSCRIPTION FROM UTTIRAMERUR





5 hmanar-[enra]l śivabrāhmanar enral Kanakkār<sup>1</sup> enral vyāpāṅgal-en[ral\*] Vellālar-  
 6 (r)enral maṅṛumm=eppeṛppatta jātigall-enṛum avvava jātigal patta dandam avva[v]-  
 7 ārē pōkkaruppār-(r)āgavum brāhmanarai itta dandam brāhmanarē pōkkaruppārgal-[ā]  
 8 gavum śivabrāhmanarai itta dandam śivabr[ā]hmanarē pōkkaruppārgal āgavum kā[na]

## TRANSLATION

(LI 1-3) Hail 'Prosperity' On the 158th day in the ninth year of (*the reign of*) king Rājarājakēsaripannar, we, the *Mahāsabhā* of Uttaramēru-chaturvēḍimangalam, assembled by day in the *mukhamandapa* of the sacred temple of the *tulābhāra*<sup>2</sup>, and made the following resolution

(LI 4 8) Whether at the gate of the royal palace, or at the court of justice or in the (*department of*) revenue, or elsewhere, the Brāhmanas, Śivabrāhmanas, accountants, merchants, Vellālas and any other castes of our village, shall be themselves answerable for the fines laid on the respective castes, the Brāhmanas being answerable for the fines laid on Brāhmanas, the Śivabrāhmanas being answerable for the fines laid on Śivabrāhmanas,

## No 33 —AN UNFINISHED VAKATAKA PLATE FROM DRUG

By PROF V V MIRASHI, M A, NAGPUR

This plate was discovered some years ago at Mōhallā, the headquarters of the Pānabāras Zamindari in the Drug District of C P. An impression taken at the time by Mr M A Saboor of the Nāgpur Museum was sent to the late Rai Bahadur Hiralal. As it was only a single plate, not containing the complete genealogy or even the name of the donor, Rai Bahadur Hiralal did not naturally consider it of sufficient importance and it is not, therefore, included in his list of inscriptions of C P and Berar published in 1932. I came to know of its existence in January 1934, from a casual reference in his letter. I requested him to give me more details, but he could not recollect any except that it was in the possession of a Zamindar in the Drug district. Later on while turning up old papers, he found an old impression of it which he kindly sent me. As Rai Bahadur Hiralal had fortunately jotted down at the time the name of its owner, I requested Mr B A Bambawale, I C S, Deputy Commissioner of Drug, to procure the plate for me. He traced it to one Akbar Khan, a petition-writer of Drug, who held it on behalf of Nagshah of Sārōh. In the course of inquiries made by Mr Bambawale it was elicited that the plate was originally found at Mōhallā by one Bīsambhar Raut who sent it to Nagshah. But for Mr Bambawale's keen interest and active help this unique plate would not have again come to light. It is now deposited in the Nāgpur Museum.

This plate was intended to be the first of a set of three or four plates recording the charter or a Vākātaka king. It is inscribed only on one side. It measures 8" by 3.75" and weighs 19½ tolas. It is only  $\frac{1}{16}$ " in thickness and is thus the thinnest of all Vākātaka plates discovered so far. About 1.9" from the middle of the proper right margin there is a hole, .35" in diameter, for a ring intended to connect it with other plates of the set. But no such ring has been discovered so far. The size of the plate and the position of its hole show that it does not belong to the same set as the Patna Museum third plate<sup>3</sup> of the Vākātaka king Pravarasēna II edited by Prof A S Altekar<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Read *Kanakkār*

<sup>2</sup> No doubt the *Sundaravarada Perumāl Kōyil*

<sup>3</sup> The Patna Museum plate is 7.25" by 4.2". About 1" from the centre there is a hole about .35" in diameter

<sup>4</sup> *J B O R S*, Vol. XIV, pp 465 ff

The plate contains five lines only. The letters are very neatly cut and do not show through on the reverse, though the plate is very thin. The ends of the plate are neither fashioned to taper, nor raised into rims, still the inscription is in a perfect state of preservation.

As stated above, the plate records the charter of a Vākātaka king and is, like most other plates of the Vākātakas, inscribed in the box-headed characters which were current in C. P. and Berār from the fourth to the sixth century A.D. The base at the top of letter is not scooped out hollow, but appears like small squares as in many inscriptions of the Vālātakas. The engraver has not engraved boxes at the top of the letters *ja* and *la* and in some cases, *ka*, *da*, and *ga*. The characters resemble, in a general way, those of the Riddhapur plates of Prabhāvatiguptā and the Rithpur plates of Bhavattvarman\* and call for few remarks. The medial *ā*, *ē* and *ō* are generally denoted by horizontal *mātrās*, bent downwards at the end added generally at the top (cf. *Padmapurāṇa*, l. 11) and in some cases, particularly in that of *na*, at the middle of letters (cf. *mādhya* and *sanrājah*, l. 2). One of the two *mātrās* for *ai* is on the top (cf. *Bhairava*, l. 3). The medial *ou* is bipartite as in the cognate records of the Vākātakas. The medial *i* is denoted by a curve turned to the left on the top of a letter often forming a loop (cf. *Sūta*, l. 3), while its length is expressed by adding to it another and smaller curve turned in the opposite direction (cf. *Sri Pravarasena*, l. 2). The medial *u* is shown either by lengthening the vertical to end in a serif (cf. *sunīti*, l. 3) or by a curve turned to the right (cf. *chatur*, l. 1). The letter *a* / *ja* and *ra* have ornamental curves at the lower ends of their verticals as in the Southern alphabet. *da* has a round back end not clearly distinguished from *de* (cf. *daśa* and *da*, l. 5 and *Shodas*, l. 1), *va* is distinguished from *va* which latter has a notch on its left, *me* appears in a transitional curve form with the loop added to its left arm. Its other form with the box attached to the right vertical which is generally seen in the charter of Pravarasena II does not appear in this record. The two forms appear side by side in the Riddhapur plates of Prabhāvatiguptā and Rithpur plates of Bhavattvarman. The form of *ma* used in the present plate developed ultimately into that found in the charters of the kings of Śrīrāghapura as well as in those of Tivaraḍvā. The final *l* and *m* appear in a much reduced size and the latter has a looped base. The loop on the left side of *ya* has almost disappeared in two places (cf. *Vājrapāṇi*, l. 1 and *Yajñah*, l. 2). The right arm of *le* is longer than the left except in the case of *li*. The language is Sanskrit. As for orthography we have to note the reduplication of the consonant following *r*, e.g., in *Ājīrmanā*, l. 1. *l* is reduplicated before *y* in *Utiya* (l. 1) and *Brīyathya* (l. 3), the reduplicated letter being made unaspirate.

With the exception of the place of issue the record is identical so far as it goes, with the initial portion of the charters of the Vākātaka kings Pravarasena II and Pithavishena II. It mentions by name only one prince of the dynasty, viz., Pravarasena I who assumed the Imperial title of Samrāt and performed several Vedic sacrifices. It then refers to his grandson who was a great devotee of Svāmi Mahābhairava and who was the daughter's son of Bhāvanāga the Mahārāja (of the family) of the Bhārasivas. The description of the Bhārasivas—their coronation with the water of the Ganges which they had obtained by their valour, and their performance of ten Aśvamēdhās—is given as in the other plates of the Vālātakas. The record on the plate breaks off just before the mention of this grandson of Pravarasena I, viz., Rudrasena I. The plate purports to have been issued from Padmapura.

Here two questions present themselves—(1) Was the inscription commenced on this plate finished or was the plate rejected for some reason or other? (2) Who was the king who intended to issue this charter? As for the first question, I am inclined to think that the inscription was

\* J. P. A. S. B., Vol. XX, p. 58 ff.

\* Above, Vol. XIX, p. 100.

never completed or, in any case, the present plate was rejected for some unknown reason. Nearly all the charters of the Vākātakas contain the word *dr̥ṣṭam*, with<sup>1</sup> or without<sup>2</sup> some word like *siddham* or *svasti*, at the beginning or in the margin.<sup>3</sup> The only exceptions so far known are the Bālāghāt plates of Prithivishēna II<sup>4</sup> and the Riddhapura plates of Prabhāvatiguptā. Of these, the former is known to be an incomplete charter. In the case of the latter the word was probably not inserted for want of space. As in the Bālāghāt plates of Prithivishēna II there is in the present plate sufficient space for three letters in the beginning of the first line. If the record on the plate had been completed, the word *dr̥ṣṭam* would have been prefixed to it as in so many other records of the Vākātakas. The following remarks of Prof Kielhorn about the Bālāghāt plates would equally apply to our plate—"I am convinced now that *dr̥ṣṭam* (and the Prakrit *dr̥ṣṭham* of the Mayīdavōlu and Hīrahadagallī plates) must really be taken in its ordinary sense of 'seen' and that it is similar to the modern 'true copy' or 'examined' of official letters or Government orders. Such a remark could, of course, have been affixed or prefixed to a document only when it was finished and it is missing here, because our grant was not completed."<sup>5</sup> Another point to be noted in the case of the present plate is that it leaves space sufficient for five letters at the end of the last line. The word Gautamīputrasya which follows Bhavanāga dauhitrasya in other Vākātaka records, could very well have been written in that space. In fact the engraver seems to have begun to incise the word, for faint traces of the top portion of the first syllable of that word can be noticed on the plate. That the engraver left so much space at the end seems to show that he received an order to stop before he could complete that line. Whether the record was inscribed on another set of plates cannot be determined at present.

Let us next try to answer the second question—"Who was the king that intended to issue this charter?" The general resemblance between the characters of the present plate and those of the Dudia and Riddhapur plates seem to indicate that it might be Pravarasēna II. But almost all the known complete charters<sup>6</sup> of Pravarasēna II were issued from Pravara-pura, a city which he himself seems to have founded and made his capital. It seems that Nandīvardhana was the capital of the Vākātakas before the time of Pravarasēna II, for the earliest grant of the dynasty discovered so far, viz., the Poona plates of the queen mother Prabhāvatiguptā, was issued from Nandīvardhana.<sup>7</sup> So it was Pravarasēna II who shifted the capital from Nandīvardhana to the newly founded city of Pravara-pura.<sup>8</sup> If he had intended to grant the present plate, Pravara-pura and not Padmapura, should have, in all probability, been the place of issue. Besides, the palaeographical evidence detailed above seems to show that the present plate may be assigned to a slightly later date. Padmapura is not known to have been a holy place (*tīrtha*), nor is a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Chammak and Siwani plates of Pravarasēna II, Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, Nos. 55 and 56.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Dudia plates of Pravarasēna II, above, Vol. III, p. 258.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the Poona plates of Prabhāvatiguptā, *ibid.*, Vol. XV, p. 39.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. IX, pp. 267 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 268-269.

<sup>6</sup> The only exceptions are (1) the Siwani plates which, however, do not mention any place of issue and (2) the recently discovered Tirōḍī plates (above, pp. 171 ff.) which, as I have shown in my article on them, were probably issued from a holy place. In the case of the Patna Museum plate (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIV, p. 465) and the Rāmtek plate (*List of C. P. Inscriptions*, Second Edition, p. 4), the first plates of their sets being missing, the place of issue is not known.

<sup>7</sup> Rai Bahadur Hiralal has identified this place with Nāgardhan 4 miles from Rāmtek, but it is more likely to be Nāndpur about 15 miles to the north of Rāmtek where extensive ruins can still be seen and where two seals inscribed in characters of the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. have been found (See *J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 159 ff.).

<sup>8</sup> Mr. K. N. Dikshit has conjecturally identified this with Pavnār in Wardhā district where there is a high strong fort overlooking a river and considerable ruins (*ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 159).



word like *vāsahāt* added to it, showing that it was the site of the donor's camp. It seems, therefore, that Padmapura was the capital of a successor of Pravarasēna II who intended to issue this charter.

Let us next consider why the capital was shifted from Pravara-pura. The Bālāghāt plates of Prithivishēna II describe that king as one 'who had raised his sunken family'.<sup>1</sup> This expression has not been satisfactorily explained.<sup>2</sup> It evidently refers to some foreign invasion in the reign of Prithivishēna's father and Pravarasēna II's son, Narēndrasēna, when he was reduced to great straits. Who was this powerful enemy of the Vākātakas? We should note in this connection that the Rithpur plates<sup>3</sup> of Bhavattavarman which have been referred to a period falling between the end of the fifth and the first half of the sixth century were issued from Nandivardhana, which, as shown above, was formerly a capital of the Vākātakas. So Bhavattavarman must have occupied the western portion of the Vākātaka kingdom. The Vākātakas in this emergency seem to have shifted their capital to Padmapura in the East where they had the support of their loyal feudatories, the kings of Kōsala (Chhattisgarh) and Mālaka (the region round the source of the Narmadā).<sup>4</sup> An inscription of Bhavattavarman's successor has been discovered at Pōdūgadh in the Jaypur Agency of the Vizagapatam district of the Madras Presidency, from which it appears that the Nalas suffered a great reverse after their initial success and their capital Pushkarī was made desolate.<sup>5</sup> It seems, therefore, likely that Prithivishēna II carried the war into the enemy's territory and regained his ancestral kingdom evidently with the help of his maternal grandfather the king of Kuntala and his feudatories of Kōsalā, Mālaka and Mālava. His Bālāghāt plates were intended to be issued when he was encamped at Vēmbūra.<sup>6</sup> No other plates of either Prithivishēna II or his successors have been discovered, so we do not know the name of their capital. It seems likely that our present plate was intended to be issued either by Narēndrasēna or his son Prithivishēna II from the then capital Padmapura. If so, Padmapura is the last known capital of the Vākātakas.

The mention of Padmapura in the present plate is also important from another point of view. The well known Sanskrit dramatist Bhavabhūti, who ranks in Sanskrit literature next only to Kālidāsa and flourished towards the close of the seventh century A D., mentions Padmapura as his ancestral home. In one of his plays, the *Mahātīracharita*, Padmapura is stated to be in the Dakshināpatha, while in another, viz., the *Mālātī Mādharā*, it is mentioned as situated in Vīdarbha. As no place named Padmapura was known till now from any epigraphic record as

<sup>1</sup> द्वि(नि ?)मग्रवश्वोद्गु वाकाटकानाम्परमभागवतमहाराजश्रीशिविदिपुत्रस्य वचनात् (above, Vol IX, p 271)

<sup>2</sup> There is no ground for Prof S K Aiyangar's conjecture that Narēndrasēna allied himself with the Pushya mitras and the Paṭumitras who rose in revolt against Skandagupta and was subsequently defeated by the latter (*The Valabhis in the History of India*, p 50). Mr K P Jayaswal thinks that the Vākātaka family must have sunk along with the Guptas owing to Hun invasions (*History of India*, 150 A D.—350 A D., p 102). But there are no traces of Hun occupation in the heart of the Vākātaka kingdom, whereas we have clear evidence of the occupation of Nandivardhana by Bhavattavarman of the Nala family who rose about that time.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol XIX, p 100.

<sup>4</sup> कोसलामेकलामालवादिपतिमिरभ्यर्चितशासनस्य प्रतापप्रलतारिसनस्य(प्रतापप्रथतारिसासनस्य) वाकाटकानामहाराज-  
श्रीनरेन्द्रेणस्य .

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol XXI, p 153. Pushkarī has not been identified. It may be identical with modern Barsur in the State of Bastar, C P., which abounds in ancient ruins. (See *Gazetteer of the Chhattisgarh Feudatory States*, p 39.)

<sup>6</sup> This place has not yet been identified. It is likely to be Bēmbāl about 28 miles to the east of Chāndā and 2 miles to the west of the Waingangī. This identification would further indicate that Prithivishēna II was on his way to the territory of the Nalas which lay further to the south east, probably in the State of Bastar.

situated in Berār, some scholars<sup>1</sup> were inclined to take it as identical with Padmāvati, the scene of Bhavabhūti's *Mālati-Mādhava*, which is now clearly shown to be Pawāyā 25 miles north east of Narwār in Gwalior State.<sup>2</sup> The discovery of the present plate has settled this disputed point and proved incontrovertibly that Bhavabhūti was born in ancient Vīdarbha. The Vākātaka kings were patrons of Vēdic learning and performed many important Vēdic sacrifices. It is no wonder, therefore, that we find such learned Mīmāṃsakas as the ancestors of Bhavabhūti,<sup>3</sup> who themselves performed such sacrifices as the Vājapēya, settled in Padmapura, where they must have received the patronage of the Vākātakas. After the decline of the Vākātakas, there were no great royal dynasties ruling in C P and Berār in the 7th and the beginning of the 8th century A D. Bhavabhūti seems, therefore, to have gone to the north where he found a patron in Yaśōvarman, the mighty king of Kanauj, as stated in the *Rājataranginī*.

We have seen above that Padmapura was situated in Vīdarbha. From the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa<sup>4</sup> we learn that the river Wardhā divided Vīdarbha into two parts. Ancient Vīdarbha, therefore, comprised not only modern Berār but also the Marāṭhī districts of the Central Provinces, which, as I have shown elsewhere,<sup>5</sup> were under the direct rule of the Vākātakas. As a matter of fact there is no village named Padmapura in modern Berār proper, while there are at least six villages of that name in the Chāndā and Bhandārā districts of C P. Of these Padampur, 2 miles from Āngaon, a station on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, is probably the Padmapura of the present plate. As I have shown elsewhere<sup>6</sup> the villages mentioned in the Siwani plates of Pravarasēna II can be identified in its vicinity. The village contains many ancient relics. When I visited the place during the Christmas of 1934, I found four finely carved but broken images of the Tīrthan karas Pārśvanātha and Rishabhadeva, some others of Hindu gods like Vishnu<sup>7</sup> and remains of two Mediaeval Hindu temples, such as fragments of massive stone pillars, a large lintel measuring 8' × 1' 7" × 1' 6" and bases of door-jambes, in the adjoining fields. No other Padampur in C P is reported to have such ancient relics. There are at present no Brahmin families in Padampur itself which is now a small village of 112 souls, but there are many Brahmins in the neighbourhood of Padampur. It is noteworthy that they follow the Taittirīya branch of the Black Yajurveda to which Bhavabhūti's family belonged.<sup>8</sup> I, therefore, feel no hesitation in concluding that Padampur in the Āngaon Zamindari of the Bhandārā district, C P, was the last Vākātaka capital and the ancestral home of Bhavabhūti.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dr S. K. Belvalkar's Introduction to the *Uttara Rāmacharita* (Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. XXI), p. xxxvi.

<sup>2</sup> *A. S. R.*, for 1915-16, pp. 1-10.

<sup>3</sup> अस्ति दक्षिणापथे पद्मपुरं नाम नगरम् । तत्र केचित्तैत्तिरीयस्य काव्यपायस्यगुरुव पङ्क्तिपावनो पञ्चोदयो धृतरथा सीमपीथिन उदुक्तरनामानो ब्रह्मवादिन प्रतिवसन्ति । तदामुप्यायस्य तत्रभवतो वाजपेयराजिनो महाकावे पञ्चम त्रीकाण्डपदलोच्छ्रान्तो भवभूतिनाम जातृकर्णोपुत्र . । (*Mahāvīracarita* pp. 23,

ed. Oxford University Press)

<sup>4</sup> Act V, st. 13.

<sup>5</sup> Above, p. 169.

<sup>6</sup> Above, p. 171, footnote 1.

<sup>7</sup> An old farmer of Padampur told me that one more image was taken to the Nagpur Museum about forty years ago. It cannot however be definitely identified there, as no accurate record of the findspots of images has been kept in the Museum and the provenance of many is not known. But from the dimensions of its stone *prabhāvali*, which is still *in situ* at Padampur, the image seems to be identical with that of Siva (A 22 in the Descriptive List of Exhibits in the Nagpur Museum) which 'is said to have come from Bhandārā' (district?).

<sup>8</sup> It may be noted in this connection that the Siwani plates of Pravarasēna II which record the gift of the village Brahmapūraka in the neighbourhood of Padampur, were granted to a Brahmin of the Taittirīya *sūtra*.

TEXT <sup>1</sup>

- 1 पद्मपुरात्<sup>2</sup> [1<sup>3</sup>] अग्निष्टोमास्तोर्यामोक्त्यपीडश्यतिरात्रवाजपेयवृहस्पतिसवसाद्य-  
 आचतुरश्व<sup>4</sup>
- 2 मेघयाजिनः<sup>5</sup> विष्णुवृषसगोत्रसम्नाजः वाकाटकानाम्भाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य सूनोः  
 सूनोः
- 3 अत्यन्तस्वामिमहामैरवभक्तस्य अंसभारसन्निवेशितशिवलिङ्गोद्धनशिवसुपरि-
- 4 तुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवंशानां पराक्रमाधिगतभागिर<sup>6</sup>त्य्यमणजनमूर्ध्नाभिपिक्त<sup>7</sup>नाम्
- 5 दशश्वमेधावभृत<sup>8</sup>ज्ञातानाम्भारशिवानाम्भाराजश्रीभवनागदौहित्रस्य<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From the original plate

<sup>2</sup> There is a space of 7" sufficient for incising three letters before this word.

<sup>3</sup> Here and in some places below the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed

<sup>4</sup> Read भागीरत्य

<sup>5</sup> Read मूर्ध्नाभिपिक्तानाम्

<sup>6</sup> Read वभृष्ट

<sup>7</sup> There is a space of 1 3" left after this word. Faint traces of the top portion of a letter can be seen on the plate

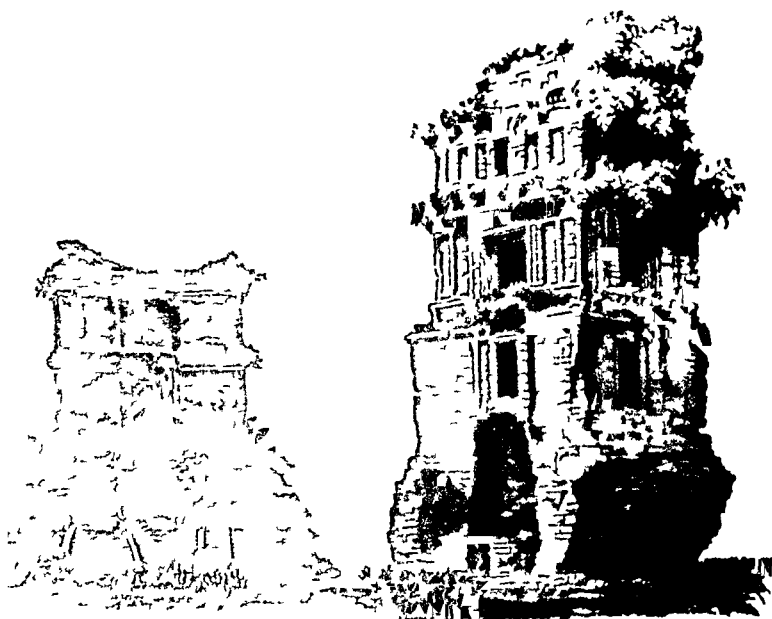
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2



ACTUAL SIZE

ANCIENT TOWER AT NIGAPATNAM (FROM IND. ANT. VOL. VII)



THE TOWER AS IT EXISTED IN 1816



BRONZE IMAGE PRESENTED  
TO LORD NALDER IN 1868

## No 34 —THE LARGER LEIDEN PLATES (OF RAJARAJA I)

BY K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B A, COIMBATORE

The Leiden University Museum in Holland preserves two sets of copper plate charters of the Chōlas of which the larger contains 21 leaves or plates and the smaller 3 leaves. These are popularly known as the Large and Small Leiden Grants. They were edited nearly half a century ago, i.e., in 1886 by Pandit Natesa Sastri and Burgess in Volume IV of the *Archæological Survey of Southern India*.<sup>1</sup> The provenance of the plates is not noticed by the authors but regarding the larger set they say that it is engraved in Chōla Grantha characters on 21 plates each measuring 14" by 5". They also note —“ The plates are held together by a massive ring bearing a seal about 4½" in diameter with 16 knobs at about equal distances from each other round the margin. The central field contains, on the left, two fishes—the scales, fins, gills, eyes and mouth, of which are all clearly expressed, and on the right, an animal, seated dog fashion, with its tail brought forward to touch the nearer of the fishes—from the large tusk in its mouth, it is probably intended for a tiger—the Chōla symbol. Over it is a *chhatra*, with a *chāmara* on each side, the handles resting on the heads of two small pillars resembling lamp stands,—each stand having a cloth knotted round the middle of it. The tops of these resemble lamp flames. A well raised circle, double below, surrounds all this, and outside it, in raised characters of the Chōla-Grantha type, is the legend beginning at the bottom —

Iti Rājēndra-Chōlasya Parakēsarivarmmanah rājarājanyamakutaśrēṇi ratnēshu śāsanam ||”

The following additional information is found in the note recently received from Leiden, by Dr Chakravarti, and kindly forwarded to me by him.<sup>2</sup> —“ The plates are ⅜" in thickness. On the left side there is a hole (diameter 1") by means of which the plates are fastened to a massive copper ring having an outward diameter of 13". The ring has a circular section with diameter of ⅞" and has been soldered into a cylindrical tube with raised rims. This tube, measuring 5⅝" in length and 1½" in section, contains a short inscription which contains the name Ānaimangalam in Tamil. On the top of the tube there is a massive conical projection in the form of a lotus flower, with eight pointed leaves turned downward and sixteen pointed leaves turned upward. On the upper surface of this lotus is the seal” described above. The note further informs that “ the writing has not been engraved was written first on wax tablets and from these the copper plates have been cast *a cire perdue*”

To the careful observations of Messrs Burgess and Natesa Sastri I would only add that the inner one of the double line at the bottom of the raised circle is intended to denote the bow emblem of the Chōras whom the Chōlas had subdued, and that the legend requires slight emendation. Rājēndra-Chōla's legend is given in two stone inscriptions published in the *South-Indian Inscriptions (Texts)*, Volume V,<sup>3</sup> and also in the seal of the Tiruvālangādu plates.<sup>4</sup> With the help of their readings the legend on the seal of the Leiden plates given by Burgess and Natesa Sastri may be corrected into—

Ētad-Rājēndra Chōlasya Parakēsarivarmmanah [ !\*]

rājad-rājanya-makuta śrēṇi-ratnēshu śāsanam [ ||\*]

<sup>1</sup> Pp 201 ff

<sup>2</sup> [At my request Lt Col Th. van Erp of Rijks Ethnographisch Museum, Leiden, kindly sent, through the good offices of Prof J. Ph. Vogel, excellent ink impressions of the grant from which the facsimiles accompanying this article are prepared.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> General Nos 578 and 579

<sup>4</sup> *A S R*, for 1903 04, p 234

That this must be the reading is clear from the authors' own remarks that the symbol " used for the first syllable of *Rājendra* and for the third syllable of *rājarājanya* is quite different from that employed for *ra* elsewhere in the legend, being more like what one might expect to find for *dra* or *pīa* " The photograph of the seal kindly sent by Lt-Col Th van Erp was examined by me in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India and found to agree with the reading given above I may remark that there is no punctuation mark in the legend

At the time the large Leiden plates were published, the account furnished in them formed the only authentic source for Chōla history and served to remove some of the misconceptions and wrong conjectures regarding a few of the members of the Chōla family The editors had correctly estimated the worth of the record when they said that it was ' the first Chōla inscription yet translated containing much definite information respecting the dynasty, and must be regarded as of the greatest importance ' The genealogy it furnished superseded those published by Sewell in his *Lists of Antiquities*<sup>1</sup> and formed an important basis for future investigations Since the editing of these plates, a number of valuable Chōla records have been edited critically Of these, the most important is the Tiruvālangādu grant discovered by me in 1906 and edited in the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Volume III<sup>2</sup> No less useful is the stone inscription of Vīrarājendra found at Kanyākumārī by the late Gopinatha Rao and edited by me in the *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Volume III<sup>3</sup> The Anbil plates of Sundara-Chōla and the Madras Museum plates of Uttama Chōla, the former edited in the *Epigraphia Indica*<sup>4</sup> and the latter in the *South-Indian Inscriptions*,<sup>5</sup> are other important ones Besides these epigraphical sources, there are a few Tamil historical texts which also aid the student in his study of the Chōla history These are the *Kalīngattupparan* and the *Kulōttungasōlan ulā*, first noticed by the late Kanakasābhai Pillai in the *Indian Antiquary*, *Vīlramaśōlan ulā*, *Rājarājaśōlan ulā* and others, the texts of which had since been edited with care

Considering the time of publication, it must be said that the inscription on the Leiden plates has been fairly well made out But there are a few mistakes of the authors as well as of the printer which mar the text and distort the sense They could be easily corrected without having recourse to the original, mainly with the help of the reading of other allied records I noted down the mistakes when I took up its study seriously while editing the Kanyākumārī inscription in the *Travancore Archaeological Series* nearly 15 years ago On that occasion, I also revised the text of the Leiden plates, which on comparison with the impressions now kindly secured by the Government Epigraphist is found to agree One of the serious defects in the previous edition of this inscription is the wrong arrangement of some of the plates The plate marked there as " Fifteenth plate, second side " is really the fourteenth plate, second side Similarly the plate marked " Fourteenth plate second side " is in fact the fifteenth plate, second side The inscription then reads through without any interruption, the regular order of the lines 284 to 316 given in the volume should be 281, 305 to 315, 295 to 304, 285 to 294 and 316

While the published Sanskrit text is almost free from errors of transcription, the Tamil portion contains too many mistakes to be noticed here The best way will be to give a correct version of the whole with proper division of words adding foot notes wherever serious changes are effected Most of the mistakes are simple ones due to taking *ra* for the length stroke from which it is hardly distinguishable or due to taking the basic consonant as the first combined consonant and *vice*

<sup>1</sup> Vol II, pp 151-156

<sup>2</sup> See pages 383 to 439

<sup>3</sup> Pages 87 to 158

<sup>4</sup> Vol. XV, pp 44-72

<sup>5</sup> Vol III, pp 264 ff

*versā* In effect, the significance of some of the words has been altered or distorted and rendered meaningless. For instance, *lāranattān* has been read as *kānattān* (l 356)<sup>1</sup>, *Pāḷḷān* has been read as *Pāḷḷān* (l 276), *Perēmapura* as *Perampura* (l 156), *ulḡum* as *ulalūm* (l 285), *virpīḍiyum* as *virapīḍiyum* (l 285), *pāya kkalina* as *pāyikkallin* (l 236), *Śiriyān Kadamban* as *Śiriyāna Kadamban* (l 244), etc. The formation of *ta* and *na* being almost similar, one has been mistaken for the other. For instance, the proper name *Anariyān* has been read as *anariyāda* (l 159). As *lu* is shaped almost like *mu*, the latter letter has been mistaken for the former, e.g., *nāttōlukkū* and *nāttōlhun* (ll 173 and 174), for *nāttōmukkū* and *nāttōmun*. The *Griṇtha* letter *bha* being similar to the conjunct *tha*, the former has been mistaken for the latter, e.g., *Tammadittattan* (l 153) which must be *Tammadī Bhattan*. Wrong division of words has sometimes resulted in distorting words and obscuring their sense. For instance, what has been read as *brahmadēyamun Kīraludr* (l 265f) ought to be *brahmadēya Mūṅṅirḷudr*, what has been read as *peruttatōranangalum* (ll 159 60) ought to be *pēr-ttāntōn-tāngalum* (*pēr tandōn-tāngalum*) and what has been taken as *pāl tēvaralar* (l 287) should be *pālād evvagar*. It is unnecessary to cite more instances as the mistakes are corrected in the revised text given below.

The impressions now obtained show that the inscription has been very neatly executed from beginning to end. It is in two sections. The first section is in the Sanskrit language and written in the *Griṇtha* alphabet. It contains 111 lines of writing and covers the obverse and reverse sides of five plates<sup>2</sup>. Except the first plate, the rest are marked with the numerals 2 to 5 on the obverse sides, near the top of the ring hole, either to its left or right. These numerals are in smaller characters than the letters of the inscription.

The following orthographical peculiarities may be noted. The vowel *a* is represented by two separate symbols which could be easily mistaken for *tara*. The finals of consonants are indicated by a slight vertical stroke marked on the right top corner (for instances see *yūvat* in l 4 and *pratāparān* in l 31), except in the case of *m* where it is marked on the top of the left side. The superscribed *rēpha* is denoted by a dot placed over the consonant (e.g., see *śārṅgīmaś* in l 3 and *Ravir=vi*<sup>3</sup> in l 7). The length symbol is invariably separated from the letter to which it belongs. While *ḷr* (see *Kṛishna* in l 43, *ḷrita* in l 66f, *ḷritya* in l 67), is represented by a hook turned to the right crossing *la*, *ḷr* is shaped by bending, at the bottom, the vertical stroke of *la* to the left (see *chakra* in l 52). There are many instances of the use of final *m* for *anusvāra*, for example see *sampatatbhīs* in l 44, *Śambku* in l 69, *dalshin āmbhō* in l 69, *sambhūtēna* in l 80, *sampanna* in l 101, and *sambhavō* in l 103. While the medial short *i* is denoted by a concave curve marked over the letter, long *ī* is denoted in two ways by having a closed loop at the beginning or end of the *i* curve. The *u* symbol is formed in three different ways—(1) In the case of most letters (*n*, *p*, *m*, *y*, etc.), it is indicated by the addition of a tube to the bottom of the letter. The long *ū* in these letters is denoted by the further addition of a convex curve passing from the right of the letter to the left covering its lower portion. (2) In the case of letters like *l* and *r*, which have a tube bottom, the *u* symbol is represented by the addition of a curve passing at the bottom of the letter with a slight bend on the right side. The long *ū* in these letters is shown by a wavy line added to the letter at the middle of the right side. (3) In the case of *t* and *ś*, the *u* symbol is indicated by the addition of a hook at the bottom turned to the right. *Tū* and *śū* are not represented.

<sup>1</sup> The lines quoted in this paragraph refer to the edition of the text by Burgess and Natesa Sastri.

<sup>2</sup> On each side, the first plate contains 10 lines, the second 11 lines, and the third and the fourth 12 lines. While the obverse of the fifth plate has only 9 lines, the reverse of it contains 12 lines.



The language and alphabet of the second section is Tamil, though Grantha letters are used in some words of Sanskrit origin. It contains 332 lines of writing and covers the obverse and reverse sides of sixteen plates.<sup>1</sup> These plates are marked with the numerals 1 to 16 as in the Sanskrit portion. The omission of *pulli* or *virāma*, and the shaping of *mu* and *lu* alike are the only points worthy of note.

Omission of letters are noticeable in *grām* (l 49) for *grāma*, *viṇa* (l 67) for *viṇaya*, *samāhvah* (l 97) for *samāhaya*, *Jayangonsōla* (l 108) for *Jayangondasōla*, in the Sanskrit portion, *pūnmai* (l 56) for *pūndama*, *°yūdattu* (l 126) for *°yūdarattu*, *Kshatrīśikhā* (l 240) for *Kshatriyaśikhā*, *brahmadēn* (l 212) for *brahmadēyan*, *Nannimanla* (l 247) for *Nannimangala*, *piśūlndu* (ll 232, 253, 268) for *piśūlndu*, and *eludī* (l 234) for *eludinēn* in the Tamil portion.

Both the Sanskrit and the Tamil portions are in the script of the 11th century A D. The writing of the Sanskrit section and the writing from the latter half of line 323 up to line 332 are alike, and seem to be somewhat in a different hand from the main Tamil section from lines 1 to 323 of the 16 Tamil plates.

We shall now notice the contents of the inscription. In the Sanskrit portion, the first verse is in praise of Vishnu<sup>2</sup> while the second is an invocation to the gods for the continuance of the Chōla family. Verses 3 and 4 introduce certain mythical ancestors of the solar family to which the Chōlas belonged. They are Manu<sup>3</sup> the son of Ahimākara (i.e., Sūrya), his son Ikshvāku, the virtuous Māndhātī<sup>4</sup> born in his family, his son Muchukunda<sup>5</sup>, his son Valabha, and Śibi<sup>6</sup> born in his family. Of the last, the poet exclaims "who, excepting Vyāsa, could extol the qualities of this king who protected his life only for the benefit of others!" (v 5). The eponymous Chōla<sup>7</sup> is

<sup>1</sup> There are generally 10 lines on each face except on IIb, VIIIb, IXa and b, XIVb and XVa, which contain 11 lines each, and XVb, and XVIa, which have 13 lines each.

<sup>2</sup> Verse 9 of Canto VIII of *Kalīngattupparanī* starts the mythical ancestry of the Chōlas from Vishnu and carries it in regular succession through Brahman, Marichu, Kaśyapa, and Sūrya.

<sup>3</sup> Verse 10 of Canto VIII of *Kalīngattupparanī* states that Ikshvāku was the son of Manu who was the son of Sūrya. It refers to the rendering of justice by Manu, to the astonishment of all, by holding the life of his own son as being no better than that of the calf overrun by the wheels of his car. The verse reads —

Avv Arukl an magan āgi Manu mēdini purand ariyā kādalanaiy āvinadu karu nigar enr  
e vvarukl amum viyappa murai śeyda kadaiyum Ikshvāguv ivan mandan ena vanda parisum [\*]

It is interesting to note that the account of the *Periyapurāna* of Manu rendering justice to a cow whose calf was run over by the car of his son, by running his own car over the latter, finds mention in an inscription of Vikrama Chōla found at Tiruvārūr (No 456 of S I I—Texts, Vol V, pp 174ff). This gives some more details that are not found in the hagiology. Here it is stated that a cow having rung the bell put up at the gate (of the palace) of Manu, the king sent his minister (*mantrin*) Ubhayakulāmalan of Pālayūr in Inga nādu to know the cause of the ringing. On his reporting that a cow rang the bell, Manu came out, saw the cow and her calf that lay dead, enquired and learnt, that the calf was run over by the car in which his son drove and considering his son's life as being equal to that of the calf, he ordered his minister to run a car over his son. The minister set out with a heavy heart and piercing his ears died. The *dārapalas* (i.e., gate keepers) informing the king of the happening, he felt sorry and himself ran the car over his son. At this juncture, the God showed His Grace by restoring to life the calf, the minister and the son of Manu. The king presented the calf to the mother cow and set out for *tapas* with the minister, anointing the revived son in his place and appointing to the office of his minister, the minister's son named Sūrya.

<sup>4</sup> Before Māndhātī, the *Kalīngattupparanī* introduces Purandara as being the son of Ikshvāku (VIII, v 11).

<sup>5</sup> Māndhātī and Muchukunda are described in verse 12. The former is described as making the fierce tiger and the deer drink together at the same *ghaṭ*.

<sup>6</sup> In verse 13, Śibi is referred to only by his act of cutting his flesh from his body without the least agitation and entering the scales to equal the weight of the dove, and before him is mentioned one (i.e., Prithulāksha) who earned the nectar arising from the churning of the ocean to the gods.

<sup>7</sup> Speaking of Chōla, the *Kalīngattupparanī* (verse 14) states that he formed the Chōlamandala and that Surā dhirīṇ, i.e., Suraguru and others came in his line. The same verse also speaks of Rājākēsarin and Parākēsarin.

then introduced as being born in his family (v 6) It was after his name that the kings born in the family were called Chōlas Thus is of importance in indicating that the name Chōla was first applied to a person, and then to the family, to the people and to the country In this family was Rājākēsarīn and in the latter's family was Parakēsarīn (v 7) It is stated that the names, or rather the titles, Rājākēsarīn and Parakēsarīn were borne alternately by kings born in the Chōla family (v 8) Thus it is made clear that only ruling members of the line assumed the said titles and not the others The next person mentioned as belonging to the family is Suraguru who acquired the name Mrityujit by conquering the god of death<sup>1</sup> (v 9) In his family was Vyāghrakētu whose descendant was Pañchapa<sup>2</sup> (v 10) From here, the information furnished in the plates relates to historical persons King Karikāla who is described as the god of death to his enemies, is said to have been born in his family The fact noted about him is that he constructed embankments to the river Kāvērī (v 11) He seems to have won lasting fame by this deed The composer of the Kanyākumārī inscription draws special attention to the damage caused annually to the country by the river when it was in floods The building of embankments to it not only alleviated the frequent sufferings of his subjects but turned the very source of evil into good and made the country grow in wealth and prosperity And posterity never failed to mention with gratitude this noble act of the king<sup>3</sup> His renovation of the city of Kāñchī, which as we know was the capital of the Pallavas from very early times, is recorded in the Tiruvālangādu plates<sup>4</sup> In these ways Karikāla seems to have used the riches which he must have obtained by his successful fight with Trilōchana Pallava and the influence which he must have gained thereby In the first of these works, Karikāla was helped by several of the subjugated kings including Trilōchana Pallava<sup>5</sup> The date of Karikāla has been taken to be the 5th century A D<sup>6</sup> In Karikāla's family was king Kōchchangannān He is described as the bee at the lotus feet of Śambhu (v 12) While the story of Kōchchangannān's previous birth as spider weaving cobwebs over the *linga* at Jambukēśvaram is detailed in the *Periāpurānam* and the Tiruvālangādu plates,<sup>7</sup> his building activities and devotion are referred to in the *Dēvānam* His victory in the battle of Kaḷumalam is fully described in the *Kalavaḥ*<sup>8</sup> After him came Kō-kKilī A descendant of Kilī was Vijayālaya (v 13) While

<sup>1</sup> Mrityujit is described in the *Kalingattupparam* (Canto VIII, v 15) as "one who showed to Kala (i.e., the god of death) his way of conduct" In *S I I*, Vol III, p 417, n 2, it has been pointed out that the poem evidently refers to Suraguru and Mrityujit as two different kings

<sup>2</sup> After Mrityujit, Vyāghrakētu and Pañchapa are the only two kings mentioned in the Leiden plates The former is referred to in the Tiruvālangādu plates by his other name Chitravatha and it is stated that his banner-cloth bore the emblem of the tiger The *Kalingattupparam* evidently speaks of him when it refers to 'one who put in his flag Indra as the tiger' Pañchapa is described in the Tamil poem as 'he who offered his blood to be drunk forcibly' The Kanyākumārī inscription speaking of Pañchapa states that he cut open five arteries of his body and fed with blood five Yakshas

<sup>3</sup> *Tat tūlē Kalhalō-bhūt Kāvērī tīra kṛin=ṇṇipah* (above, Vol VII, p 153) *Tasmin kulē samabhavat Kalikāla Chōlō vīrah Kavēra tanayān=taṇinīm vidhuta* (ibid, p 150) *Toḷudu mannarē karai śey Ponni* (*Kalingattupparam*, VIII, v 20)

<sup>4</sup> *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol III, pp 417f, v 42

<sup>5</sup> *Charana sarōruha vīhita vilochana Trilōchana pramukh āl hīla prithvīśara kārta Kāvērī tīra* (above, Vol XI, p 340, n 2) *Kavēra tanayā [tē]l [l\*]amghana praśamana pramukh ady anēl ātśaya karipah Karilālaya* (Panyakumāra plates, above, Vol XI, p 345)

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol XI, p 340

<sup>7</sup> See *S I I*, Vol III, p 418, verse 43 and note 4 See v 3 of Tirunāvukkarasu's *Dēvānam* on Tiruochāy-kādu and his hymn on Tirunampallī, verse 2, also Sundaramūrtināyanār's hymn on Tiruvāvadudurai, verse 2 The Mādakkōyil at Tiruvaigal is said to have been constructed by Śenganṇān see Jñānasambandar's hymn on that place

<sup>8</sup> K V S Aiyer's *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dehkan*, pp 187 and 188, and also above, Vol XI, p 166, n. 6,

the Kanyākumārī inscription states that he constructed the town of Tañchāpurī<sup>1</sup> in the Chōla country, the Tiruvāṅgadu plates say that he captured that city and built the temple of Nisum-bhirsēd nī in it<sup>2</sup> Since we know from the Śendalai pillar inscriptions that Tañchāpurī was one of the principal cities<sup>3</sup> of Perumbidugu Muttaraiyan, who flourished immediately before the time of Vijayālāya, the conclusion is irresistible that the latter must have conquered the Muttaraiyan chief and wrested the town from his possession and made it his capital<sup>4</sup> As such the information furnished in the Kanyākumārī inscription is not quite correct And since we know from Vēlūr-pīḷayam plates that Nandivarman III, who was not far removed from Vijayālāya, had a certain Chōlamahārāja *alias* Kumārāṅkuśa as his *āṇapā*,<sup>5</sup> it is not impossible that this Vijayālāya succeeded him and eventually made himself independent or paved the way for his son to raise the canopy of a dominion in Southern India Of Āḍitya, the son of Vijayālāya (v 14), much information is not given in the Leiden plates But we know from other sources that he was a Rājakesarivarman<sup>6</sup> and had the name Kōḍandarāma,<sup>7</sup> that he was a great conqueror and knew no defeat,<sup>8</sup> that he was on friendly terms with the Chēra king Sthānu Ravi<sup>9</sup> and the Western Ganga Prithivipati II,<sup>10</sup> that he extended his territory into Tondai nādu<sup>11</sup> and killed or defeated the Pallava king Aparāṇita,<sup>12</sup> that he acquired Kongu,<sup>13</sup> that he built large temples to Śiva on both banks of the Kāvēri and that he reigned from A D 870 to 907<sup>14</sup> Āḍitya's son was Parāntaka (I) (v 15) He is said to have founded big towns, to have effected some conquests and to have covered with gold the temple of Indumauli, i e, Śiva at Vyāghrāgrahāra (vv 16 17) His achievements recorded in other places are the signal defeats inflicted on the Pāndya Rājasimha, the acquisition of the Bīna kingdom and the bestowal of it on his ally the Western Ganga Prithivipati II,<sup>15</sup> the conquest of Ceylon,<sup>16</sup> the overcoming of the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛṣṇarāja III in battle<sup>17</sup> and the establishment

<sup>1</sup> *Trav Arch Series*, Vol III, p 155, v 54

<sup>2</sup> *S I I*, Vol III, p 418, vv 45, 46

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol XVII, pp 134ff

<sup>4</sup> *Historical Sketches of Ancient Delhan*, p 211 There are ample evidences of the rule of the Muttaraiyans in the Pudukkōṭṭai State and Tanjore and Trichinopoly Districts See pages 138 39, above, Vol XVII

<sup>5</sup> See *S I I*, Vol II, p 512, v 26, and the Tamil portion which follows it It is said that this Chōlamahārāja was called the heroic head jewel of the Chōla race, that the glory of his prowess was well known, that his liberality was that of Karna and that his conduct was upright

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol XV, p 68, v 17

<sup>7</sup> *Trav Arch Series*, Vol III, p 155, v 55

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol XV, p 68, v 18

<sup>9</sup> *S I I*, Vol III, p 221

<sup>10</sup> Above, Vol XIX, pp 81ff

<sup>11</sup> *Historical Sketches of Ancient Delhan*, p 213

<sup>12</sup> These are recorded in the Udayāndram plates of Prithivipati II (*S I I*, Vol II, p 387, vv 9 and 10) The charter distinctly refers to two invasions of the Pāndya country, in the earlier of which Parāntaka I defeated the Pāndya king and captured his city, and in the later he not only defeated the Pāndya but also slew an immense army despatched to his aid by the lord of Lanlā. Parāntaka's first invasion of Madura may be placed in A D 910 when he assumed the title 'Maduraikonda' The second invasion referred to above may be placed in about A D 918 which is the date of one of his inscriptions mentioning the battle of Vēlūr in which it is also stated that Parāntaka defeated the allied forces of Pāndya and the king of Ceylon

<sup>13</sup> The earliest inscription that gives to Parāntaka I, the epithet "*Maduraiyum Ilamum lonḍu*" being dated in the 37th year of his reign, his conquest of Ceylon must be said to have taken place in or about A D 944 The Tiruvāṅgadu plates referring to this event state that "all the waters of the sea were not enough to quench the fire of the Chōla king's anger, which consumed the enemies and which was put out only by the tears of the wives of the king of Sinhaṣa, cut and killed by the king's weapons" (*S I I* Vol III, p 419, v 52) The Kanyākumārī inscription states that the name Sinhaṣantaka was acquired by Parāntaka I, by this achievement (*Trav Arch Series*, Vol III, p 155 v 59)

<sup>14</sup> *Trav Arch Series*, Vol III, p 155, v 58 Parāntaka's conquest of the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III must have happened before A D 944 which is the earliest date of Kṛṣṇa III's records in the Tamil country subject to the rule of the Chōlas (No 375 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1909)

of several *agrahāras* called after his name *Vīranārāyaṇa*.<sup>1</sup> The first over seas invasion—which was to be continued long afterwards—was undertaken by him. He reigned for 48 years<sup>2</sup> from A D 907 and paid great attention to the internal administration of his country. Verse 18 states that *Parāntaka* had three sons named *Rājāditya*, *Gandarāditya* and *Ariṇjaya*. Of these, *Rājāditya* is said to have been the lord of the earth after *Parāntaka I* had passed away (v 19), and fighting with *Kṛṣṇanarāja*, i.e., the *Rāshtrakūta* king *Kṛṣṇa III*, he is reported to have met with his end (v 20). The incorrectness of the statement contained in verse 19 that *Rājāditya* became the lord of the earth after *Parāntaka* has been clearly shown on pages 82-83 of *Ep Ind*, Vol. XIX, where, in a footnote, several records of *Parāntaka I*, dated in regnal years corresponding to A D 947, 948, 952 and 953 have been cited. Because the battle of *Takkōlam*, in which *Rājāditya* lost his life, took place in A D 947 and is referred to in a record of A D 949, it is evident that he did not survive his father, who lived and reigned, according to a recently discovered inscription dated in the 48th year, up to at least A D 955. From verses 21 and 22 we learn that *Gandarāditya* reigned over the *Chōla* dominion and founded a city after his name on the north bank of the *Kāvērī*,<sup>3</sup> and passed away after a son named *Madhurāntaka* had been born to him. The last statement is significant inasmuch as it indicates that *Madhurāntaka* was a child at the time of his father's demise. The next seven verses (vv 23-29) state that *Ariṇjaya*, his son *Parāntaka II* who fought a sanguinary battle at a place named *Chēvūr*<sup>4</sup> (v 25), and the latter's son *Āditya II* who is said to have played sportively with *Vīra-Pāndya* while he was yet a youth (v 28), ruled the kingdom in succession and that *Madhurāntaka* succeeded *Āditya II* (v 29). Thus, from the statements of the plates it is evident that the three kings *Ariṇjaya*, *Parāntaka II* and *Āditya II* held the reins of government only during the minority of *Madhurāntaka* and gave him the kingdom when he came of age. Their reigns must accordingly have been short. That this was actually the case can be gathered from a consideration of the time of the rule of *Uttama Chōla*. His stone inscriptions carry his reign to 16 years and one of them gives *Kali* 4083 as the equivalent of his 13th year.<sup>5</sup> As such, his rule lasted from A D 969 to 985. Therefore, it is certain that the intervening kings between *Parāntaka I* to *Madhurāntaka*, omitting of course *Rājāditya*, who, as shown above, did not survive his father, must have reigned in the interval A D 955 to 970. Verses 30 to 34 speak of *Rajārāja I*, the successor of *Uttama-Chōla*. He is said to have conquered the countries of *Pāndya*, *Tulu*, *Kēraḷa* and also *Simhalēndra* and *Satyāśraya*. The genealogy furnished in the present plates is given below in a tabular form for easy reference along with those supplied by the *Tiruvālangādu* plates, the *Anbil* plates, and the *Kanyākumārī* inscription.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, v 60

<sup>2</sup> *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1932, p 49

<sup>3</sup> This place has been identified with *Kaṇḍarādittam* in the *Trichinopoly District*

<sup>4</sup> In some inscriptions he claims "to have driven the *Pāndya* into the forest". The *Kanyākumārī* record states that the quivering *Pāndya* contemporary of his crossed the mountain and fled away. *Sundara Chōla's* general *Parāntakan Śrīyavēlār*, a *Kodumbālūr* chief, is said to have lost his life in a battlefield in *Ceylon* in the 9th year of the king's reign (above, Vol. XII p 124, and note 3).

<sup>5</sup> *A R on Epigraphy* for 1908, p 63

## THE TABLE SHOWING THE ANCESTRY OF THE CHOLAS

The Tiruvālangādu plates	Anbil plates of Sundara Chōla	The Kanyākumārī inscription	The Leiden plates
<p>*Sun Manu Ikshvāku-Vikukshi Purañjaya <i>alias</i> Kakutstha Kakshivat Aryyamā Analapratāpa Vēna Pṛithu Dhundhu mārā Yuvanāśva Māndhātṛi Muchukunda Valabha Pṛithulāksha Pārthivachūdāmanī Dirghabāhu <i>alias</i> Chandrajit—Sāmkrīti Pañchapa Satyavrata <i>alias</i> Rudrajit Auśinara Sibi Marutta Dushyanta Daushyanti (Bharata) Chōla or Chōla varman</p> <p>Rājākēsarivarman or Rājākēsarīn</p> <p>Parākēsarīn</p> <p>Chitraratha</p> <p>Chitrāśva</p> <p>Chitradhanvan (brought Kavērakanyakā)</p> <p>Suraguru <i>alias</i> Mṛityujit</p> <p>Chitraratha <i>alias</i> Vyāghrakētu</p> <p>Narēndrapati</p> <p>Vasu (Uparichara)</p> <p>Viśvajit</p> <p>Perunatkilī</p> <p>Kālikāla (Karikāla) (renovated Kāñchi with gold, constructed embankments to the Kāvēri)</p>	<p>Vishnu Brahmā Marichi Kaśyapa Aryaman Mahāvira Rudrajit Chandrajit Usunara Sibi Chōla</p> <p>Senni, Killi, etc</p> <p>Karikāla, etc</p> <p>Kōchchangannān (built temples for the lord of Gauri in all countries, v 13)</p> <p>Nallaṭṭikkōn</p> <p>Valabha</p> <p>Śrikantha<sup>2</sup></p> <p>Viśayālaya</p> <p>Rājākēsarīn (built large temples of stone to Śiva on both banks of the Kāvēri)</p> <p>Vīra Chōla (reduced Ma dhurā, married the daughter of the Kērala king who was also called Paḷuvēttarayar)</p> <p>Aruñchika (married Kalyānī, the daughter of the Vaidumba king)</p> <p>Sundara Chōla (also called Rājākēsarīn and Parāntaka, his virtuous rule and his martial glory described in vv 27 30)</p>	<p>Brahmā Marichi Kaśyapa Vivasān Manu Ikshvāku Vikukshārava Purañjaya Pṛithu Kuvalāśva Māndhātṛi Muchukunda Harisāchandra Sagara Bhagīratha Rituparna Dilīpa Rāma Chōla</p> <p>Rājākēsarīn</p> <p>Parākēsarīn</p> <p>Mṛityujit</p> <p>Virasēna</p> <p>Chitṛi or Vyāghrakētu</p> <p>Pushpakētu</p> <p>Kētumāla</p> <p>Samudrajit</p> <p>Pañchapa</p> <p>Nṛimṇida</p> <p>Manōratha</p> <p>Perunatkilī</p> <p>Karikāla</p> <p>Valabha</p> <p>Jagadēkamalla</p> <p>Vyālabhayankara</p>	<p>Sun Manu Ikshvāku Māndhātṛi Muchukunda Valabha Sibi Chōla</p> <p>Rājākēsarīn.</p> <p>Parākēsarīn</p> <p>Suraguru <i>alias</i> Mṛityujit.</p> <p>Vyāghrakētu</p> <p>Pañchapa</p> <p>Karikāla (constructed embankments to the Kāvēri)</p> <p>Kōchchangannān (a devotee of Śambhu)</p> <p>Kōlikilī</p> <p>Viśayālaya</p> <p>Āditya</p> <p>Parāntaka I (covered the temple of Śiva at Vyāghrāgrahāra with gold)</p> <p>Rājāditya (fought with Krishnarāja and died in battle)</p> <p>Gandarāditya (founded a village after his name on the bank of the Kāvēri)</p> <p>Arūñjaya</p> <p>Madhurāntaka</p>

<sup>1</sup> The mythical ancestry of the Chōlas as furnished in these sources is given at the beginning of each list before the eponymous Chōla is mentioned. Hyphen after a name indicates 'son and successor' and dots 'a lineal descendant'.

<sup>2</sup> Tiruvorumbūr was called Śrikantha chaturvēdimangalaṁ.

## The Tiruvāṅgaṇḍu plates

Kōchchengaṇṇān (a spider in his previous birth, devoted to Sambhu)

Vijayālaya (captured Tañchāpurī, consecrated Nisumbhasūdamī)

Ādityavarman (conquered in battle the Pallava Aprājita and took possession of his country)

Parāntaka (I) (defeated Pāṇḍya, Simhaḷa, built a Dabhra sabhā to Śiva)

Rājāditya (defeated Kṛṣṇarāja and went to heaven)

Gandarāditya (became king after his father)

Arindama (became the best of kings)

Parāntaka (II) (called a Manu and Sundara, on his death his queen Vāna vajmahādēvī committed sati)

Āditya (II) (ruled the earth after Parāntaka (II), killed the Pāṇḍya king in battle)

Arunmoḷivarman (performed tula bhāra, captured the town Viṇḍā, conquered the Pāṇḍya Amara bujanga, and burnt the lord of Lanka, defeated Satyāśraya, killed Āndhra Bhīma, conquered the country of Paraśurāma, and subdued the kings of Gaṅga, Kāṇḍya, Vāṅgi, Magadha, Aratta, Odda, Surāshṭra and Chāḷukya)

## Anbil plates of Sundara-Chōḷa.

## The Kanyākumārī inscription

## The Leiden plates

Vijayālaya (constructed Tañchāpurī in the Chōḷa country)

Āditya (I) *alias* Kōḍanda rāma (killed the Pallava king)

Parāntaka (I) (killed the Pāṇḍya king, destroyed Madhurā and acquired the title of Madhurāntaka, conquered the unconquerable Kṛṣṇarāja and was famed as Vira Chōḷa, having killed the lords of Simhaḷa acquired the title of Simhaḷāntaka, established *agraharas* called after his other name Viranārāyaṇa)

Arindama

Parāntaka (II) (hearing of his advance the Pāṇḍya king crossed the mountain and fled)

Rājārāja (I) (Satyāśraya fled from the battlefield)

Madhurāntaka *alias* Rājendra Chōḷa (conquered Kuntala, made Mānya-khṛṣṭa a playground for his armies, had the kings of Kulūta and Utkala slain and the chiefs of Kalinga and Viṇḍa destroyed, burnt Kaṭāha)

Rājādhirāja (set fire to Kalyāna pura, and conquered Āhava-malla).

Virarājendradēva *alias* Vira Chōḷa (slew at Kūḍalaṅgama the kings

Parāntaka II (fought a sanguinary battle at Chōvūr)

Āditya (II) *alias* Karikāla (fought with Vira Pāṇḍya)

Rājārāja I (conquered the Pāṇḍya, Tuḷu, Kūraḷa, Simhaḷendra and Satyāśraya, destroyed ships at Kāṇḍalūr Sāḷai, captured Vāṅgaṇḍu, Gaṅgapādi, Nūḷambapādi, Tadiḡaipādi, Kudamaḷaṇḍu, Kollam, Kalungam, and Ilam, and removed the splendour of the Soliyas)

Madhurāntaka (Rājendra Chōḷa)

<sup>1</sup> After Āditya (II), his paternal uncle Madhurāntaka bore the burden of the earth and installed Arunmoḷi in the office of heir-apparent his devotion to Śiva is described.

The Tiruvāṅgādu plates	Anbil plates of Sundara Chōla	The Kanyākumārī inscription	The Leiden plates
<p>Madhurāntaka <i>alias</i> Uttama Chōla, Rājendra Chōla and Chōlendra simha (conquest of the quarters with a powerful army invasion of the South, the Pāndya country and the flight of the Pāndya king to the Malaya hill, his son Chōla Pāndya left in charge of the kingdom, invasion of the Western region, crossing the Sahya and fighting with and defeating the lord of Kēraḷa and leaving Chōla Pāndya in charge of the west also, entry into Kāñchī and conquest of Jayasimha</p>		<p>of the Mānāṭa family, conquered the Vēṅgi and the Kalinga countries, established <i>brahmadēyas</i> in the Chōla, Tundīra, Pāndya, Gangavāṭi and Kulūta countries, and saw the back of Āhavamalla three times)</p>	

After tracing the pedigree of the Chōlas the Sanskrit portion of the inscription states that king Rājārāja *alias* Rājakēśarīvarman gave in the 21st year of his reign the village of Ānamangalam to the lofty shrine of the Buddha in the Chūlāmanivarman-vihāra, which the ruler of Śrīvishaya and Katāha named Māraviṣayōttungavarman of the Śailēndra family having the *Maḥara* crest, the son of Chūlāmanivarman, had erected in the name of his father at the delightful city of Nāgapattana in Pattana-kūrram, a sub-division of Kshatriyasikhāmanī-valanādu (ll 73 86) and that after Rājārāja had passed away, his son Madhurāntaka caused a permanent edict to be made for the village granted by his father (vv 35 36) The Sanskrit *praśasti* given in this inscription was composed by a Brāhmaṇa resident of Kottaiyūr named Anantanārāyana of the Vasiṣṭha family (v 39) it was ordered by the officer Tillaṭṭai of Kāñchivāyil, otherwise known as Rājārāja-Mūvēndavēl, to be neatly incised (vv 40 42) On the direction of the lord of Katāha and at the instance of Tuvavūravān, Anukkan, the son of Śrīmān Atikal (Adigal), the five artisans of the Bhōvya family at Kāñchīpura, viz, Vāsudēva *alias* Rājārāja-Mahāchārya, Śrīranga and Dāmōdara, the two sons of Kṛishṇa, Kṛishṇa son of Vāsudēva, and Purushōttama, the son of Ārāva-mrita incised the *praśasti* and affixed their signatures to it (vv 43-48)

A word may now be said about the composer of the *praśasti* and the engravers of the grant Since it is stated that this permanent edict was caused to be made by Madhurāntaka (i.e., Rājendra-Chōla I, the son of Rājārāja I, there is no doubt that the *praśasti* was composed during his reign by his court poet. The composer's name given in it is Anantanārāyana and not Nandanārāyana as Messrs Burgess and Natesa Sastri have it. He was a Vasiṣṭha and a resident of Kottaiyūr. The Tiruvāṅgādu grant, which was issued in the early part of the same reign, i.e., in the 6th or the 7th year, is said to have been drawn up by Nārāyana the son of Samkara. The village of Kottaiyūr, to which the composer of the *praśasti* in the Leiden plates belonged, is renowned as the birth place of Pūvattabhattacha-Sōmayāṇyār, one of the Chōla officers that conducted enquiries in temples<sup>2</sup>. It is identical with the village of that name in the Kumba-

<sup>1</sup> On this word, see note 1, p 243 below

<sup>2</sup> No 227 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1921

konam Taluk of the Tanjore District. From one of the inscriptions of the place it is learnt that it was situated in Innambar-nādu<sup>1</sup>. While the Tiruvālangādu grant was incised by four persons, the Leiden plates were engraved by five. The proper names that occur in both are Śrīranga (Tiruvārangan) and Dāmōdara, who were the sons of Krishna, and Purushōttama the son of Ārāvamrita. While the Tiruvālangādu plates give the additional name Ārāvamurta, the son of Krishna, the Leiden plates furnish the names Vāsudēva, son of Krishna, and his son Krishna. The attribute *a-kṛishna charitah Kṛishna sambhavō=pi mahāmatih* is given to Ārāvamurta in the Tiruvālangādu plates, which distinctly state that Śrīranga and Dāmōdara were his younger brothers, whereas it is applied to Vāsudēva *alias* Rājarājappērāchāriyan in the Leiden plates which mention Śrīranga and Dāmōdara immediately after him without specifying any relationship. The common application of the epithet cannot point to the identity of the individuals Vāsudēva and Ārāvamurta. But it is not unlikely that both Vāsudēva and Ārāvamrita were the elder brothers of Śrīranga and Dāmōdara. The title Rājarājappērāchāry, borne by Vāsudēva might have been granted by Rājarāja I himself, during whose reign the gift recorded in the Leiden plates was actually made, though the document was finally issued in the reign of Rājendra Chōla I. Thus grant might even be slightly earlier than the Tiruvālangādu grant issued in about the 6th year. In the Sanskrit portion, the word *hōvya* is used to denote the family (*anvavāya*) of the persons that incised the inscription on the plates and they are also called *chitrakārīnah*. In mentioning their names in the Tamil portion which follows, the persons that incised the edict get the epithet *ōviyachchittirakārī*. It is thus made clear by the inscription itself that *hōvya* is only a variant of the Tamil *ōviya*. The word *ōviyam* occurs in the Tamil classical work *Manimēgalai*<sup>2</sup> in reference to a treatise called *ōviya nūl* and this is made evident by the commentary of Adiyārkkunallār on *Vēṇṟkāḍai*<sup>3</sup> of *Silappadhikāram*. Thus, we are led to think that *hōvya* or *ōviya* is not the proper name of a family or caste but is the name of a profession, and that profession, we know from the inscription, to be 'painting' (*chittirakārī*). This sense of the word *ōviya* is clearly obtained from two other references in the *Manimēgalai*<sup>4</sup> and *Jivachchintāmani*<sup>5</sup>. In the second reference, the commentator Nachchinārkkiniyar furnishes the synonym '*chittirakārī*' for *ōviyar*, as in the Leiden plates. In this connection, it is also worth noting that *ōvu* is used in the sense of "a painting" in *Madurakkāḷāṇchi*<sup>6</sup>. From what has been said above, it looks as if inscriptions were in the first instance painted on the materials, stone or metal, by painters, though the incising might have been left to be done by carvers on stone or metal. But it is not unlikely that both painting and carving were done by the same individuals, that is to say that *lēkhakas* knew both painting and carving.<sup>7</sup>

In the Tamil portion of this grant it is said that on the 92nd day after the 21st year of his reign, king Rājarāja, while he was in the pavilion, on the southern side of his palace called Rājāśrayan, erected in a suburb of Tañjāvūr, declared that the income of 8,943 *kālam*, 2 *tūm*, 1 *kuṟum*, and 1 *nāl* of paddy accruing from the payment of the assessment on 97 *vēḷi*, 2 *mā*, 1½ *kāṇ*, 1 *mundirigai*, *kīl* of three *mā*, three *kāṇ* and one *mundirigai* and *kīl* of half and 2 *mā* of land comprising the village of Ānamangalam,—including such as had ceased to be *pallich*

<sup>1</sup> No 241 of the same collection for 1927

<sup>2</sup> Canto II, ll 30 31, which read *nādaḡa maḡalirḡḡu nanaḡam iḡuttav ōviya chchennūl urai nūr kḡidak-kaiyum*

<sup>3</sup> See ll 23 26

<sup>4</sup> Canto 5, l 7

<sup>5</sup> Verso 102 of the *Gandarūtattaiyār Ilambagam*

<sup>6</sup> See l 365

<sup>7</sup> This is evident from the use of the words *veḡḡṇōm*, *ūchāriyan* and *chittirakārī* used in connection with the writers of this document



*chandas* (i.e., grants made to Buddhist or Jain temples), and omitting such as had been excluded in survey,—should be given as a tax-free *pallichchanda* to meet the requirements of the *palli*, i.e., the shrine of the Buddha in the Chūlāmanivarmavihāra which was being constructed by Chūlāmanivarman, the king of Kadāram, at Nāgapattanam in Pattanakūrnam, a sub division of Kshatriyaśikhāmani valanādu. This oral order of the king was committed to writing by the official who generally writes down the royal orders, was signed by four persons who bore the designation *irumandirarōlai nāyagam*, i.e., Superintendents of Royal Writs, and was issued. In accordance with it, it was ordered to be entered in the accounts by the officials bearing the designation *karumamārāyum*, i.e., Secretary, and *naduvirukhum*, i.e., arbitrators. Four officials of the tax department styled *puravuvāri* and three others styled *varippottagam* (i.e., maintainers of tax registers) being present, the entry in the state registers was made. This done, arrangements were made for drawing up the deed of gift, giving it to the donee and effecting the necessary changes in the divisional or village accounts. For the ceremony of walking along the boundaries taking round a female elephant, pointing out the limits and marking them with stones and milk-bush, one official called *kankāni naduvirukhum*, i.e., superintendent of arbitrators, four *Bhattas* and one *puravuvāri* officer were nominated, and a royal order was issued to the *nāttār*, i.e., the members of the Divisional Assembly stating that they should be present with the nominated persons, point out in detail the boundaries and draw up and give the deed of assignment to the donee (II 49 50). On hearing the approach of the royal mandate, the administrative body of the division went in advance, and paying obeisance to the order, received it on their heads and acted as directed in the order. The deed drawn up by them is actually what is incised on plates I to XVI (Tamil portion), which, after reciting the contents of the royal order noted above, gives in detail the boundaries of the lands comprising the village of Ānamangalam which is the object of the grant, specifies the conditions to be observed by the donees and the privileges to be enjoyed by them and bears the signatures of the persons that were present at the time of its being drafted. The names of the officials of Rājārāja I that figure in this inscription, their designations and the villages with district and subdivision, to which they belonged, are given in List A, and the names of the persons who signed the deed, with their official designations, and the *sabhā* or *ūr* of villages on whose behalf they attested it, are given in List B.

Here king Rājārāja I is surnamed Rājārājākēsarivarman and is said to have cut off the ships at Kāandalūr Śālai, to have taken Vēngai-nādu, Gangapādi, Nulambapādi, Taḍigai-pādi, Kudamalai-nādu, Kollam, Kalngam and Īlamandalam with the aid of his highly powerful and victorious army, and to have deprived the Śēliyas of their splendour. In the numerous collection of stone inscriptions of Rājārāja I, Kāandalūr Śālai sometimes occurs in the shortened form Śālai. That it was an important place in the Chēra kingdom is made clear from the epithet “*Vīra Pāndyan talarūyum Śēralan Śālarūyum Ilangarūyum konda*” (who took the head of Vīra Pāndya, the Śālai of the Chēra king and Lankā) applied to the Chōla king Rājādhirāja I<sup>1</sup>, and that it was a port town having a large number of ships is evident from the phrase “*eṇṇāhl vēlai kelu Kāandalūr Śālai*” occurring in the historical introduction of the same king in describing his campaign against the Chēras<sup>2</sup>. As the destruction of the ships at Kāandalūr-Śālai is first recorded in Rājārāja's stone

<sup>1</sup> *A R of the Trav Arch Department for 1920 21*, p 65

<sup>2</sup> Though *Śālai* and *lalam* mean also ‘feeding house’ and ‘vessel’ it seems improper to introduce this sense of the words in the phrase *Śālai lalam arutta* and to say that the Chōla king caused the discontinuance of “the feeding house or boarding school of the Chēras” (*Trav Arch Series*, Vol II, p 3f) for, it would turn one of the important military achievements of that king, on which he may be said to have prided himself by repeating it in his deeds of glory (i.e., the historical introduction), into an ignoble act which the king would hardly have allowed to be mentioned in his *meykirtti*.

inscriptions dated in the 10th year of his reign, it must have taken place in about A D 994. Though the epithet *Kāṇḍalūr Sālai kalam arutta* is applied in most records to Rājārāja I, there is but a single inscription which states that the king "by ordering his army, effected the destruction of ships at Kāṇḍalūr Sālu<sup>1</sup>". Vēṅgu nādu is the country of the Eastern Chālukyas, Gangapādi is the territory of the Western Gangas of Talakkūḍ, and Nulambapādi is the province subjected to the rule of the Nolambas. Kudamalai nādu occurs in the form Kudagumalai nādu in one of the Mysore State inscriptions<sup>2</sup> and may be the same as Coorg. But, it may also be interpreted as Malai nādu (i.e., the hill country) lying on the western side (*Iuda* or *kudagu*). In this case, Malai nādu or Kudamalai nādu may be taken to represent the country of the Chēras<sup>3</sup>. And it is worthy of note that some of the Tanjore inscriptions of Rājārāja I state that he defeated the Chēra king (*Chēravāṇ*) and the Pāṇḍyas in Malai nādu and presented the booty obtained there to the temple of Rājārājēśvara which he built at Tanjāvūr<sup>4</sup>. The conquests of the places mentioned above are registered in the king's records dated between the 12th and the 11th years as having been effected with the help of his highly powerful and victorious army. Thus between A D 997 and 998 Rājārāja seems to have overcome the Western Gangas, the Nolambas, the chief of the Coorg province or the Chēras, and the Eastern Chālukyas. Inscriptions dated between the years 14 and 15 (A D 998-999) add Kollam and Kāṇḍiṇi to the king's conquests. Bearing the name Kollam there were two places on the West coast. They had the distinguishing epithets Kurakkūṇi and Pandiḷiṇi<sup>5</sup>. The former is Quilon, a station in the Shencotta-Trivandrum line of the South Indian Railway, and the other is Pandiḷiṇi near Quilandy, a station in the Mangalore line of the same Railway. Both appear to have been cities of considerable importance in early times. According to the Kōttayam plates of the Chēra king Sthēnu Ravi, a contemporary and ally of the Chōḷa sovereign Rājākṣaravarman Āditya I (A D 870-907), a Christian Church—the earliest that is known from lithic records—was built at Kurakkūṇi Kollam, which was subject to the immediate rule of the Vēṇḍu Chief Aivanadigaḷ Tiruvadi and his heir apparent Rīma-Tiruvadi<sup>6</sup>. The Vēṇḍu Chiefs are often called Kōḷambhādhis from the fact that they were the lords of Kōḷambha, i.e., Quilon<sup>7</sup>. Pandiḷiṇi-Kollam or Kōḷam is said to have been made the capital of a kingdom by Rāmaghaṭi Mūshukēśvara<sup>8</sup>. The chiefs of this place are called in lithic records 'Irīmakuta Mūvar'<sup>9</sup>. If Kollam referred to as having been captured by Rājārāja I in his historical introduction is Kurakkūṇi Kollam, i.e., Quilon, he must have got it from the chief of Vēṇḍu after defeating him, and if it is Pandiḷiṇi Kollam, he must have wrested it from Irīmakuta Mūvar. Both these chiefs were subordinate to the Chēra king. Probably, referring to the conquest of the Chēras herein noted as having been effected by the army of Rājārāja I, the Tiruvāṇṭūḍu grant says that the commandant of the king captured the town of Viḷinda whose moat was the sea, whose extensive ramparts were glorious and high, (and) which was impregnable to the enemy warriors, thus omitting Kollam but mentioning Viḷiṇam (*S J I*, Vol III, p 421, v 79). The Sūṭūr inscription of Rājārāja I, which is somewhat differently worded from the rest, states that the Chōḷa sovereign conquered the haughty kings of Kollam, Kolladāsam and Kodun

<sup>1</sup> No 121 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1923

<sup>2</sup> *J. P. A. S.*, Vol III, Tn 122

<sup>3</sup> Kiehlhorn's *Southern India*, Nos 764 and 764

<sup>4</sup> See Tanjore temple inscription mentioning this conquest

<sup>5</sup> See *J. P. A. S.*, 1922, p 172

<sup>6</sup> *Trav Arch Series*, Vol II, pp 63 and 70

<sup>7</sup> *A. R. of the Trav Arch Department* for 1920-21, p. 54, para. 29

<sup>8</sup> *J. P. A. S.*, 1922, p 160

<sup>9</sup> *A. R. on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1930, Part II, para. 40

gölür (Cranganore) and that the kings of the sea (*ladal araiśar*) waited on him<sup>1</sup>. Here must be noted one other event, which seems to have taken place in the king's 14th year of reign (A D 998) and which seems to have furnished the king with the grandiloquent epithet *tanneḷḷi valar ūḷiyul ellā yāndum tolutaga viṅgum yāndē Śeliyarai=ūḷēṣu kol* meaning that "in the very year of his growing prosperity when he became the object of adoration in all quarters, he took away the splendour of the Śeliyas (i.e., the Pāndyas)" This event was considered to be of such prime importance that it was ever afterwards inseparably associated with his title and name in all his later inscriptions and the epithet bodily removed to the end of the introduction giving place to the mention of later additional conquests before it. It is not unlikely that the king himself was engaged in the fight against the Pāndyas and secured such unqualified success which gave him the permanent epithet while the additional conquests effected by the army were inserted before the phrase *tinḍiral venṇi tandār=kondu*<sup>2</sup>. An exact parallel to this may be found in the epithet *Śōnādu kondu Mudikondaśōlapurattu vīrābhīshēkam panniy-anuḷiya*,<sup>3</sup> which was similarly associated with the name of Mīravarmān Sundara Pāndya I, and taken to the end of his introduction giving his later conquests in earlier place. The Śēṇūr inscription adds that the Chōla sovereign destroyed Madura, i.e., the capital of the Pāndyas and places that event before the conquests of Kollam, Kolladēśam and Cranganore<sup>4</sup>. Speaking of the Pāndya conquest the Tiruvāṅgādu grant says that when Rājārāja I set out to conquer the South, the moon as if to afford protection to the Pāndya king born in his family, became the white parasol of the invader, and records also that Amarabhujaṅga was seized<sup>5</sup>. The last item of conquest mentioned in the Leiden plates is Īlamandalam, i.e., the province of Ceylon. This was effected with the help of the army. Perhaps Rājārāja himself did not go to Ceylon. As the event is mentioned for the first time in the historical introduction of the 16th year, it has to be placed in A D 1001. Quite in agreement with the stone inscriptions that it was the highly victorious army which effected the conquest of this item also, the Tiruvāṅgādu grant registers the event in these words — "This terrible General of that (*Iṅg Arunmolvvarman*) crossed the ocean by ships and burnt the Lord of Laukā (Ceylon)"<sup>6</sup>.

Since no additional conquests are recorded in Rājārāja's inscriptions from the 16th to the 20th years and since the annexation of Rattapāḍi 7½ lakhs is noticed in the inscriptions of the 21st year and after,<sup>7</sup> it seems that the invasion against the Western Chālukya country took place in some part of the 21st regnal year of the king (A D 1005). As the Leiden plates are also dated in the 21st year and 92nd day and as they do not mention Rattapāḍi 7½ lakhs, it is evident that the conquest was effected in the latter part of A D 1005, after the date of this grant, i.e., after the 92nd day of the 21st year of reign. The greatness of Rājārāja I as a conqueror is evident from the fact that he was able to bring under subjection not only the rulers of almost all the provinces of South India but also the king of Ceylon. It would thus appear that Rājārāja I was the greatest sovereign of the day, greater than any of his predecessors and had a high claim for imperial honours. However much the valour of this king and the conditions that were prevailing in the various

<sup>1</sup> *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1912, Part II, para 22.

<sup>2</sup> The 16th year inscriptions of Rājārāja I, add Īlam to the list of conquests effected with the help of the army and this is inserted before *tinḍiral* and the epithet *tanneḷḷi* taken after it. In the records of the 21st year and later, another conquest effected with the help of the army, viz., that of the Western Chālukya country or Rattapāḍi 7½ lakhs, is mentioned. We find it also similarly entered after Īlam and the epithet of the king taken to the end of the introduction.

<sup>3</sup> See above, Vol VI, p 302.

<sup>4</sup> *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1912, Part II, para 22.

<sup>5</sup> *S I I*, Vol III, p 121, cv 77-78.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.*, v 80.

<sup>7</sup> *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1892, para 6.

provinces of the Deccan in his day might have contributed to the success of his arms (in his vast scheme of conquests), credit must necessarily be given to "the highly powerful army" with whose aid he is expressly stated in hundreds of inscriptions to have effected the enlargement of his dominions.

A word about the conditions of the various states of the Deccan may not be out of place here. In fact it is necessary to know them to understand what opportunities presented themselves to Rājārāja I and how he availed himself of them. During the period when Rājārāja I was heir-apparent, which according to the Tiruvālangūdu grant covered the reign of Uttama Chōla<sup>1</sup> (A.D. 970-985), there reigned over the Pāndya country a king named Vira Pāndya who boasts of "having taken the head of the Chōla king"<sup>2</sup>. As opposed to this, more than one ruler of the Southern provinces, who could be regarded as his contemporaries, have assumed the title "who took the head of Vira Pāndya". One of these latter was the Chōla king Āditya II *alias* Karikāla and about him the grant under publication states that though a young boy he played sportively with Vira-Pāndya<sup>3</sup>. Others are the Kōlumbūlūr chief Vikramakēśari and Pārthivēndravarmā<sup>4</sup>, both of whom appear to have been the Chōla king's allies. From this it can be safely said that there were hard fights between the parties. In some of these, Vira Pāndya must have been successful and in other his opponents. In ascertaining the actual truth in such a matter, the places of distribution of their inscriptions may be regarded as a sure test of their claims. This seems to be in favour of neither party. So far, we have not come across any inscriptions of Vira Pāndya in the Chōla country. Nor have we any record of his opponents in the Pāndya territory, as we do find in the case of Parāntaka I and Rājārāja I. The struggle between the Chōlas and the Pāndyas was a hard and continuous one. It commenced in the reign of Chōla Parāntaka I, against Rājāsinha Pāndya and his ally the king of Ceylon and was continued ever afterwards. Parāntaka II *alias* Sundara Chōla is said to have driven the Pāndya into the forest, and of his general Parāntakavarmā<sup>5</sup> it is reported that he gave up his life in a battle in Ceylon. Āditya Karikāla's claim to have conquered Vira Pāndya has just been noted. Rājārāja I had to renew the struggle and his success was better than that of his predecessors. The numerous inscriptions of his found all over the Pāndya country—*i.e.*, Madurai and Tinnevely districts—testify to the fact that his overlordship was acknowledged in that quarter. Even the very name of the territory was changed into Rājārāja Pāndinādu. For this continuance of hatred between the Chōlas and Pāndyas there were good grounds. From the time when the ancient Chōlas ceased to be a ruling power and lost their hold of their ancient possessions in Trichinopoly and Tanjore districts and until Vijayālexa started a new line at Tanjore, their original home was occupied by the Pāndyas on the one side and the Pallavas on the other and there were severe fights between these two powers themselves. To wrest back from the new incumbents the kingdom, which had become theirs by long enjoyment and which they would not easily yield, led the Chōlas to be continually at war with the Pāndyas.

While this was the case with the kingdoms in the extreme south of the Peninsula, the state of affairs in the countries of Vēngi, Kalinga and Ratta, *i.e.*, the dominion of the Rāshtrakūtas was

<sup>1</sup> *S I I*, Vol. III, p. 120, v. 70.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. 163 of 1894 and 65 of 1896 which are dated in the 4+2nd year and 15+1th year of this king.

<sup>3</sup> See below p. 241, v. c. 26. Stone inscriptions of Parāśarivarmā "who took the head of Vira Pāndya" have been attributed to this king.

<sup>4</sup> *Historical Sketches of Ancient Deccan*, pp. 235-236.

<sup>5</sup> See above note 4, p. 219.

<sup>6</sup> See his inscription at Apaimalai near Madurai published in *S I I*, Vol. III, p. 230, No. 106, also No. 110 of 1895.

<sup>7</sup> See Madras Epigraphical Collections Nos. 108 of 1906, 70 of 1907, 302 and 613 of 1916.



may be explained by saying that the construction of the Chūlāmanivarman-vihāra was undertaken by the Katāha king Chūlāmanivarman himself in about the 21st year of the reign of Rājārāja I but was completed by Chūlāmanivarman's son Māraṇṇiṇṇavarman in the reign of Rājārāja's son Rājendra Chōla I. The number of years taken for the building of the *vihāra* which is not less than 9 and the munificent grant made to it by Rājārāja I of the entire income from the village of Ānaimangalam amounting to 8943 and odd *kālam* of paddy for a year for the upkeep of the *pālī* in it, speaks to the loftiness of the structure which in the words of the *prāsasti* writer is said to have lowered Kanakagiri, i.e., Mount Mēru. In connection with this building we may note the following observation of Sir W. Elliot made in 1878 —

“ Till within the last few years there was to be seen on the Coromandel coast, between one and two miles to the north of Negapatam, a tall weather-beaten tower, affording a useful landmark to vessels passing up and down the coast. It went by various names, as the Puduveligōpuram, the old pagoda, Chinese pagoda (Valentyn mentions it Pagood China in 1725) and in the map of the Trigonometrical survey (sheet 79) it stands as the Jeyna (Jaina) pagoda. But save in name it has nothing in common with Hindu or Mahomedan architecture, either in form or in ornament. Tradition is silent as to its origin or purpose, and although it has been the subject of frequent speculations, no satisfactory theory has been formed to account for it.” In 1846 Sir W. Elliot saw it. He describes “ I found it to be a somewhat four sided tower of three stories, constructed of bricks closely fitted together without cement, the first and second stories divided by corniced mouldings, with an opening for a door or window in the middle of each side. At the top of the lowest story were marks in the wall showing where the floor of the second had been fixed. The top was open. The base of the ground story was worn at the angles, from collision with passers-by and cattle, but the structure was solid and firm. No trace of sculpture or inscription was visible.” (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 224.)

The history of its disappearance is shortly this — The Jesuits expelled from Pondicherry settled in its vicinity and applied for permission in 1859 to dismantle it. Captain Oakes, the District Engineer, recommended its demolition stating it to be an old ruin, crumbling to decay and not deserving the name of an ancient monument, as it had neither sculpture nor inscription. Sir W. Elliot protested against it and the Governor deferred final orders until he saw it himself. Meanwhile Sir W. Elliot left India. Sir Charles Trevelyn went to Negapatam, was not impressed with its high antiquity, thought that expenditure on it was a waste of public money, did not concur in the recommendation for demolition but directed its being fenced round with an enclosure to secure its safety and at the same time ordered photographs of it to be taken. These orders were not carried out. In 1867 the Jesuits renewed their petition, the Chief Engineer recommended repairs and the tower was allowed to stand. He added “ there is no doubt that it is used as a landmark for vessels approaching the Negapatam roadstead ” and the Master Attendant of the port had expressed the opinion that “ the native population objected to its removal.” Then came the final order (28th August 1867) “ The Governor in Council is pleased to sanction the removal of the old tower at Negapatam by the officers of St. Joseph's College, at their own expense, and the appropriation of the available material to such school building purposes as they appear to have in contemplation.” Sometime after, Lord Napier visiting Negapatam was presented with a bronze image found in the excavation connected with the college.

The construction of the Chūlāmanivarman-vihāra and the *pālī* in it, to which the grant of the village of Ānaimangalam, registered in these plates, was made, is referred to in lines 6, 7, 13, 15, and 200, 1 and in all these places, the building is said to be in the course of construction by Kadārat araiyan, and not even once as having been built. In the first of the references given above, Kadārat araiyan is also called Chūlāmanivarman. King Rājārāja I gave his oral order on the

92nd day after the 21st year of his reign that the grant should have effect from that very year. After the due observance of all the formalities, which took full two years and seventy-two days, the deed was finally drawn up and presented on the 163rd day after his 23rd year (ll 322f.) It is only from the later Sanskrit introduction, composed during the reign of Rājendra Chōla I, that we learn that Kadāratattaraiyan was not a mere local chief but was a member of the Śailendra family and the lord of the country of Śrī Vishaya and that he was ruling over Katāha and had the *Malara* crest. Now the question arises as to how Chūlīmanivarman, the lord of Śrī Vishaya and the ruler of Katāha or Kadāram, came to erect a big *vihāra* for the Buddha at Negapatam in the heart of the distant Chōla dominion and how the powerful Chōla king came to grant the entire revenues of a village for the upkeep of a *palli* in it. It is a significant fact that the historical introduction of the Chōla king as detailed in these plates does not mention Katāha, *ie*, Kadāram or Śrī Vishaya. And therefore the inscription leaves us entirely in the dark as to what kind of relationship existed between Kadāratattaraiyan (*ie*, the lord of Katāha) and the Chōla king Rājarāja I. Nor are we given to understand the circumstances under which the grant was made, *ie*, whether it was done at the request of the Katāha ruler or on the Chōla king's own initiative. But for the somewhat later Sanskrit introduction, any one, reading only the Tamiḻ original grant, might be led to think that Kadāratattaraiyan must have been a local chief of affluence and subordinate to the Chōla king. Now, for aught we know, Rājarāja I was tolerant of all religious creeds prevalent in his dominion, though his special leaning was towards Śaivism. In this connection, his construction of the Brihadiśvara temple, called Rājarājīśvara after his name, at his capital Tanjore, and the immense gifts made to it from the treasures which he had acquired as booty in the conquests of the Chōra and the Pāndya kings in Malai nādu and the Chālukya king Satyāśraya, and his assumption of the significant surname Śivapīḍaśekhara, are worth remembering. Rājarāja I was no mean monarch. It was he that for the first time in the annals of the Chōlas maintained a large standing army which consisted of 900,000 men and which is spoken of in his inscriptions as "highly powerful and victorious". The power of his arms, as we have seen already, was felt in India from Kalunga in the north to the southern cape and beyond the seas in Ceylon, but no mention is made of Katāha. From the conquest of Katāha described in detail in the records of the 16th year onwards of the reign of Rājendra Chōla I, we learn that it was a kingdom of considerable importance and contained many strongly fortified places such as Śrī-Vijaya, *ie*, Śrī Vishaya of the Leiden plates, Pannai, Malayūr, Māyurudingam, Ilāmuridēsa, Ilangāśōka, Pappāla, Mēvilumbangam, Viluppandūr, Takkōla, Mīdamalingam, Nakkavāram, etc. As such, if Rājarāja I had really conquered Katāha, it would certainly have found mention in his historical introductions. The omission seems to indicate that he did not conquer it. On the other hand the fact that Kadāratattaraiyan was enabled to commence the construction of a monumental Buddhist *vihāra* at Negapatam in the Chōla country in the 21st year of Rājarāja I and that the latter assigned the revenues of a village for the upkeep of a shrine in it might lead one to infer that the Katāha ruler must have made a successful invasion of the Chōla country. This is, however, negatived for the reason that the inscription is not issued in the name of the Katāha ruler but in the name of the Chōla king. Can it not therefore be said that the Katāha ruler was on friendly terms with the mighty Chōla king and obtained his permission to build the *vihāra* in question and that the latter made endowments to a *palli* in it, which, as we know from the smaller Leiden plates, was called Rājarājapperumballī after the name of the Chōla king?

One other observation may be made with regard to the connection of the Buddhists with Negapatam. In the traditional account of Tirumangai-Āḷvār, who is described in the *Guruparamparā* as a feudatory of the Chōla king of his day, it is stated that he once went to Nāga-pattanam, got inside the Buddha temple at the place, carried away the gold image that was

enshrined within it and melting the same utilised the amount in building walls and other structures in the Ranganātha temple at Śrīrangam. If there is any truth in this, it would show that long prior to the construction of the Chūlāmanivarman-vihāra, i.e., before the beginning of the 9th century, Negapattam was renowned as a Buddhist centre and had in it a Buddha monument. We do not know if the *vihāra* that was erected in the days of Rājaraṣa I, was a new one or was only the renewal of the old monument.

The order of the king granting the village of Āpaimangalam was addressed to the *nāṭṭār* (the Divisional Assembly), the *brahmadēya kīlālar* (i.e., the head men of the *brahmadēyas*), the *ūṛaṅkilār* (i.e., the body of *ūr*) of *dēvadānas*, *pallichchandas*, *lanimurrūttu* and *ettippēṇu* and to the *nagaras*. It will be shown below that in carrying out this order, men of several *brahmadēyas* and the *ūṛār* of several villages, *dēvadānas* and *ettippēṇu* actually took part. It is to be noted that this order, though addressed to all these bodies of men, was in the first instance received by the *nāṭṭār* only and was executed by all as required. The *nāṭṭār* appear to have had a better standing than the rest and the others were all subject to their administrative control. Here are four distinct assemblies, i.e., (1) the assembly of the division (*nādu*), (2) the assembly of the *ūr*, (3) the assembly relating to the *brahmadēyas*, i.e., the *sabhās*, and (4) the *nagara* by which is perhaps meant the body of merchants. What is meant by a *brahmadēya*, *dēvadāna*, or *pallichchanda* is generally well known. They refer respectively to villages or lands granted to Brāhmanas, Hindu temples, and Jaina or Buddhist shrines. The significance of *lanimurrūttu* is not so plain. The word *lani* is used in ancient Tamil works to denote the person or persons that announce to the king the time of day or night. They are also called *nāṭṭaṅkanakkar* or *ladigaiyār*.<sup>1</sup> It is not unlikely that their services were paid for by grants of lands or villages as other services were. *Murrūttu* may be taken to mean "complete yield." This sense of the word is obtained from its usage in reference to a piece of land granted to a temple in the text of an inscription from Kūṭṭappaluvūr<sup>2</sup> where we find the phrase "*inṇilam uludu payir-ēṇi murrūttum lonḍuvandu tirumurrūttu alappadāgaraiṉ*." The use of the word *murrūttu* after the group *dēvadāna pallichchanda lanimurrūttu* seems to indicate that in the case of lands or villages granted to temples, Buddhist or Jaina shrines, and to the announcers of time to the king, the entire produce without any incidental deductions should be made over to the respective donees. It is not unlikely that we meet with phrases like *dēvadāna murrūttu*, *pallichchanda murrūttu*, and *lanimurrūttu*. The separation of *brahmadēyas* from the group is perhaps due to the fact that they had assemblies of their own called *sabhās*, different, of course, from the assembly of the *ūr*, as we see it in this very inscription. That a particular village might have had more than one assembly according to its constitution could also be gathered from the circumstance that Kādambapūr had both the *sabhā* and the *ūṛār* and one person on behalf of each of these assemblies signed the deed in respect of that village.

The transactions of the *nādu*, the *sabhā* and the *ūr* are usually recorded by the command of those bodies, by persons who bore the official designations *Madhyastha*, *Karanattān* and the like. The functions of these individuals were perhaps similar to those of the secretaries of regularly constituted associations. Sometimes, we find that the order to these individuals is given by a single member instead of by the body collectively. This member is designated by the term *Tiruvadiṅgal*. In all likelihood *Tiruvadiṅgal* meant the President of the assembly. In this connection it is particularly worthy of note that he is stated to be one of the members constituting the body. This is made evident from the wording of an inscription of Rājaraṣa I<sup>3</sup>, i.e., *sabhaiyullirundu sabhai Tiruvadi paṇappa eludinēn uṇ ūṛ madhyasthan Mantrikulōttaman magan Karppagap-*

<sup>1</sup> See *Itiḥasāntaman*, v. 2733, and *Śilappadigāram*, Indira<sup>o</sup> 1.40

<sup>2</sup> No. 678 of *S I I*, Vol. V

<sup>3</sup> No. 31 of *S I I*, Vol. VII



*prīyārīn* Since the Secretary is called the *madhyastha* of the village, it may be even said that he was the accountant of the village and had a function in the assembly. In List B (p. 237, below), the official Kunavaṇ Nandi *alias* Alankārapriyaṇ occurs thrice (Nos. 4, 15 and 16), firstly as the *madhyastha* of the *sabhā* of Mūṅgirkudī secondly as the *karantān madhyastha* of the *sabhā* of Pīrambil and lastly as the *karnattin-madhyastha* of the *ūrār* of Kadambangudī. If all these refer to a single individual, it would show that one could hold the position of a *karana* or *madhyastha* of several villages. Perhaps the three villages Mūṅgirkudī, Pīrambil and Kadambangudī were close to one another.

From a number of inscriptions, we see clearly that the *sabhā* and the *ūr* were transacting their business independently. Though this was the case, they appear to have been completely subject to the orders of the king which they implicitly carried out. In this connection we may draw attention to the fact that the grant of the village of Āṇaimangalam, registered in the Leiden plates, was first made by the king without any reference to these bodies and was even entered in the State accounts, and the bodies were only required to give effect to it. Another point to note is, that as occasion required, the State deputed one or more persons to co-operate with the local bodies in the conduct of their business. Thus, in the matter of marking the boundaries of the village and drawing up the deed of gift, no less than six persons—all State officials, one being a *naduvuḷḷum*, one *puravuvārī* and four *Bhattas*—were nominated. In fact it was one of these officials that actually drew up the deed of gift. It is worthy of note that he was not even a resident of any of the villages of the division of Pattana-kūrram.

From List B it will be seen that the assemblies of no less than 26 villages took part in going round the boundaries of Āṇaimangalam whose revenues were assigned by the Chōlā king Rājārāja I to the Buddhist shrine at Nīgapattanam. Like Āṇaimangalam, these villages were also situated in the sub-division Pattana-kūrram of Kṣatriyaśikhīmanī-vaṇaṇḍu. Many of them bear the names given in the inscription even at the present day. Ten of these villages, viz., (1) Kadambanūr, (2) Nāranamangalam, (3) Mūṅgirkudī, (4) Śannamangalam, (5) Kottāraḷkudī, (6) Nannamangalam, (7) Poruvanūr, (8) Pīrambil, (9) Uṭarkkudī, and (10) Tirukkamangudī were administered by *śabhās* except (4) and (10), the rest are expressly called *brahmadēyas*. Of the remaining places, fourteen, viz., (1) Nāṇamanram, (2) Śīttamangalam, (3) Kōvūr, (4) Uttūr, (5) Ālangudī, (6) Turuvayūr, (7) Kadambangudī, (8) Śēṇḍamangalam, (9) Kurrālam, (10) Tirunivūr, (11) Muṇḷikkudī, (12) Kadambavalai-āṭṭai, (13) Paḷaṇ Korrangudī and (14) Venkudangil were under the control of the administrative bodies of the *ūrār*. It is worthy of note that none of these fourteen villages is called a *brahmadēya*. In the case of two other villages, viz., Vēlangudī and Śīru Śēṇḍamangalam, neither the *sabhā* nor the *ūrār* is mentioned. But as regards the latter, there is the possibility of its having been subject to the authority of the *ūrār* of Śēṇḍamangalam of which it must have formed part. It is not known why the assemblies of Śīvalayakudī (l. 103) and Nallūrcheri (l. 163) which, according to the boundaries given, were in the outskirts of Āṇaimangalam do not figure among the signatories.

The ceremony of circumambulating the granted village, fixing its limits and marking the latter with stones and milk bush, was performed by the members of the assemblies of the *sabhā* or the *ūrār* of the abovenamed twenty-six villages, at whose bidding and on whose behalf an official or two invariably signed the document. Besides these, on behalf of the other two villages two persons signed the deed. Āṇaimangalam itself contributed two individuals for the purpose. Of these, one, a Vellāla by caste, rode on the back of an elephant, pointed out the boundaries and signed the document, while the other a Brāhman also attested it. The four *Bhattas* who were nominated by the Government to co-operate with the representatives of the several divisions of the district in this matter, did so and affixed their signatures to the deed which they helped to be drawn up and given to the donee.

The officials who signed the deed at the command of the *sabhā* or the *ūār* are variously called *madhyasthan*, *karanattān*, *vīlkōvan*, *karanattān-vīlkōvan* or *laranattān madhyasthan*

The deed evidencing the gift, by the king, of the village of Ānaimangalām, drawn up as aforesaid in accordance with the royal order issued to the *nāttār* of Pattana kūrram in Kshatriya śikhāmani-valanādu, conveying in due form the revenues of the village to the donees, stipulates the conditions (*vyavasthā*) to be observed by, and specifies the privileges (*parihāras*) conferred on, the said donees, i.e., the authorities of the Bauddha *vihāra* at Nāgapattanam. It is interesting to note that the word *parihāra* has been defined by such an early authority as Kautilya, in his *Arthasāstra*, in the following words —

Jātēr=visēshēshu purēshu ch=aiva grāmēshu dēsēshu cha tēshu tēshu anugrahō yō nripatēr= nīdēsāt taj jñah parihāra itī vyavasyēt ||<sup>1</sup>

That favour, which by the command of the king has been bestowed on special castes, cities, villages or countries, is called a *parihāra* by one who knows it. From the use of the words *parihāra* and *anugraha* as synonyms, it can be gathered that the king refrained from taking the incomes due to him and favoured the donees with their gift.

The conditions for the enjoyment of the grant stated in this inscription are —

(1) When fresh channels have to be dug, they shall be so done as to admit of an easy flow of water. With their aid, the lands of the village shall be irrigated. After the fields are irrigated, the waste or the excess water shall be collected and led away.

(2) Water passing in the existing channels for irrigating the lands of this village shall be allowed to do so as usual and the excess water shall, consistently with the prevailing custom, be collected. And none shall be permitted to cut any branch channels from them, to dam them across, to put up small picottahs or to bale out their water in baskets.

By these two clauses, the donees are given the sole right to the use of the existing irrigation channels and the privilege of opening fresh channels for irrigation in such a way as to admit of an easy flow of water.

(3) Good water (intended for drinking) shall not be used for common purposes, but that water may be dammed and made to irrigate lands.

This clause prevents the contamination of the sources of water intended for drinking purposes. The sanitary effect of it needs no saying.

(4) Mansions and big buildings shall be constructed with burnt bricks only.

This condition is perhaps intended to secure safety and permanency to stately edifices and to prevent their collapse and consequent loss arising from the use of bad materials such as unburnt bricks.

(5) Large wells shall be sunk.

This is possibly to afford facilities for irrigating dry lands that have no access to the existing irrigation channels.

(6) Coconut trees shall be planted in groves.

(7) *Damanaka*, *maruvu*, *iruvēli*, *śembaga*, *śengalanūr*, mango, jack, areca-palms, *kodī* (perhaps vines or betel creepers) and such other useful plants of various descriptions shall be grown.

These two clauses seem to afford facilities for availing to the fullest extent the resources of the village and to add to its wealth and beauty.

(8) Big oil-presses shall be installed.

(9) The irrigation channels passing through the lands of this village to other villages in the outskirts shall be permitted to flow without any impediment by the donee, and similarly also.

(10) The channels passing through outside villages to irrigate the lands of this village shall be allowed to flow uninterrupted by the people of the outlying villages.

<sup>1</sup> Dr Shama Sastri's second ed., p. 73

The object of the last two clauses is perhaps to secure peace and harmony among the people of the adjacent villages and to safeguard their rights

The next clause (11) prohibits the Īlavas from climbing the palmyra and coconut trees, possibly for tapping them for toddy and the last clause (12) allows the use of big drums and ornamental robes by influential or aristocratic families living in the village and accustomed to have them by tradition or by family suffrage. The clause is indirectly meant to secure non interference by the donees of the rights of privileged persons

Subject to the above conditions the donees are given the *parihāras*, i.e., the privilege of realising and enjoying all such incomes as *nādātchi*<sup>1</sup>, *ārātchi*, *vattināli*, *pidānāli*, *kannālakkanam*, *vannā*, *vappārai*, *lusalānam*, *nīlūli*, *ilalūlam*, *tarippudai*, *taragu*, *tattā appāttam*, *idaipāttam*, *āttuk-lirai*, *nallā*, *nallerudu*, *nādulāi*, *ūdupōllu*, *virpudi*, *vālamāñjūdi*, *ulgu*, *ōdalūli*, *manrupādu*, *māirai*, *tīyeri*, *ilampūtchi*, *kūttilāl*<sup>2</sup>, etc., which the donor, i.e., the king had the right to realise. The inscription states that these incomes shall not hereafter be claimed by the king but that they shall go to the donees

After the deed had been completed, the following five persons, who were probably Royal officers of high standing, set their signatures to it (last plate second side) —

(1) Arayan Arumoli alias Rājendraśōla-Pallavarayan, the headman of Nadār in Tiraimūr-nādu, a sub division of Uyyakkondār-ālanādu (ll 323 25)

(2) Krishnan Rīman alias Rājendraśōla Brahmanārāyan of Kēralāntaka chaturvīdīman-galam in Vennādu, a sub division of Uyyakkondār-ālanādu (ll 325 27)

(3) Īrāyiravan Pallavarayan alias Uttamaśōla Pallavarayan of Araiśūr in Pāmbunī-kūrram, a sub-division of Nittavimōda-ālanādu (ll 327-9)

(4) Divūgōmapurattu Dāmōdara-Bhattan of Kadalangudi in Kurukkai nādu, a sub division of Rājendraśōla-ālanādu (ll 329 30)

(5) Arayan Śikandan alias Minavan-Mūvendarēlān, the headman of Kurumbil in Ambar-nādu, a sub-division of Uyyakkondār-ālanādu (ll 330 32)

In these names, it is particularly worthy of note that Nos (2) and (3), i.e., Krishnan Rāman and Īrāyiravan Pallavarayan, who bore the titles Mummadiśōla Brahmanārāyan and Mummadiśōla Pōśan respectively in the body of the Tamil document (lines 19 f., 21 22, 52 and 53) probably after the surname Mummadiśōla borne by Rājārāja I, had their titles changed into Rājendraśōla Brahmanārāyan and Uttamaśōla Pallavarayan when they affixed their signatures at the end of the document (see lines 325 7 and 327-9). The altered titles take after the names of Rājendra Chōla I and indicate that when these persons affixed their signatures king Rājendra Chōla I had assumed regal powers. It will thus be seen that this is in accordance with the paleographical indications noted on page 17

Īrāyiravan, Pallavarayan, with the surname Mummadiśōla-Pōśan, figures in a number of inscriptions of Rājārāja I of varying dates and is styled one of the *Perundanam* (of the king). His connection with the temple at Tiruvallam in the North Arcot District is known from the inscriptions of that place<sup>3</sup>. The village Araiśūr, whence he hailed, is stated to have been situated in the Chōla country (*śōla nādu*) and to have belonged to the sub division Pāmbunī-kūrram on the southern bank (of the Kāvēri)<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> For the significance of these terms see pp 343 f. of my *Historical Sketches of Ancient Delhan*

<sup>2</sup> This word may be interpreted as "quarter (*panam*?)" to be paid by the dancing women (*lūtti*). It has not to be mistaken for *kūttulal* which occurs in other records and means 'default'

<sup>3</sup> Nos 208 to 210, 216, 219 and 238 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1921

<sup>4</sup> No 216 of the same

Kadalangudi in Kurukkai-nādu, a sub-division of Rājēndrasimha-valanādu, to which the officer Dāmōdara-Bhattan belonged, was also called Vidēlvidugu-chaturvēḍimangalam<sup>1</sup> and Gangaikondaśōla-chaturvēḍimangalam<sup>2</sup> and contained in it the village of Tiru-Vēlvikudi now called Tiruvilakkudi<sup>3</sup> in the Mavavaram Taluk of the Tanjore District. Though several inscriptions state that this Kadalangudi, surnamed Vidēlvidugu-chaturvēḍimangalam and Gangaikondaśōla chaturvēḍimangalam, was situated in Kurukkai-nādu,<sup>4</sup> two records mention it as being in Nallārrūr-nādu.<sup>5</sup> That Rājēndrasimha-valanādu was also in the Chōla country (Sōla-mandalam) is known from an inscription of Śengunram<sup>6</sup> in the North Arcot District.

## LIST A.

Designation	Name of person	Village	Sub division	District	Lines
<i>Ōlai eludum or Man dīra ōlai</i>	Amudan Tirttakaran	Vilattūr	Āvūr kūṛṇam	Nittavinōda valanādu.	17, 18, 50
<i>Ōlai nāyagan or Man dīra ōlai nāyagan</i>	Kṛishnan Rāman <i>alias</i> Mummadīśōla Brahma mahārāyan	Kēralāntaka chaturvēḍi mangalam	Vennādu	Uyyakkondār valanādu	19 20, 52, 325 327
Do	Irāyiravaṇṇa Pallavayan <i>alias</i> Mummadīśōla Pōsan	Araiśūr	Pāmbunī kūṛṇam	Nittavinōda valanādu	21 22, 53, 327 29
Do	Vēlān Uttamaśōlan <i>alias</i> Madurāntaka Mūvēnda vēlān	Paruttikkudi	Nenmaḷi nādu	Arumohidēva valanādu	22, 23, 54
<i>Karumamārāyūm</i>	Ārūran Aravanaiyan <i>alias</i> Parākramaśōla Mūvēn dāvēlān				25, 314
Do	Tattan Śēndan <i>alias</i> Śembiyan Mūvēndavēlān				26, 314
Do	Arungunṛamudaiyān Māp pēran Porḷān	.	.	.	27
Do	Piśangan Pālūr <i>alias</i> Minayan Mūvēndavēlān	Karkudi	Tirunarayūr nādu	Kshatriya śikhāmanī valanādu	29, 30, 312.
Do	Śankaranārāyanan Arangan	Vanganagar	Purangaram bai nādu	Arumohidēva valanādu	30 31
Do	Śōlavēlān			.	315
Do	Korramangalamudaiyān	.			312
Do	Tēvankudaiyān	..		.	312
Do	Araiśūrudaiyān	.			315

<sup>1</sup> No 121 of the same collection for 1926<sup>2</sup> No 143 of the same<sup>3</sup> No 108 of the same<sup>4</sup> No 120 of the same<sup>5</sup> Nos 121 and 135 of the same<sup>6</sup> No 149 of 1921.

LIST A—*contd*

Designation	Name of person	Village	Sub division	District	Lanes
<i>Naluvullam</i>	Paramśvara Bhaṭṭa sār vāratuvājin	Pullamangalam			27, 28, 315
Do	Dāmōdara Bhaṭṭan	Kadalangudi			28, 329 330
Do	Tammadī Bhaṭṭan	Vennainallūr			32, 42
Do	Tirambaka Bhaṭṭan	Pāśalai			32
Do	Pūvattī Bhaṭṭan	Koṭṭaiyūr			313
<i>Puruvurari</i>	Korran Porkāri	Kilnallūr			33
Do	Śūrvan Teradī	Kaḷumalam			33, 34
Do	Tūvan Śāttan	Paḷuvūr			34
Do	Anaiyan Talikkulavan	Kallilūdi			35, 48, 206 7
Do	Kōdandan Sēnan	Ālangudi			316
Do	Iḷavadigaḷ Nallāran	Pūdamangalam			317
Do	Karppagan Sōlai	Ālattūr			317f
<i>I arippollagam</i>	Kumarin Arangan	Sāttanūr			36
Do	Śingan Venkādan	Paruttīyūr			36, 318
<i>I arippollaga kanallu</i>	Mādēvan Būmi				320
<i>I aripululu</i>	Tāli Virāśōlan	Uṇuvūr			320f
<i>Mugacēṭṭi</i>	Kūlvāy Kanavadi				319
Do	Mundan Arangan				319
Do	Śaiyadān Amalan				319
Do	Tattin Śikattān				319f
<i>Pattolai</i>	Perumān Ambalattādi				321
Do	Śilandan Dēvaṇ				321
Do	Mālālan Ariṇṇi				322
Do	Nalālan Maṇḍagavan				322
<i>I haṭṭa</i>	Pārklūṭṭu Parpanā bha Bhaṭṭan	Tirunallūr	Vēla nādu	Kshatriya śikhāmanī vaḷanādu	44, 45, 304 5
Do	Pērcūmapurattu Vennaiya Bhaṭṭan	Do	Do	Do	46, 307f
Do	Dēdūgōmapurattu Nan diśvārā Bhaṭṭan	Viranārūva chaturvēdi mangalam	Kāra nādu	Rājēndrā śimha vaḷa nādu	46 7, 309 10
Do	Tūrpil Śrīdhara Bhaṭṭan	Srī Tunga mangalam alias Abhi māna bhūshana chaturvēdi mangalam	Tirunavayūr nādu	Kshatriya śil hāmanī vaḷanādu	42 11, 301

## LIST B

No	Name of person	Designation	sabhā or ūrār	Village	Lines
1	Muppattiruvan Yajñan <i>alias</i> Karpagādityan	<i>Madhyasthan</i>	<i>sabhā</i>	Kadambanūr ( <i>brahmadēya</i> )	212f
	Nārāyanan Dāmōdaran	<i>Vaikhānasa</i>	<i>ūrār</i>	Do	213f
2	Irunūṣṣuvan Uttaman <i>alias</i> Brahmamangalyan	<i>Madhyasthan</i>	<i>sabhā</i>	Nāranamangalam ( <i>brahmadēya</i> )	216f
3	Nārāyanan Orri			Vēlangudi	220
4	Kunavarai Nandi <i>alias</i> Alankārapriyan	<i>Madhyasthan</i>	<i>sabhā</i>	Mūngirkudi ( <i>brahmadēya</i> )	223f
5	Aimbattiruvan Vidēlvī dugan	Do	<i>ūrār</i>	Narimanram	225f
6	Ediran Sāttan <i>alias</i> Nānūṣṣuvapperungōvā	<i>Vēlōvan</i>	Do	Śāttamangalam	230f
7	Duruklan Kamudan	<i>Karaṇattan Madhyasthan</i>	<i>sabhā</i>	Śannamangalam	233 35
8	Ūran Chandraśēkhara <i>alias</i> Brahmamangalyan	Do	Do	Kottāraṅkudi ( <i>brahmadēya</i> )	237ff
9	Aiyyan Aiyyan	Do	<i>ūrār</i>	Kōvūr	240ff
10	Nakkan Muḷli	Do	Do	Uttūr	244f
11	Kannan Alankārapriyan	Do	<i>sabhā</i>	Nannimangalam ( <i>brahmadēya</i> )	247ff
12	Mādēvan Ūran	<i>Karanattan Vēlōvan</i>	Do	Poruvanūr ( <i>brahmadēya</i> )	251 53
13	Kāṭyayan Sūryayan Arāṅ gan	<i>Karaṇattān</i>	<i>ūrār</i>	Ālangudi	255f
14	Bhāradvājī Tirutti Vaikundan	Do	Do	Turaiyūr	258 9
15	Kunavan Nandi <i>alias</i> Alankārapriyan	<i>Karaṇattān Madhyasthan</i>	<i>sabhā</i>	Pirambil ( <i>brahmadēya</i> )	261 62
16	Do	Do	<i>ūrār</i>	Kadambangudi	263f
17	Ūran Aiyyan	<i>Madhyasthan</i>	Do	Śēndamangalam	266f
18	Eṭṭi Valaṅjūḷayan Sangan			Śiru Śēndamangalam	269f
19	Dēvan Ūran	<i>Karaṇattān Vēlōvan</i>	<i>ūrār</i>	Kuṟṟālam	272 3
20	Chaturmukhaṅ Arangan	<i>Madhyasthan</i>	Do	Tirunāvūr	275 6
21	Mānāgan Nārāyanan	<i>Karanattān Vēlōvan</i>	<i>sabhā</i>	Uvarkkudi ( <i>brahmadēya</i> )	278 80
22	Mānāgan Kannan	Do	<i>ūrār</i>	Mūṇjūḷudi	292 3
23	Atrāman Irubattunāḷvan <i>alias</i> Munpūṣṣuvan	Do	<i>sabhā</i>	Tirukkannangudi	286 7

## LIST B—contd

No	Name of person	Designation	sabhā or ūr	Village	Lines
24	Ūrān Ūrān	Karanattān Madyasthan	ūrur	Kadambavalavāṭka	290 91
25	Do	Do	Do	Paṇanokrangudi	294 95
26	Ūrān Nakkān	Do	Do	Venkidāngul	297 98
27	Āntan Śrīyān Kadamban			Ānaimaṭṭaḷam (brahmadṛya)	300

## TEXT

## Sanskrit Portion

Metres — *Anushtubh*, vv 7, 8, 11, 14, 23, 26, 27, 35 37, 40 45, 47 and 48, *Mālabbārīnī*, v 32, *Māndākrāntā*, vv 12, 21, 30 and 39, *Mañjubhāṣinī*, v 13, *Praharṣinī*, v 9, *Rathōddhatā*, v 10, *Ruchirā*, v 24, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, vv 1, 4, 18, 19 and 33, *Śragdharā*, vv 2, 3, 20, *Upajāti*, vv 5, 6, 15, 17, 22, 28, 34, 38 and 46, *Vamśasthā*, v 29, *Vasāntatilakā*, vv 16, 25 and 31

## First Plate, First Side

- 1 Svasti Śrī || 6
- Lakṣmī pīna pāyōdhara dvaya tātī kāśmīra-pamk-āṁkṛtā
- 2 bhrāmyan Mandara-tunga-śringa kashana bhrājishṇu hēm āṁgadāh [\*] rakshantō  
ha-
- 3 rīṇīla nīla vapuṣhō lōka-trayaṁ Śārnginaś=śārng ādy-āyudha śōbhina-
- 4 ś=śrīyām=alam pushnantu vā bāhavah ||[\*] Yāvat Kailāsa śailē-
- 5 viharati bhagavān= Indumaulis=sva dūvyā yāvat kshīr āmburāśau
- 6 Hārīr=ahī-sayānē yōga-nidrān=tanōti [ ] yāvad=dhvāntan=ntāntam vyāpa-
- 7 nayati Ravir=yviśva lōk aika dipas=tāvat pāvād=apāyād=ayam=akhi-
- 8 la mahī-mandalañ=Chōla-vamśah ||[2] Āsīd=ādyō nripānām=Manur=Ahimakarād=  
viśva
- 9 lōk aika nētrād=Ikshvākus=tat tanūjō=jam nripa makuta śrōṇī līdh-āṁghri-pī-
- 10 thah [\*] Māndhātā Dhātrī kalpō guna nidhur=abhavāt=tat kulē bhūmipālō yō Lō

## First Plate, Second Side

- 11 kālōka śail āvadhi vidhivad=imām pālayāmāsa bhūmim ||[3\*] Rāj=āsīn=Muchukūnda  
ity=a
- 12 bhūhitas=tasy=ātmañō vīryavāms=tat putrō Valābhō=jam kshatipatih kshatr-aika-
- 13 chūdāmanih [\*] tad vamsē Śībīr=ity=aśēsha jagatī prakhyāta kīrttir=nnripās=śrīmān=  
āvirabdhid=a-
- 14 śēshā nripatī-vrāt-ārchehit āṁghri dvayah ||[4\*] Par-ārthha samrakshita-jīvitasya tasy=  
a

\*The punctuation mark, which consists of double vertical strokes, seems to have been omitted at first and then inserted between *bhūmim* and *Rajā*

THE LARGER LEIDEN PLATES OF RAJARAJA I  
SANSKRIT PORTION.

2, a

2  
4  
6  
8  
10

2  
4  
6  
8  
10

10

2, b

12  
14  
16  
18  
20

12  
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16  
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20

22, a

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28  
30

30





- 15 ti gambhīra gunasya rājāḥ [1\*] Vyāsam kavīnām=ṛṣabham viḥaya kō vā gunā-  
 16 n=varṇayitum samarthah [[5\*] Tad vamsa-vārākara pūrnachandrō nidhah kalā-  
 nām=a-  
 17 janishta Chōḥ [1\*] yad vamsa-jātā yad upajñam=ēya Chōḥ-ābhūdhānan=dadhata  
 kshītīśāḥ [[6\*]  
 18 Tatō jīṭ ākhl ārātī rāj=āsīd=Rājakēsari [1\*] tataḥ para-pura ddhvamsa-parō=bhūt  
 19 Parakēsari [[7\*] Rājakēsarinō nāma Parakēsarinō=sya cha [1\*] svā-vamsa-janma  
 nām  
 20 rājñām=ājñ=āsīt parivrittataḥ [[8\*] Tad vamsē Suragurur=asta vaim varggō rājēn-  
 drō

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 21 Ravi kula kētur=āvirāsīt [1\*] yō jītvā rana bhuvī Mṛtyum=apy=ajayyan=dushprāpām=  
 alabha-  
 22 ta Mṛtyujit samākhyām [[9\*] Vyāghrakētur=abhavat=tad-anvayē vaim vā[ra\*]na-  
 mṛgādhi-  
 23 pō nripāḥ [1\*] Pañchapō=janī tad anvayē bali, pārtthivō=rtthī jana kalpapāda  
 24 pah [[10\*] Ari-kālō mahipālāḥ Karakālas=tad anvayē [1\*] āvirāsīd=asau chakrē  
 Kā-  
 25 vīri tīra-bandhanam [[11\*] Kōchchamkannān=abhavad=akhlā kshṁādhīp ārādhit-  
 āmghri-  
 26 r=vamsē tasya prathita-mahimā Śambhu pād ābja bhṛmgah [1\*] Kōkkilli-śrīpati-  
 27 r=amala dhīr=anvavāyē tādīyō bhūpālō=bhūd=akhlā nripatī śrēṇi, chū-  
 28 d ārchchit-āmghriḥ [[12\*] Vijayālayō=janī tad anvayē jayī vijit ākhl āyam-talō,  
 ma-  
 29 kābalah [1\*] pranaman-nripēndra-makuṭa sthala skhalan-maṇi-raśmi-rañjita-pad-  
 āmbuja dvayah [[13\*]  
 30 Ādityō, bhūbhūtas=āsmād=udagād=amita-dyutīḥ [1\*] dhvast-ārātī mahipāla ddhvāntā  
 cha-  
 31 krah pratāpavān [[14\*] Ananta-ratna-prakar aīka-vāsād=udāra-sattvād=udiyāya  
 tasmā-

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 32 t [1\*] Parāntakō viśva hitāya rājā Rāj=ēva dugdh āmbunīdhēh kalābhīh [[15\*]  
 Ā-Chakra-  
 33 vālam=avanīm sa vijitya sarvvām rakshan sukhēna Kalī-kāla tamō mśumālī [1\*]  
 grā  
 34 mām=nivēśya vivīdhān=mahatō yaśōbhīś=śubhrīchakāra śarād abhra-mibhair=ddig-  
 antān [[16\*]  
 35 Sva-bā[hu\*] vi(i)yy-āvajit-ākhl āsā mukh ōpanīt-āmala hātakēna [1\*] samāvṛnō  
 36 n=mandiram=Indumaulēr=vVyāghrāgrahārē<sup>1</sup> Ravi vamsa kētuh [[17\*] Tasy=aśēsha-  
 na-

<sup>1</sup> The length of *ghrā* seems to have been inserted afterwards.

- 37 <sup>1</sup>r̥ndra-vandita-pada dvandvasya putrās=trayas=tr̥-āgni dyutayō=bhavan=narapatā-  
 38 s=Sutrāma-tulya śrīyah [1\*] Rājāditya itī ksh̥tau nigaditaś=śrī Gandarāditya ity=u-  
 39 kt=Ūrījaya ity=aśūsha jagatī khyāt-ābhūdhanō bali [[[18\*] Samrakshya kshutim=  
 amburā-  
 40 śi raśanān=dharmm-ānuyāt̃ divam yātē tatra Parāntakē para bala-ddhvams aka-  
 daksh̥t  
 41 nrip̃t [1\*] bhūpāl āvali-mauli līdha charana dvandvas=tadīy=ātmajō Rājāditya i-  
 42 ti śrutās=sa balavān=āsīd=avanyāh patih [[[19\*] Rājādityas=sa vīrō Ravi-kula-  
 tilakah

*Third Plate, First Side*

- 43 Krishnarājama<sup>2</sup> sa-sainyam samkshōbhy=ākshōbhyam=ājau nija nīśita śarai-  
 44 s=sampatat(d)bbis=samantāt [1\*] nāg ēndra skandha-varttī vidalita hridayas=tan nīśāt-  
 ūshu pātai-<sup>3</sup>  
 45 v=āruhy=ōchehair=vīmānan=tribhuvana mahitō vira-lōkañ=jagāma [[[20\*] Rājādityē  
 46 surapura vadhū vaktra pamkēruhānām prītim karttum gatavati mahātējasī ksh̥mā  
 47 m=aśūshām [1\*] vīrō=rakshat kshapita-sakal-ārātī-sāndr-āndhakārō  
 48 bhrātī tasya prathita-mahimā Gandarādityavakṣmā [[[21\*] Utpādya putram=  
 Madhurāntak-ā  
 49 lhyam Kaṽra kany-ōttara tīra bhūmau [1\*] grā[ma\*]m=mahāntañ=cha nijēṇa nāmnā  
 p<sup>4</sup>  
 50 ratra h̥tōs=sa divañ=jagāma [[[22\*] Tasmin=divam gatē dēṽt śāsūsa sa  
 51 kalām=mahīm [1\*] Ariṇjayō=rī-bhūpāla-vana dāvānalō bali [[[23\*] Ariṇjayād=  
 aja-  
 52 m Purāntak-ōpamah Parāntakah para-nripa chakra-marddanah [1\*] apālajay=  
 jalayidhi m̃t  
 53 khalām=mahīm sukhēna yō nija-guna rañjita-prajah [[[24\*] Chēvūra-nāmani<sup>5</sup>  
 pur̃t  
 54 nija-chāru chāpa mukt-ātīśūta śara rāśi nirantar-āsah [1\*] śāt-āsī bhinna-nipu danti-

*Third Plate, Second Side*

- 55 girindra<sup>6</sup> niryjad rakt āpagā bahuvīdhā niravarttayat sah [[[25\*] Karikāl ānya-  
 nāmū  
 56 nam=Ādityam=udapīpadat [1\*] Rājarājāñ=cha rājēndrō Ravi-vamśa śikhā-manim  
 [[[26\*]  
 57 Suralōka-paritrāṇa parē tasmin Parāntakē [1\*] naralōka-paritrānam=Ā-

<sup>1</sup> The *l* sign of *r̥* is at the end of the previous line

<sup>2</sup> After *ga* the length sign has been entered and erased.

<sup>3</sup> The letter *t* is entered in the next line

<sup>4</sup> There is something like a *śrāma* mark on the left top of *mma*.

<sup>5</sup> After *ma* in *namani*, the length sign has been entered and erased

<sup>6</sup> After *ta* in *niryjad*, a length sign has been entered and erased

<sup>7</sup> Read *girindra*

- 58 dityō vidhivad=vyadhāt ||[27\*] Sa Vira Pāndyēna sa-hclam=ājau chikridha(da)  
bālō
- 59 Manu-vamśa dipah [1\*] matamgañ=va mad ōtkatēna mrigēndra-śābō(vō) ba-  
60 la garvvitēna ||[28\*] Divam gatē tatra narādhip ādhupē sa Gandāraditya<sup>1</sup> su  
61 tō<sup>2</sup> mahā bhujah [1\*] apālayad=vāridhī<sup>3</sup> mckhalām=mahīm=Mahēndra-kīrtti  
62 r=mmMadhurāntakō nripah ||[29\*] Tasmin=yātē Tridaśa nilayan=trātum=urvvīpat-  
indrē
- 63 virō viśva-kṣhiti-pati lasan mauli lidh āmghri pithah [1\*] dōshnā Śēsh ōraga pa-  
64 ti tanu śrī-mushā Rājarājō gurvīm=urvvī dhuram=udavahach=Chōla vamśa-pradīpah  
||[30\*] J<sub>1</sub>
- 65 tvā sa Pāndya-D(T)ulu Kērala Sīmalēndra Satyāśray ādi nripatīr=n<sup>4</sup>nija bāhu vīyyāt  
[1\*] ā-
- 66 dāya tat-kari turamgama-ratna rūshtrāny=āśā daś=āpī yaśasā dhavalī chakāia<sup>5</sup>  
||[31\*] Kri-

*Fourth Plate, First Side*

- 67 ta-dig-vīja[ya\*]s=sa Rājarājah karadikṛitya mahīpatīn=aśchān [1\*] nyavasat<sup>6</sup> sva-  
purc sukhan=nri
- 68 pēndras=tridivē lōka namaskṛitō yath=Ēndrah ||[32\*] Ā śailād=ahimāmsu-janma-  
mahī
- 69 tād=ā dakṣiṇ āmbhōnidhēr=ā ch=Āst-āhaya parvvatāt<sup>7</sup> giripatēr=ā Sambhun=  
ādhi-
- 70 shtitāt [1\*] rājānō nija vamśa-rakshana parā bhōktuñ=cha bhōgān=bahūn=nītyā Nītya  
71 vinōda pāda kamala dvandvam samāśīriyan ||[33\*] Yatas=sa rājā nija-pā-  
72 da bhājām rājānām=udārō bahudh=āśrayō=bhūt [1\*] atah pūthiviyām=amita-  
73 prabhāvam Rājāśrayan=tan=nigadanti santah ||[34\*] Sō=yam=akhila-kalā kalāpa-  
74 pārāvāra pārādrīśv=āśēsha nripa chakra chāru chāmīkara-kīrta kōti gha-  
75 tit-ānēka-mānikya-marīchi-puñja-puñjarikṛita-pāda pīthō Rājarājō Rājakēsari-  
76 varmmā sva sāmrajya-varshc ēkavimsatitamē nikhila dharani talakāyamānē Ksha-  
77 triya-sikhāmanu=valanādu-nāmnī mahatī janapada nivalc Pattana-kkūrā nāmnī  
janapa
- 78 dē=nēka sura sadana satra-prap ārām ābhīrāmē vīvidha saudha<sup>10</sup> rājī rājamānē Nā-

*Fourth Plate, Second Side*

- 79 gīpattanē nija-mati-vibhava vijita Suragurunā budha jana kamala-vana marīchīmālin=ā-

<sup>1</sup> Read *Gandarāditya*. The length of *rā* seems to have been omitted at first and then inserted wrongly before *r* instead of after it

<sup>2</sup> The *ē* sign of *tō* is at the end of the previous line

<sup>3</sup> Read *vāridhī*

<sup>4</sup> Read *nripatīn=nija*

<sup>5</sup> After *chal āra*, a *visarga* has been entered and erased

<sup>6</sup> The letters *vasat* are written over an erasure

<sup>7</sup> The *ē* sign of *pē* is incised at the end of the previous line

<sup>8</sup> Read *ōtād-*

<sup>9</sup> From this line, Tamil characters are interspersed with Grantha

<sup>10</sup> The words *vīvidha saudha* are written over an erasure. After *dha*, a length stroke has been erased

- 80 rtthi-jaṇa kalpapādapēna Śailēndra-vamśa sambhūtēṇa Śrīvishay-ādhipati-  
 81 nā Katāh ādhīpatyam=ātanvatā Makara ddhvājēn=ādhiḡata sakala<sup>1</sup>-rāja vidyasya  
 Chūlā-  
 82 manivarmmanah putrēna śrī Māraviḡjayō<sup>2</sup> ttumgavarmmanā sva-pitur=<sup>3</sup>nnāmnā  
 nirmmāpitam=adha-  
 83 rikrita-Kanakagiri<sup>4</sup> samunnatī vibhavam=atīramanīyāñ=Chūlīmanivarmma-vihāram=  
 adhva  
 84 satē Buddhāya tasminn<sup>5</sup>=cva janapada nīvahc Pattana kkūrā nāmnī janapa  
 85 dē karinī parikramana-vispashta sīmā chatushtayam=Ānaimamgal-ābhi-  
 86 dhānam grāmam=adāt || Itthan=dčvčna dattasya sva pitrā chakravarttinā [1\*]  
 grāmasy=āsyā ga  
 87 tē<sup>6</sup> tasmin=dēvabhūyam=mahaujaśi ||[35\*] Tat-simbhāsanam=ārūdhas=tat-putrō Madhu-  
 rāntakah [i ]  
 88 śāsanam sāsṡatan=dhīmān kārayitv=ādīśa[n\*]=nripah ||[36\*] Ścshō=ścshām=mahim  
 yāva  
 89 d=dhattc=sēsh-ōrag-ēśvarah [1\*] sthčyāt=tāvan=vihārō=yam vibhavēna sa  
 90 h=āvanau ||[37\*] Sō=yam Katāh ādhīpati[r\*]=ggunānān=nivāsa-bhūmīr=mmahita-  
 pra<sup>7</sup>-

*Fifth Plate, First Side*

- 91 bhāvah [-\*] āgāmīnah prārththayāt narēndrān dharmman sad=cmam=mama  
 rakshat=ēti ||[38\*] Grāmē  
 92 ramyē jagatī mahitē Kōttayūr-ābhūdhanē Lakshmi-dhāmany=ajamī vimalē yō  
 Vasishth  
 93 ānavāyē [-\*] sat-samsēvī vimala charit=<sup>8</sup>Onantanārāyan-ākhyas=sō=  
 94 yan=dhīmān=arachayad=imām=agrajanmā praśastim ||[39\*] Tasya rā-  
 95 jñō<sup>9</sup> mahim<sup>10</sup> sarvvān=dharmmēna parirakshatah [1\*] ajayyasya  
 96 jī āśēsha-ripu-bhūpāla samhatēh ||[40\*] Mahādihikārj(i)  
 97 matimāms=Tillayālī-samāhva[ya]h [-\*] yaḡ janma bhūr=abhūt<sup>11</sup> bhūmau Kāñchi  
 vāyil=ī-  
 98 tī śrutah ||[41\*] Yō Rājārāja Mūvēndavēl=itī prathitō bhuvī [1\*] tan-miyō-  
 gād=ī  
 99 dam sō=yam śāsanam sādhdhv=ākārayat<sup>12</sup> ||[42\*] ॐ ॥ ॐ ॥ ॐ

<sup>1</sup> After *saḡala*, a letter has been entered and rubbed out-

<sup>2</sup> The letter *yō* in *vyayō* is a correction

<sup>3</sup> The letter *nnā* is a correction.

<sup>4</sup> Read *giri*

<sup>5</sup> The letters *tasminn*=ē<sup>o</sup> are written over an erasure

<sup>6</sup> The ē sign of *tē* is at the end of the previous line

<sup>7</sup> The last letter *pra* is a correction

<sup>8</sup> The proper name seems to be *Anantanārāyana* and not *Nandanārāyana* as Messrs Burgess and Natesa Sastri have taken

<sup>9</sup> The ē sign of *jñō* is written at the end of the previous line

<sup>10</sup> Read *mahim*

<sup>11</sup> Read *abhūd=bhūmau*

<sup>12</sup> The letters *sādhdhvālāra* seem to have been entered over an erasure

1v,b

 $v, a$ 

92 92  
 94 94  
 96 96  
 98 98

100	100
102	102
104	104
106	106
108	108
110	110

## TAMIL PORTION

2	2
4	4
6	6
8	8
10	10

12	12
14	14
16	16
18	18
20	20

## Fifth Plate Second Side

- 100 Katāh ādhīpātēs=tasya nīyōgāt=Tuṇavūravān [1\*] Anukka itī vikhyātās=śrīmān=  
Atikal<sup>1</sup> ātmajah [[43\*] ௨
- 101 Vīṇitō guṇa sampannas=svāmi-kārya hitē ratah [1\*] śāsanaṃ śāsavatam=idam=achikarād=  
udāra-dhīh [[44\*] ௨
- 102 Rājarāja mahāchāryyō Vāsudēya-āpar āhvayab [1\*] a-kṛishna chantah Kṛi-  
103 shna sambhavō=pi mahāmatih [[45\*] Śrīraṃga Dāmōdara nāmadhēyau Kṛishn-  
ātma-
- 104 jau Kṛishna pad ābja bhrīṃgau [1\*] Kṛishn ābhīdhānō=pi cha Vāsudē  
105 va śārīrajō nīraja chāru nētrah [[46\*] Ārāvamṛita putras=cha Purushō  
106 tīrma sa[m\*]jñitah [1\*] sparḍdhamānō=kshara nyāsē Chitraguptēna chitraguh  
[[47\*]
- 107 Hōvy ānvavāya tīlakāh Kūñchīpura=samutbhavāh<sup>2</sup> [1\*] praśastim=ēnām=ah-  
108 khaṇ pañch-aṭṭē chūtrakārīnah [[48\*] I śāsanaṃ vettinōm Jayankon[da]śō  
109 Ja mandalattu śrī Kūñchīpurattu ōṇya chechūtrakārī Kṛishnan Vāsudēvan āna  
Rājarāja ppē
- 110 rāchāryyanēnum Kṛishnan Tiruvaranganum Kṛishnan Dāmōdiranum Vāsudēvan  
Kṛishnanum
- 111 Ārāvamīrdu<sup>3</sup> 4Purushōttam<sup>4</sup>annum<sup>5</sup> ௨|| ௨|| ௨||

## Tamil Portion

## First Plate, First Side

- 1 Svasti śrī [1\*] ௨ Kōñṇipmukondān Kshatṛiyasīkhāmani-valanāttu=  
2 pPattana kkūrrattu nāttārkkum brahmadēya-kkīlavarkkum dēvadāna-ppalli-  
3 chechanda-kkani-murrūttu<sup>6</sup> vettappērr-ūrgaḷlīrkkum nagarangalīlāikkum  
4 namakku yāndu irubatt onrāvadu nāl tonnūri irandināl  
5 Tañjīvūr=ppurambadi māḷgū Rājāsrayanī tekkil māndabat-  
6 tu nām irukka=kKīdāratt aruṇyan Chūlāmanipanman Kshatṛiyasīkhā-  
7 manī-valanāttu=pPattana-kkūrrattu Nāgapattanattu eduppiḷḷinra Chūlā-  
8 manipanma-vīḷūattu=ppallikku vēndum nūvandattukku Kshatṛi[ya\*]śīkhāmani-va-  
9 lanāttu=pPattana kkūrrattu Ārāvamangalam paḷḷichechandam irangal=ulpada ala-  
10 ndapadi nīngal nīkki nīlan tonnūrr ēlēy=irandu mā mukkāniy=araikkā-

<sup>1</sup> Abhikala is the reading given in Volume IV of *Archaeological Survey of South India*. As the letter bh is quite differently shaped from t, there is no doubt that the proper name here given is śrīman Abhika<sup>1</sup> (Adikal) and not Abhikaḷa

<sup>2</sup> Read samudbhavāh

<sup>3</sup> The reading given in the *A S of S I*, Vol IV, p 208 is *Ārāvamīrduṃ*. The additional *rum* is clearly a mistake. There is no trace of it in the plate. If *rum* is retained, there would be six names, but there must be only five for it is stated in line 108 *pañch aṭṭē chūtrakārīnah*. Moreover, what is required is a double name like *Kṛishnan Vāsudēvan*, etc., in which the first component indicates the name of the father. In fact we have it stated in verse 47, that this individual's name was *Purushōttama* and that he was the son of *Ārāvamṛita*

<sup>4</sup> The letter pu is corrected from pi

<sup>5</sup> Read manum

<sup>6</sup> The reading of *A S of S I*, Vol IV, (p 208, l 114) is *murrūttu*. It is evidently a mistake. The plate reads only *murrūttu* which is also found in other inscriptions



*First Plate, Second Side*

- 11 m mundirigai=kkil mūnu mā mukkānu mundirigai=kkil iraiyū=iran  
 12 du mīvinil iru kattina kāmukkaḍen nellu ennāyirattu=ttolliyi  
 13 rattu nārpattu mu-kkalanē iru-tūm=kkurumu oru nāliyum Kāḍāratt araiyan  
 14 Kshatryasikhāmanī valanāttu=pPattanaḥ kkūrattu Nīgapattanatt=eduppi-  
 15 kkimī Chūlīmanipuvuṁ viharattu=ppallikku nuppad āga yāndu irubāt-  
 16 tonīvaḍu mudal paḥhechanda iraiyū īga iraiyil=ittu-kkudukka-  
 17 v=enu nāmi śolla nam ōlu eḷudum Nittavimōḍa valanāttu Ā-  
 18 vūr-kkūrattu Vilattūr kilaṁ Amudan Tirttakāran eḷuttinālum nam ō  
 19 lai nīvakān Uvakkonḍīr-valanāttu Vennāttu=kKṛtānta[ka\*] chechaturvāc-  
 20 dimaṅgalattu Kṛṣṇan Irāman āna Mummadiśōḷa Brahmanāhārāyinu<sup>1</sup> Nittā-

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 21 vimōḍa valanāttu=pPāmbunī-kkūrattu Arasūr-uḍaiyān Irāyiravan Palla-  
 22 vayan īna Mummadiśōḷa-Pōsanum Arumohidēva-valanāttu Nenmalī nāttu=pParu-  
 23 ttikkudaiyān Vēḷān=Uttamasōḷan īna Madurīntaka Mūvāṇḍavēḷānum  
 24 oppinilum pukka nan=tittappadiyāc iraiyil=ittu-kkoḷgav=enru  
 25 nam karumam iriyum Ārūran Arayanaiyān āna Parākkiramaśōḷa-Mūvē-  
 26 ndavēḷānum Tattan Śāṇḍan īna Śembiyan-Mūvāṇḍavēḷānu-  
 27 m Aruṅgunam uḍaiyān Mippēraṁ Porāriyūm naduvirukku Pulla-  
 28 maṅgalittu=pParimācāra Bhatta Sarvākratuyājirūm Kadālangudi=tTīmōḍara-Bhat-  
 29 m nam karumam iriyūm Kshatryasikhāmanī-valanāttu=tTirunaiyūr-nāttu=kKār-  
 30 yān Pīṣaṅgan Pīlūr īna Mīnavāp-Mūvāṇḍavēḷānum Arumohidēva-valanāttu=

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 31 pPurangaṁbaṁ nāttu Vāṅgaṅgar uḍaiyān Śāṅkaranīrāyanan-Araṅganum naduvir-  
 32 ukku Vennamallūr=tTimmadi Battanum Pāśalai=tTiyambaka-Battanum so-  
 33 ḷa=ppuruvavar=kKilnallūr kilaṁ Korraṁ Porāriyūm Kaḷumalam-uḍai-  
 34 vān Śūṅṅān Tēvaḍiyūm Pāḷuvūr uḍaiyān Tēvaṅ Śāttanum  
 35 Kallikkudaiyān Anaiyan Tāḥkulaṅganum vaṇṇipottayam Sī-  
 36 ttanūr-uḍaiyān Kumaran Araṅganum Paruttivūr-kilaṅ Śiṅgan Ve-  
 37 nkāḍānum irundu yāndu irubatt onīvaḍu nāl tonnūr i-  
 38 raiyil paḥhechandaṁ iraiyil āga irai[ya\*]=ittu kkuḍuttā tanga=nāttu=pPattana-  
 39 kkūrattu Āṇamunḡḷam alandapaḍi nīṅgal nīkka nīṅgal tonnūr ē-  
 40 ḷi-iraiyāṇḍu mā=kkānīv=araiyil īnu mundirigai=kkil mūnu mā mukkānu

<sup>1</sup> Read *Brahm amālā*<sup>2</sup> *Pallavan* has been taken as *Pallava[rat\*]var* by inserting *rai* in *A S of S. I*, Vol IV, p 209. As there is not a single place where *Pallavaraiyar* occurs the proper name *Pallavan* needs no correction.<sup>3</sup> *nma* in *Munraḍi* is written over an erasure.<sup>4</sup> The letters *ravala* in *deva vala* are damaged.

$\mathbb{Z}, b$ 

**222, a**

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

52 52  
 54 54  
 56 56  
 58 58  
 60 60

62 62  
 64 64  
 66 66  
 68 68  
 70 70

72 72  
 74 74  
 76 76  
 78 78  
 80 80

41 mundiragai kil-araiyēy=irandu-māyum.[pidi] sūlndu pidāgai nadappi[p\*]pad-āga=  
kkankāni nadu<sup>1</sup>

*Thrd Plate, First Side*

42 virukkum<sup>2</sup> Vennainallūr=tTammadi Bhattanaiyum<sup>3</sup> Battan Kshatriyaśikhāmani-  
va-

43 lanāttu=tTirunaraiyūr-nāttu śrī Tungamangalam āna Abhimānabhūshana chchla,  
turvvē

44 dimangalattu=tTūrpil Śrīdhara Bhattanaiyum 1-nnāttu Vēlā nāttu=tTirunallū-

45 r Pārkkulattu=pParpanāba<sup>4</sup> Bhattanaiyūm ivvūr Pērēmapurattu<sup>5</sup> Vennaiya

46 Bhattanaiyum Rājēndrasimha-valanāttu Kāra nāttu=ttanaiyūr śrī Viranārāya-

47 na chchaturvvēdimangalattu<sup>6</sup> Dvēdaigōmapurattu Nandīśvara Bhattanaiyum pura-  
vuva-

48 ri Kallikkudaiyān Anaiyan<sup>7</sup> Talikkulavanaiyum pēr<sup>8</sup>=ttandōn=tā-

49 ngalum ivargalōdu ninnru ellai tenntu=ppidi sūlndu pidāgai nadandu kallu-

50 n=kalliyum nātti aravōlai ēe[y\*]du<sup>9</sup> pō<sup>10</sup> ttagav=ennum vāśagattāl mandira-

51 vōlai Vilattūr kīlavan Amudan Tirttakaran eluttinālum mandiravōlai nā-

*Thrd Plate, Second Side*

52 yakan Krishnan Irāman āna Mummadiśōla Brahmanahārāyanum Araśūr-udai-  
yān [Ī]

53 rāyiravan Pallavayan āna Mummadiśōla-Pōsanum Paruttikkudaiyān

54 Vēlān=Uttamaśōlan-āna Madurāntāka Mūvēndavēlā<sup>12</sup>

55 num oppinālum [\*] Tiru magal pōla=pperu [ni]la chchelviyu-

56 n=tanakkēy=urimai pūn[da\*]mai mana kkoḷa=kKāndalūr

57 chchēlai kalam=aṟutt arul Vēngai nādui=Gangapādiyu[m\*] Nu-

58 lambapādiyun=Tadigaipādiyun=Kudamalai-nādun=Kollamun=Kal-

59 ngamum en dīśai pugai tara Īla-mandalamun=t[n\*] dīral venṇi-ttan-

60 dār=kondu tann=elil valar ūḷiyul=ellā yāndun=to<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This word is omitted in *A S of S I*, Vol IV, p 209, text line 152

<sup>2</sup> This word has been incorrectly read as *kalukūm* in the above The official designation *naduvirukkum* of *Vennainallūr=tTammadihattan* actually occurs in text line 142 f on the same page

<sup>3</sup> This word has been incorrectly read as *ttattanaiyum* in the *A S of S I*, Vol IV, p 209, text line 153

<sup>4</sup> The Tamil letters *nāba* are written in smaller characters than the rest and *ba* appears as a convex curve The traces show that the Grantha letter *bha* was originally written and then erased The reading given in the *A S of S I*, Vol IV, p 209, text line 156 is *Parapa(la)*

<sup>5</sup> The reading of this word given in *A S of S I*, Vol IV, is *Perampura* in line 156 and *Verempura* in line 156 which are clearly inadmissible

<sup>6</sup> The reading in *A S of S I*, Vol IV, is *[Dienda(?)]kompurattu*

<sup>7</sup> This word has been wrongly read as *anaiyāda* in text line 159 of *A S of S I*, Vol IV, p 209

<sup>8</sup> Read *pēr tandom* see, above p 215

<sup>9</sup> Without inserting *y*, we may read *ēdu* which is but the colloquial form of *seydu* But as the inscription uses *seydu* later on (ll 204 and 206), it is preferable to have here also the grammatically correct form

<sup>10</sup> *Pōlaga* seems to be the contraction of *pōga* and *taga*

<sup>11</sup> The ē sign of *iō* is entered at the end of the previous line

<sup>12</sup> The letters in this line are larger in size than those in the other lines

<sup>13</sup> There is space for the length of *to* at the commencement of the next line, but it is not written

61 Iutaga viṅgum yāṇḍṣy Śeḥyaraṁ=ttṭṣu kol śrī kōv=I-

*Fourth Plate, First Side*

- 62 rājarājakṣariyarmmar āna śrī Rājarājadṭvarku yāṇdu irubatt-onṭāvadu nāttō-  
 63 mukku=ttūrumugam vara [\*] nāttōmun=ttūrumugau=kandu eḍir eḷundu ēṇṇu  
 toḷudu vā  
 64 ngi=ttalai mṭl vaṭṭu=ppidi sūḷindu pīḍūgai nāḍandu ellai terittu kalla  
 65 n=kāḷḥyū[m'] nāṭṭi aṇavōlai śeyda nīlattukku=kḷḷpṛk-ellai Kshatri-  
 66 yāsikhāmanī valanāṭṭu=pPattana kḷḷṛṇṇattu=kḷḷōṽr mṭl ellai [\*]  
 67 Kōvūr=ttachcha=pīlattukku Kōvūr=kKāvidy ōḍaikkum[\*] mṭṛkun=[\*]  
 68 terḷ=innum ivv ūr=pPugaiyunnīy=ennum nīlattukku, mē-  
 69 rkum [\*] terḷ=innum ivv ellaiyṭ kḷḷakku nōkkī=ppōy īnnīlat-  
 70 tukku terḷ=innum Pugaiyunnīy=ennum nīlattukku mṭṛkum [\*] te-  
 71 ṛḷ=innum mṭṛk=innum Pugaiyunnīkku=ppōyūm vāyḷkālīn mṭḷaiy a-

*Fourth Plate, Second Side*

- 72 raikkālīl nārrukkāl āga attī=kḷḷidanda śūṇu varambukku vadaikkum [\*] innum ivv-  
 araī  
 73 kḷḷālīḷy mṭṛku nāṇrukkāl īga attī=kḷḷidanda śūṇu varambukku mṭṛkum [\*] innum  
 74 īnnāṇrukkālukkṣy terḷu varamb īga attī=kḷḷidanda varambukku vadaikkum [\*]  
 innu  
 75 m ivv arukkālīn mṭl varambukku mṭṛkum [\*] innum ivv arakkāl  
 76 līn terḷil=pPugaiyunnīy arakkālukkku mṭṛkum [\*] innum ida  
 77 n terḷil Kōvūr=I kusīy nīlan oru māṽ arakkku mṭṛkum [\*] idan terḷil  
 78 oru māṽ arakkku mṭṛkum [\*] idan terḷil ōḍaiyil nāḍuvukku=tterkum [\*] in-  
 79 num ī kKōvūr ellakku mṭṛkum [\*] terḷ=innum Kōvūr vellāḷi A-  
 80 raṭṭūr<sup>3</sup> Maṇiyāḍi<sup>4</sup> oru mīṽukku mṭṛkum [\*] idan terḷil ōḍai nāḍuvukku=tterkum [\*]  
 ī-  
 81 ivv ōḍaiyṭ ten kḷḷakku nōkkī=ppōy mṭṛ Pallavāyḷkāl ivv ō

*Fifth Plate, First Side*

- 82 daikkṣy vīlunda idattukku mṭṛkum [\*] innum mṭṛ Pallavāyḷkālīn ten-  
 83 karakkku=ttṭṭukku Kōvūr Mṭṛpallattu mṭl varambukku mṭṛkum [\*] ivv ūr Mē-  
 84 ḷpallattu vellīlan Uṇṭippaḷi<sup>6</sup> Pākkaran arakkālīl vada varambukku va-  
 85 daikkum [\*] ivv arakkālīn mēḷu ōḍaiyīn nāḍuvukku vellāḷi Pa  
 86 ramṭṣarān Nāṇaiyūr arakkālukkku mṭṛkum [\*] ivv ōḍaiyīn nāḍu<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The letters *mṭl*ellai, written at the end of this line, are in bigger characters

<sup>2</sup> The letter *du* almost encircles the previous letter in *nāḍuvukku*

<sup>3</sup> The *a* sign of *rai* is written at the end of the previous line

<sup>4</sup> Before *di* in *Maṇiyāḍi* the letter *i* has been entered and erased

<sup>5</sup> The letters *ṛpa* in *mṭṛpalla* are written over an erasure

<sup>6</sup> The reading given in *A S of S I*, Vol IV, text-lines 195 and 276 is *Uruppaḷi ppāḷlan* The plate clearly reads *vā*, not *ru* It being a double name it has to be read as given in our text

<sup>7</sup> The letter *du* almost encircles the previous letter.

o, a

82 82  
84 84  
86 86  
88 88  
90 90

o, b

92 92  
94 94  
96 96  
98 98  
100 100

o, a

102 102  
104 104  
106 106  
108 108  
110 110

[illegible][illegible]

132	புறநாடுநகரத்தினுள் உருதுநகரம் இருக்கிறது. அங்கு உருதுநகரம் இருக்கிறது.	132
134	புறநாடுநகரத்தினுள் உருதுநகரம் இருக்கிறது. அங்கு உருதுநகரம் இருக்கிறது.	134
136	புறநாடுநகரத்தினுள் உருதுநகரம் இருக்கிறது. அங்கு உருதுநகரம் இருக்கிறது.	136
138	புறநாடுநகரத்தினுள் உருதுநகரம் இருக்கிறது. அங்கு உருதுநகரம் இருக்கிறது.	138
140	புறநாடுநகரத்தினுள் உருதுநகரம் இருக்கிறது. அங்கு உருதுநகரம் இருக்கிறது.	140

- 87 vulku mērkum [i\*] Kōvūr vellāḷaṇ=āyyāraṇ Śēndaṇ araikkālūn  
 88 kottattu ivv ōdaikkē<sup>1</sup> mērkum [i\*] ivv-araikkālukkū=ttērkū-  
 89 m [i\*] Mēlpālā-nīlattin kottattu ivv ōḍukkēy mērkum [i\*] ivv ō  
 90 dai<sup>2</sup> Erivatti-vāykkālukkēy vīlunda uḍattukū mērkum [i\*] ivv Erivatti vāykkā  
 91 lukkē mērkum [i\*] innum ivv Erivatti-vāykkālukkēy tērkum [i\*] ivv-E

*Fifth Plate, Second Side*

- 92 rivatti-vāykkālukkē mērkum [i\*] Tenpārka ellai ivv-Erivatti-vā-  
 93 ykkālukkū vadakkum [i\*] ivv Erivatti-vāykkālē mērkū nōkki=chēche-  
 94 nru 1 vāykkālāy uḍaruttu=ttēn karaikkēy=ēri tērk=innu  
 95 m ivv Ānaimangalattu brahmadēyattu=ppadugai vēli nīla  
 96 ttin mēl ellaiyē šenru tē[n] <sup>2</sup>madalāy=kkīdanda ōdaik-  
 97 ku mērkum [i\*] ivv ellaiyē [t]erku nōkki=chēchenru mērk=1-  
 98 nnum ivv ōdaikkēy vadakkum [i\*] innum ivv-ōdaikkū  
 99 vadakku nōkkay=Erivatti-vāykkālū[k]kēy=urū=adaṛku kīlakkum [i\*] ivv Erivatti-  
 100 vāykkālāy=uḍaruttu vada-karaiyēy=ēri 1 vāykkālūn vada karaiyē<sup>3</sup>  
 101 mērkū nōkki=chēchenru 1 vāykkālukkū vadakkum [i\*] ivv ellaiyēy

*Sixth Plate, First Side*

- 102 mērkū nōkki=chēchenru 1 vāykkāl tān kīdandavārē mērkū nōkki 1 nnāttu p-  
 103 Pattana kūrūṛattu brahmadēyam Śivalaiy kudiyaḷ nīlan nāp māvil vada varam-  
 bēy=ur-  
 104 ru 1 vārambē mērkū nōkki=chēchenru ivv ellaiyē vadakkum [i\*] ivv ellai-  
 105 yē<sup>4</sup> mērkū nōkki=chēchenru Paḷavilapp āna ōdaiyēy=urū ivv ellai-  
 106 kku vadakkum [i\*] Mēlpārka ellai vadakku nōkki Nāttuppōkku=ttalai-  
 107 vāyar vettappōṛukku=kkīlakkum [i\*] vadakk=innum 1 nnāttu=pPatta-  
 108 na kūr[r\*]attu Muñjikudi nīlattin kīl ellaiy āna ōdaiyēy=urū iv-  
 109 v-ōdaiyān naḍuvēy vadakku nōkki=chēchenru ivv ōdaiy=ulppada ivv-ō-  
 110 daikkū=kkīlakkum [i\*] 1 v ōdai tān kīdandavārēy vadakku nōkki 1-mMuñjiku-  
 111 di nīlamēy=urru 1 mMuñjikudikkū=kkīl<sup>5</sup> ellaiy-āna ōdaiyēy=urū vadakk-in

*Sixth Plate, Second Side*

- 112 num ivv ellaiyēy=kkīlakkum [i\*] ivv ōdai tān kīdandavārēy pala mudokkum<sup>6</sup> u-  
 113 dongi vadakku nōkki 1 mMuñjikudi nīlamēy=urru 1-mMuñjikudikkū=kkīl ellaiy-āna  
 114 ōdaiyē vadakk=innum ivv ellaiyēy=kkīlakkū=innum ivv-ōdai tān kī  
 115 dandavārēy vadakku nōkki=chēchenru idanai vittu 1-mMuñjikudi vellāla-  
 116 n' Irāman Gōvīndan nānmīvin ten vārambēy=urru ivv-ellaiyē 'vā-

<sup>1</sup> The ai sign of dai is written at the end of the previous line<sup>2</sup> Read vadaḷay

At the end of line 100 and at the beginning of line 101 there is unwritten space for one or two letters. It is not clear if some letters were written and erased

<sup>4</sup> The ē sign of yē is entered at the end of the previous line<sup>5</sup> Read =kkīl<sup>6</sup> Mudōḷḷu and mudōḷḷi are perhaps mistakes for mudakku and mudangī



117 dakku nōkka=chchenru i mMūñjukudī brahmadēyam āpa nilattin ten varambē  
 118 y=urru idanukku=tterkum [\*] idanukkēy kīlakkum [\*] innum i mMūñjukudī  
 119 brahmadēyam nilattukkēy vadakkum [\*] ivv ellaiyē vadakku nōkka=chchenru i  
 120 mMūñjukudī vellān-vagai=kkīl ellaiy āna nilattukku=kkīlakkum [\*] iv-  
 121 v-ellaiyē vadakku nōkka=chchenru vada mēṛku nōkka Mūñjukudī Ūdārimaya-

*Seventh Plate, First Side*

122 kkal=ennum nilamēy=urru i nnilattin kīl varambukku=kkīlakkum [\*] idan vada-  
 123 varambēy mēṛku nōkka=chchenru vada-varambukku vadakku[m\*] i chcheyin  
 mēlai ppā  
 124 raiyōdai vadakku nōlka=chchenru ivv-ōdakku=kkīlakkum [\*] ivv ōdaiyē vada-  
 125 kku nōkka=chchenru ivv Ānaimangalattukku=ppāya=kkallina<sup>1</sup> Rāja-  
 126 rājan-vāyakkālēy=urru i vvāyakkālaiy=ūda[ṛu\*]ttu vada karaikkēy=ṛi  
 127 ivv-Ānaimangalattu brahmadēyattu=kKūlavāy=ennum nilatti-  
 128 n kīl varambukku=kkīlakkum [\*] vadakku nōkka=chchenru[m\*] kīlaku nōkka=chche-  
 129 rru[m\*] ivv-Ānaimangalattu brahmadēyattu=kKīlān<sup>2</sup> Kīlān kār cheyin ten va-  
 130 iamēy=urru=tten kīlaku nōkka=chchenru idinipru vada kīlaku nōkkīyum  
 131 kīlaku nōkkīyum ſenra ellakku=tterkum kīlakkum [\*] idan vada varambēy

*Seventh Plate, Second Side*

132 vada mēṛku nōkka=chchenru idanukku vadakkum [\*] innum ivv-Ānaimangalattu  
 133 brahmadēyattu Āritan Śrīyān Kadamban mūṇṇu māvin kīl varambukku=kkīlakkum [||\*]  
 Va  
 134 dapārka-ellai i-chcheyin tēp varambēy kīlaku nōkka=chchenru idanukku=tterku-  
 135 m [ ] i-nnāttu=pPattana kkūṛṛattu brahmadēyam Pīrambil Kottidai āna nilat-  
 136 tin ellaiyēy kīlaku nōkka=chchenru ivv-Ānaimangalattu brahmadēya-  
 137 ttu Vāchchayan Paramēśvaran Pūvār nilattin mēl varambēy<sup>3</sup>=urru=adarku=t-  
 138 terkum [\*] i nnilattukkēy mēṛkun=terkum kīlakkum [\*] i nnāttu brahmadēyam  
 139 Pīrambil Kottidai āna nilattin kīl varambukku=kkīlakkum [\*] i-vv varambēy vadakku  
 nōkka=ch  
 140 chenru Vilapp=ennum ārru ten karaiyēy=urru=tten karaiaku=tterkum [\*] i kkarai-  
 141 yē<sup>4</sup> kīlaku nōkka=chchenru ivv Ānaimangalattu Mahādēvar dēvadānam āna o

*Eighth Plate, First Side*

142 ru māv araiyin mēl varambēy=urru i-vvarambukku mēṛkum [\*] i vvarambēy terku  
 143 nōkka i-ttēvar dēvadānam āna Mullivaraiyāy<sup>5</sup> mēl varambēy=urru i  
 144 vvarambukku mēṛkum [\*] i vvarambē terku nōkkayun=kīlaku nōkkayūn=che-  
 145 nru i ttēvar kulamēy=urru i ttēvar kulattukku=ppāyūm vāyakkā

<sup>1</sup> The reading *paykallān* given in *A S of S I*, Vol IV, is due to the mistake of taking *ya* and *na* for *y* and *n*. In so doing, the sense is obscured.

<sup>2</sup> A letter has been entered and erased after *lka*.

<sup>3</sup> The letters *bēy* of *bēy=urru* are written over an erasure.

<sup>4</sup> After *yē*, a letter has been entered and erased.

<sup>5</sup> This proper name may also be read *Mullivārai*.

viii, a

142	தொழையனெலவரமபெயராயுபயமுந்நினைத்தெய்யமுபயமுபெயரெததந்	142
144	நெருநினைத்தெய்யநெய்தானமரணமுந்நினைத்தெய்யமுபெயரெததந்	144
146	பெயரெததந்நெய்தானமரணமுந்நினைத்தெய்யமுபெயரெததந்	146
148	நெய்தானமரணமுந்நினைத்தெய்யமுபெயரெததந்	148
150	நெய்தானமரணமுந்நினைத்தெய்யமுபெயரெததந்	150

viii, b

[illegible] $\iota x, a$ 

164	164
166	166
168	168
170	170
172	172

[illegible] $r, \alpha$ 

186		186
188		188
190		190
192		192
194		194

2,6

196		196
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- 146 ln mēl-vārambū terku nōkkī=chchenru 1 ttēvar dēvadānan=Ka-  
 147 navadikāl āna nilattin mēl varambukku mērkum [1\*] 1 Kanavadikāl āna  
 148 ten varambūy kīlakku nōkkī=chchenru 1 varambukku=tterkum [1\*] 1-t-  
 149 tēvar dēvadānam āna Melukkuppuram oru māvin mēl-varambukku mērkum [1\*] 1vv oru-  
 150 māvin ten varambūy kīlakku nōkkī=chchenru 1 varambukku=tterkum [1\*] 1-ttē-  
 151 var dēvadānam mukkāniyin ten varambūy kīlakku nōkkī=chchenru Pat

*Eighth Plate, Second Side*

- 152 tal vāykkālēy=ur=adarku=tterkum [1\*] 1 pPattal-vāykkālīn mēl karaiyē va-  
 153 dakku nōkkī=chchenru Vilappēy=ur=adarku=kīlakku [1\*] 1 vVilappay=ūdaru-  
 154 ttu vada karaikkēy=ēri 1 nnāttu=pPattana kkūrattu brahmadēya[m\*] Mūngir<sup>1</sup>  
 155 kudiy=ellaiyēy=urru 1vv ellaiyē vadakku nōkkīyun=  
 156 kīlakku nōkkīyū=chenru idanukku=kīlakku=terkum [1\*] 1n  
 157 num 1mMūngirkudī nilattukkēy mērkum [1\*] 1vv ellaiyē  
 158 terku nōkkī Vilappukkēy=urru Vilappay<sup>2</sup>=ūdaruttu=tten  
 159 karaikkēy=ēri=tten karaiyē kīlakku nōkkī=chchenru 1 nnāttu=kKōvū-  
 160 r=kKanavadimayakkal āna nilattin mēl varambūy=ur=adarku=tterkum [1\*] 1 kKa-  
 161 navadimayakkal-āna nilattin mēl varambukku mērkum [1\*] 1 kKanavadimayakka-  
 162 ln ten varambūy kīlakku nōkkī=chchenru 1 nnāttu=[pPatta]na kkūrattu

*Ninth Plate, First Side*

- 163 brahmadēya[m\*] Nallūrchechīrīkku=ppāyūm vāykkālāy=ur=adarku=tterkum [1\*] 1 v-  
 164 vāykkālīn ten karaiyēy kīlakku nōkkī=chchen(n)ru 1 nnāttu=kKōvūr  
 165 vellālan Urāppalī Pākkan=oru māvin ten varambūy=urru 1 tten-  
 166 varambūy kīlakku nōkkī=chchenru Kōvūr mun=rudangina tachchan nilattukkēy=u  
 167 r=adarku=tterkum [1\*] Āga 1v-īsaitta peru nāng ellaiyilum=agappatta nīr-nīlanu-  
 168 m punseyum ūrum ūr irukkal[1u\*]n=kulamum Śrī kōyilgalum parai chchēri-  
 169 yun=kammān śēriyū=chudukādum peruvad āgavum [1\*] 1vv ūr manaiyum ma-  
 170 nai-ppadappayun=kada[1y]n=kada[1] tteruvum manrun=kanru mēy-pālun=ku-  
 171 lamun=kottagāramun=kīdangun=kēniyum purrun=terriyun=kādum pīdīlgaiyun=[ka]  
 172 larum uvarum ārum ār-īdu padugaiyum ōdaiyum udaippum mīn payil-pallamun=tēn pa-  
 173 yil podumbu[m\*] mē[1\*] nōkkīya maramum kīl-nōkkīya kīnarum ullittu nīr pūsi ne-

*Ninth Plate; Second Side*

- 174 dum paramb=erindu udumb=ōdiy=āmai tavāḷndad=evvagai<sup>4</sup> ppattadum unnilam=ō  
 175 1v-1nri=kKārānmai mīyāchīyu[m\*] mīgudī=kKuraiyum=ulladanga ippadī perṇada-  
 176 rku=pperra vyavasthai [1\*] 1nnilattukku nīrkk=īndavāru<sup>5</sup> vāykkāl kuttī=p

<sup>1</sup> The reading *brahmadēyamun=Kīrakudī* in *A S of S I*, Vol IV (l 265, p 212) is a mistake. That the name of the village is *Mūngirkudī* is evident from line 157.

<sup>2</sup> The letters *lap* are written in smaller characters after erasing a letter which was probably *la*.

<sup>3</sup> The letters *mbu* are faintly marked over an erasure.

<sup>4</sup> The letters after *boḍi* and *gai* are written over an erasure.

<sup>5</sup> This is a variant of *īsainda*<sup>o</sup> or *īyainda*<sup>o</sup>.

- 177 pīyttavum vāravum vidavum peruvad āgavum [i\*] 1-nnīlattukku=  
 178 ppīyūm vāykkālgal mēnadai nīr pāyavum vāravum peruva  
 179 dāgavum [i\*] 1-vāykkālgal anniyar kurug=aruttu=kkuttavum  
 180 vīlang=adaikkavum=kurūttam pannavun=kūḍu=nīr=iraikkavum  
 181 perādād<sup>1</sup> āgavun<sup>2</sup>=chennīr=ppoduvinaī śeyyādād āgavum [i\*] a-nnīr=adarttu=ppā  
 182 checha<sup>3</sup>=pperuvad-āgavun<sup>4</sup>=chutt-ōttāl mīda mālgaiy=edukka=pperuvad-āgavun=  
 183 turavu kinaru ihchecha=pperuvad āgavun=kāvu teng=ida=pperuvad āgavun=damanā[ka]  
 184 mu[m\*] maruvum=iruvālyun<sup>5</sup>=chenbagamuṇ=chengalunīrum māvum palāvun=kamugum  
 pīnai

*Tenth Plate, First Side*

- 185 yun=kodiyum=ullitta pall uruvil payan maram=idavun=nadavum peruvad-āgavum [i\*]  
 peru  
 186 ñ chekh=ida=pperuvad-āgavum [i\*] ivv ūr nīlattay=īdaruttu=ppurav-ūrgalukku=ppōy  
 187 nīr pīyūm vāykkālgal mēnadai nīr pāyavum vāravum peruvad āgavum [i\*] purav-ūr m-  
 188 lattūdu pōndu ivv ūr nīlattukku=ppāyūm vāykkālgal mēna-  
 189 dai nīr pāyavum vāravum peruvad āgavum [i\*] ivv-ūr=itta tengum panaiyūm ī  
 190 [var=ōra=pperādād-āgavun=tan kudikk=ēra vānnam muraiśum muppadī-ttō  
 191 rane[mu\*]m nītti=pperuvad āgavum [i] ippaḍi perradarku=pperā parihārin=nādātchi-  
 192 yūm ūrātchuyum vatti nālyūm pīdā-nālyūn=kannāla kkānamum vānnāra ppārai-  
 193 yun=kūś-kkānamun=nīr kkūlyum ilai kkūlamun=tari ppudavaiyūn=taragun=tattār-  
 ppitta-  
 194 mum idai ppāttamum=āttukk iraiyū[m\*] nallivun=nallerudun=nādu-kāvalum ūdupō

*Tenth Plate, Second Side*

- 195 kum viripidiyūm<sup>6</sup> vālamaijādiyūm ulgum<sup>7</sup> ōda kkūlyūm manrupādum mā-  
 196 viraiyūn=tiyeriyūm ilam pūtehiyūm kūtti kālum ullittu=kkō=ttott=un  
 197 nāppālād=evvagaippattadun=kō=1 kollādēy pallichechandattukkē<sup>8</sup>  
 198 y peruvad āgavum [i\*] ippaḍi perra vyavasthaiyūm- parihāramum  
 199 peria 1-nnīlan=kārānmai mīyātchiyū[m\*] mīgudi kkuraimaiyūm=ulla  
 200 dangr=pPattana kkūrrattu Nāgapattanattu=kKadāratt araiyan eḍuppi  
 201 kkinra Chūlāmanipapma viharattu=ppaḷikkū=ppaḷichechandam=  
 202 ray-ily āgr=kkudutta 1-nnāttu Ānamangalam pallichechanda irangal=u  
 203 ipaḍi yāndu irubatt onrāvuḍu mudal pidi sūlndu pīdāgai nadandu kallu  
 204 n=kālyū[m\*] nātti aravōlai śeyḍu kuduttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmani va

*Eleventh Plate, First Side*

- 205 lanittu=pPattana-kkūrrattu nāttōm nāttārōdum uda nīrū pidi sūlndu pīdāgai nadandu  
 kal  
 206 on kalyū[m\*] nātti aravōlai śeyḍu kuduttōm puravuvai Kalhikkudaiyān Anaiyan

<sup>1</sup> The sign of pe is marked at the end of the previous line

<sup>2</sup> Insert / before checha and read pūychcha

<sup>3</sup> For a note on these words see above, p. 215

<sup>4</sup> The / of /ē is written at the beginning of the next line

$x_{7,11}$ [illegible] $x_{i,b}$ 

216	புறநாடு யாழ்ப்பாணம்	216
218	புறநாடு யாழ்ப்பாணம்	218
220	புறநாடு யாழ்ப்பாணம்	220
222	புறநாடு யாழ்ப்பாணம்	222
224	புறநாடு யாழ்ப்பாணம்	224

 $x_{22}, a$ [illegible]



- 207 Talikkulavanċn=ivaṃy=enn=elutt=enrum [i\*] ivv Ānaimangalam pidi sūln-  
 208 du pidāgai nadakkirapōdu ānāy=ēri i [n\*] āttirōdum uda ninn=ellaṃ  
 209 terittu=kkāttipċn ivv-Ānaimangalatt=irukkum vellālan Kōn Put-  
 210 tanēn=ivaṃy=enn=elutt=enrum [i\*] ippaḍi pidi sūlndu pidāgai nadandu  
 211 aravōlai śeydu kuduttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmani valanāttu=pPattana kkū-  
 212 rrattu brahmadē[ya\*]n=Kadambanūr sabhaiyōm ivargal śolla ivv ūr maddhyasthan  
 Muppatirru  
 213 van Yajñān āna Kaiṃpagāḍittānēn=ivaṃy=enn=elutt=enrum i Kadambanūrār śo-  
 214 lla ivv-ūr Vaikhānasan Nārāyanan Dāmōḍaranċn=ivaṃy=enn=elutt=en-

*Eleventh Plate, Second Side*

- 215 rum [i\*] ippaḍi pidāgai nadandu pidi sūlndu aravōlai śeydu kuduttōm  
 216 Kshatriyaśikhāmani valanāttu=pPattana kkūrattu brahmadēyam Nāranama-  
 217 ngalattu sabhaiyōm ivv-ūr maddhyastan<sup>1</sup> Irunūruvan Uttaman āna Bra-  
 218 hmamangalyanēn=ivaṃy=enn=elutt=enrum [i\*] ippaḍi pidi sūlndu aravō  
 219 lai śeydu kuduttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmani valanāttu=pPattana kkū  
 220 rrattu Vēlangudi Vēlangudaiyān Nārāyanan Orriyīṇ  
 221 ivaṃy=enn=elutt=enrum [i\*] ippaḍi pidi sūlndu pidāgai nadandu a-  
 222 ravōlai śeydu kuduttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmani valanāttu=pPattana kkūra  
 223 ttu brahmadēya[m\*] Mūngirkudi sabhaiyōm ivv ūr maddhyastan<sup>1</sup> Kunava Na-  
 224 ndiy āna Alankārappiryanēn=ivaṃy=enn=elutt=enrum [i\*] ip-

*Twelfth Plate, First Side*

- 225 paḍi pidi sūlndu pidāgai nadandu aravōlai śeydu kuduttōm Kshatriyaśikhā  
 226 man valanāttu=pPattana kkūrattu Narimānratu ūrōm ūr[ā\*]r śolla elu-  
 227 dīnċn ivv ūr maddhyastan<sup>1</sup> Aimbattiruvan Vidēlviduganēn ivai en-  
 228 n=elutt=enrum [i\*] ippaḍi pidi sūlndu pidāgai nadandu aravōlai  
 229 śeydu kuduttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmani valanāttu=pPattana-kkūrattu=ch-  
 230 Chāttamangalatt=ūrōm ūrar<sup>2</sup> śolla eludīnċn ivv ūr Vē  
 231 tikkōvann=Ediran Śāttan āna Nānūruvapperungōvēlā-  
 232 nċn=ivaṃy=enn=elutt=enrum [i\*] ippaḍi pidi sūlndu pidāgai nadandu ara-  
 233 vōlai śeydu kuduttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmani valanāttu=pPattana kkūrrat  
 234 tu brahmadēyam Śānnamangalattu sabhaiyōm sabhaiyār śolla eludī[nēn\*]

*Twelfth Plate, Second Side*

- 235 ivv-ūr=kkaranattān maddhyastan<sup>1</sup> Duṣṣukan Kamudaṇēn ivaṃy=enn=elu-  
 236 tt=enrum [i\*] ippaḍi pidi sūlndu pidāgai nadandu aravōlai śeydu kuduttō-  
 237 m Kshatriyaśikhāmani valanāttu=pPattana kkūrattu brahmadēyam Kottāraḥkudā sa-  
 238 bhaiyōm ivv-ūr=kkaranattān maddhyastan<sup>1</sup> Ūran Chāndiraśēkharan āna  
 239 Brahmamangalyanēn ivaṃy=enn=elutt=enrum [i\*] ippaḍi pidi sūlndu

<sup>1</sup> Read *oṣṭhan*

<sup>2</sup> Read *ūrar*.



- 240 pīdāgai nadandu aravōlai śeydu kuduttōm Kshatṛi[ya\*]śikhāmanī vala-  
 241 nāttu=pPattana kkūrattu=lKōvūr ūrōm ūrar<sup>2</sup> śolla eḷi(lu)dinēn  
 242 ivv ūr=kkaranattān maddhyastan<sup>1</sup> Ayyan Ayyanēn=ivaiy=en=elutt=c-  
 243 nrum [i\*] ippadī pīdī sūlndu pīdāgai nadandu aravōlai śeydu kuduttōm Kshatṛi-  
 244 yaśikhāmanī valanāttu=pPattana kkūrattu Uttūr ūrōm ūrar<sup>2</sup> śolla[v] e-

*Thirteenth Plate, First Side*

- 245 luḍinēn ivv ūr=kkaranattān maddhyastan<sup>1</sup> Nakkaṇ Mulliyēn=ivaiy=en-  
 246 n=elutt=enrum [i\*] ippadī pīdī sūlndu pīdāgai nadandu aravōlai śeydu kudut-  
 247 tōm Kshatṛiyaśikhāmanī valanāttu=pPattana kkūrattu brahmadāyam Nanniman[ga\*]-  
 248 lattū sabhaiyōm sabhaiyār śolla ivv ūr=kkaranattān maddhyastan<sup>1</sup>  
 249 Kannan Alankārappiriyānēn=ivai=en=elutt=enrum [i\*] 1  
 250 ppadī pīdī sūlndu pīdāgai nadandu aravōlai śeydu kuduttōm Kshatṛiya  
 251 śikhāmanī-valanāttu=pPattana kkūrattu brahmadāyam Poruvanūr sabhai<sup>3</sup>  
 252 yōm sabhaiyār śolla eḷuḍinēn ivv ūr=kkaranattān Vētkōva-  
 253 n Mādēvān Ūranēn=ivaiy=en=elutt=enrum [i\*] ippadī pī[dī\*] sūlndu pīdā-  
 254 gai nadandu aravōlai śeydu kuduttōm Kshatṛiyaśikhāmanī-valanāttu=pPattana

*Thirteenth Plate, Second Side*

- 255 kkūrattu Ālangudī ūrōm ūr[ā\*]r śolla eḷuḍinēn ivv-ūr=kkaranattān Kā  
 256 śyapan Sūryya(ya\*)n=Aranganēn ivai en=elutt=enrum [i\*] ippadī pīdī sūlndu pī-  
 257 dāgai nadandu aravōlai śeydu kuduttōm Kshatṛiyaśikhāmanī valanāttu=pPattana kkū-  
 258 rrattu=tTuraiyūr ūrōm ūr[ā\*]r śolla eḷuḍinēn ivv-ūr=kkaranattā-  
 259 n Bhāradvājī Tirittī Vāikundan eḷutt=enrum [i\*] ippadī pīdī sūlndu pīdā-  
 260 gai nadandu aravōlai śeydu kuduttōm Kshatṛiyaśikhāmanī-valanāttu [pPat]-  
 261 tana kkūrattu brahmadāyam Pirambī sabhaiyōm ivv-ūr=kkaranatt[ā\*]n maddhya-  
 262 sthan Kunavan Nandiy āna Alankārappiriyānēn ivaiy=en=elutt=enru-  
 263 m [i\*] ippadī pīdī sūlndu pīdāgai nadandu aravōlai śeydu kuduttōm Kadāmbankudiy=  
 ūrō  
 264 m ūr[ā\*]r śolla eḷuḍinēn ivv ūr=kkaranattān maddhyasthan Kunava[n\*] Nandiy-āna  
 Ala

*Fourteenth Plate, First Side*

- 265 nkārappiriyānēn ivaien=elutt=enrum [i\*] ippadī pīdī sūlndu pīdāgai nadandu ara-  
 266 vōlai śeydu kuduttōm Kshatṛiyaśikhāmanī-valanāttu=pPattana kkūrattu Śēndaman  
 267 galattu ūrōm ūrār śolla eḷuḍinēn ivv ūr maddhyasthan Ūrān Ayyanē  
 268 n=ivai=en=elutt=enrum [i\*] ippadī pī[dī\*] sūlndu pīdāgai nadandu aravōlai śe  
 269 ydu kuduttōm Kshatṛiyaśikhāmanī valanāttu=pPattana-kkūratt[ttu\*]-chChruchchēnda-  
 manga  
 270 lattū Etti Valaṇḍiḷiyan Śanganen ivai en=elutt=enrum [i\*] ippadī pīdī sūl  
 271 ndu pīdāgai nadandu aravōlai śeydu kuduttōm Kshatṛiyaśikhāmanī valanāttu=

<sup>1</sup> Read *sthan*,

<sup>2</sup> Read *urar*

<sup>3</sup> The *bl* of *bhai* is entered at the commencement of the next line

<sup>4</sup> This letter is superfluous,

av, a

266	பாலைமலைத்துருகுதெய்வமூர்த்தியை வணங்குதல் தருமபுர அரசுநாதரது தந்தைய	266
268	லக்துமரெய்யுடைய மூர்த்தியை வணங்குதல் தருமபுர அரசுநாதரது தந்தைய	268
270	செய்தியை வணங்குதல் தருமபுர அரசுநாதரது தந்தைய	270
272	பெரியவனாகிய தருமபுர அரசுநாதரது தந்தைய	272
274	பெரியவனாகிய தருமபுர அரசுநாதரது தந்தைய	274

av, b

276	பெரியவனாகிய தருமபுர அரசுநாதரது தந்தைய	276
278	பெரியவனாகிய தருமபுர அரசுநாதரது தந்தைய	278
280	பெரியவனாகிய தருமபுர அரசுநாதரது தந்தைய	280
282	பெரியவனாகிய தருமபுர அரசுநாதரது தந்தைய	282
284	பெரியவனாகிய தருமபுர அரசுநாதரது தந்தைய	284

rv, a

286	பெரியவனாகிய தருமபுர அரசுநாதரது தந்தைய	286
288	பெரியவனாகிய தருமபுர அரசுநாதரது தந்தைய	288
290	பெரியவனாகிய தருமபுர அரசுநாதரது தந்தைய	290
292	பெரியவனாகிய தருமபுர அரசுநாதரது தந்தைய	292
294	பெரியவனாகிய தருமபுர அரசுநாதரது தந்தைய	294
296	பெரியவனாகிய தருமபுர அரசுநாதரது தந்தைய	296

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- 272 pPattana-kkūrrattu-kKurrālatt=ūrōm ūrār śolla eludinēn ivv-ūr=kkaranattān  
 273 Vētkōvan Dcivan Ūrān=ivaī enn=eḷutt=enrum [\*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḷndu piḍā  
 274 gai nadandu aravōlai śeydu kuduttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmani valanāttu=pPattā<sup>1</sup>

*Fourteenth Plate, Second Side*

- 275 na-kkūrrattu=tTirunāvūr ūrōm ūrār śolla eludinēn ivv ūr maddhyastha  
 276 n Śadurmugan=Ara[n]gattēn=ivaī enn=eḷutt=enrum [\*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḷndu  
 277 piḍāgai nadandu aravōlai śeydu kuduttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmani-valanāt-  
 278 tu=pPattana kkūrrattu brahmadēyam Uvarkkudi sabhaiyōm sabhaiyār śo  
 279 lla eḷudinēn ivv ūr=kkaranattān Vētkōvan Mānāga[n<sup>+</sup>] N-  
 280 ārayananēn=ivaī enn=eḷutt=enrum [\*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḷndu pi-  
 281 dāgai nadandu aravōlai śeydu kuduttōm Kshatriyaśikhāma-  
 282 ni-valanāttu=pPattana-kkūrrattu Muṇṇikudi ūrōm ūrār śo  
 283 lla eludinēn ivv ūr=kkaranattān Vētkōvan Mānāgan Kanna-  
 284 nēn=ivaī enn=eḷutt=enrum [\*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḷndu piḍāgai nadandu a-  
 285 ravōlai śeydu kuduttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmani valanāttu=pPattana-kkūrrattu Tī-

*Fifteenth Plate, First Side*

- 286 rukkannankudi sabhaiyōm sabhaiyār śollav=eḷudinēn ivv-ūr=kkaranat-  
 287 tān Vētkōvan Atirāman Irubattunālvan-āgiya Munnūrruvaṇē-  
 288 n=ivaī enn=eḷutt=enrum [\*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḷndu piḍāgai nadandu aravōlai  
 289 śeydu kuduttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmani valanāttu=pPattana k-  
 290 kūrrattu Kadambavalavātkai ūrōm ūrār śolla eḷudinēn i-  
 291 vv ūr=kkaranattān maddhyasthan Ūrān=Ūrānēn=ivaī enn=eḷu-  
 292 tt=enrum [\*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḷndu piḍāgai nadandu aravōlai śeydu  
 293 kuduttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmani valanāttu=pPattana kkūrrattu=  
 294 pPālankorrankudi ūrōm ūrār śolla eḷudinēn ivv ūr=kkaranattā-  
 295 n maddhyasthan Ūrān=Ūrānēn=ivaī enn=eḷutt=enrum [\*] ippaḍi piḍi sūḷn-  
 296 du piḍāgai nadandu aravōlai śeydu kuduttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmani-valanāttu-

*Fifteenth Plate, Second Side*

- 297 pPattana-kkūrrattu Venkidangil ūrōm ūr[ā\*]r śolla eḷudinēn ivv ūr=kkara-  
 298 nattān maddhyasthan Ūrā[n\*] Nakkanēn=ivaī enn=eḷutt=enrum [\*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḷndu  
 299 piḍāgai nadandu aravōlai śeydu kuduttōm ivv Ānaimangalattu brahmadē-  
 300 yattu Āritan Śiriyān Kadambanēn=ivaī enn=eḷutt=enrum 1 ppariśu<sup>2</sup>-bBattā-  
 301 y nīnru piḍi nadappittu aravōlai śeyvittēn Kshatriyaśikhāma-  
 302 ni-valanāttu=tTirunaraiyūr nāttu brahmadēyam śrī Tungamangalattu=  
 303 tTūrpiḷ Śrīdhara Bhattanēn=ivaīy=enn=eḷutt=enrum [\*] ippaḍi Bhattā[y\*]  
 304 nīnru piḍi nadappittu aravōlai śeyvittēn Kshatriyaśikhāmani-vala-  
 305 nāttu Velā-nāttu=tTirunallūr pPārkulattu=pParpanābha-Bhattanēn=ivaī en-  
 306 n=eḷutt=enrum [\*] 1 ppariśu Bhattāy nīnru [piḍi\*] nadappittu aravōlai śeyvittēp Ksha-  
 307 triyaśikhāmani-valanāttu Velā-nāttu=tTirunallūr Pēremapurattu Veṇ-

<sup>1</sup> This word is generally written *Paffa*<sup>o</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Delete *b*

308 nāya-Bhattanēn=ivay=en=e|utt=enrum [\*] i-ppariśu Bhattāy nīrū pi-  
 309 di nadappittu aravōlai śeyvittēn Rājēndrasimha-valanāttu Śrī Viranā

*Sixteenth Plate, First Side*

310 rāyana chechaturvēdimangalattu Dvēdaigōmapurattu Nandiśvara Bhattanēn=ivai  
 311 enn=e|utt=enrum [ | ' ] pugunda aravōlaippadiyē variyil=ittu=kkolḡav=enru nan=  
 karumam=ārā  
 312 yum Minavan Mūvēndavēlānum Korṡamangalamudaiyānum Tēvaṡkudaiyānum na-  
 313 duvīrukkun=Kadalangudi=dDāmōdara-Bhattanum Kottaiyūr=pPūvatta Bhattanum nan  
 karuma-  
 314 m=ārāyum Parākramaśō|ā Mūvēndavēlānum Śembiyan Mūvēndavēlānum Śōlavē-  
 315 lānum Araiśūr udaiyānum naduvīrukkam Pullamangalattu Paramōśvara Bhatta-sarvva-  
 316 kratuyājiyuñ=cholla=ppuravuvuṡi Ālangudaiyān Kōdandan Śēnaṡum Pū-  
 317 damangalamudaiyān Ilavaḡiḡal Nallīraṡum Ālattūr udaiyān Karpagañ-  
 318 Chōlāiyum varippottagam Paruttīyūr-kilavan Śīngan Venkūḡḡum  
 319 mugavetṡi Kīlvāy Kanavadiyum Mundan=Aranganuñ=Chaiyadan=Amalanum Tattan  
 320 Śikattanum varippottaga kkanakku Mādēvan Būmiyum variyilḡdu Uruvūr-udaiyā  
 321 n Tāli Virāśōlanum pattōlai Perumān=Ambalattādiyum Śikandan Dēvanum  
 322 Mākālan=Ariṡṡiyum Nakkan Mandagavanum irundu yāṡdu irubattu-mūṡṡāva-

*Sixteenth Plate, Second Side*

323 du nāl nūṡṡ-arubattu-mūṡṡināl variyil ittu kkuduttadu || Irai<sup>1</sup> Uyyakkondār  
 324 valanāttu=tTiraimūr-nāttu Nadār-kūlin Araiyan Arumolīy āna Rājē  
 325 ndraśōla=pPallavaraiyan e|uttu || Uyyakkondār valanāttu Vennāttu=  
 326 kKēralāntaka chechaturvēdimangalattu Kṡṡṡnan Rāman āna Rājēndraśō|a  
 327 Brahmamār[ā\*]yanukkum okkum || Nittavīṡōda valanāttu=pPāmbunī-kkūrrat-  
 328 [tu\*] Araiśūr-udaiyān Īrāyiravan Pallavayan āna Uttamaśō|a pPallava-  
 329 rayanukkum okkum || Rājēndrasimha valanāttu=kKūṡṡkai-nāttu=kKa  
 330 dalangudi Dvēdaigōmapurattu Dāmōdara Bhattanukkum okkum || Uyyakkondā-  
 331 r valanāttu Ambar-nāttu Kurumbil kīlāṡ Araiyan Śikandan āna Miḡavan Mūvē  
 332 ndavēlānuk|um okkum || 6 ||

TRANSLATION.

Sanskrit portion

(L 1) Hail! Prosperity!

(V 1) May the arms of Śārṡṡin (i e, Vishnu) of the *harimīla*-blue body, which are resplendent with *śārṡga* and other weapons, which are marked with the *lāśmīa* ointment (smeared) on the surface of Lakṡmī's two round breasts, whose golden bracelets glitter as they rub against the high summits of the whirling Mandara (*mountain*), (and) which protect the three worlds, increase greatly your prosperity!

<sup>1</sup> From this word onwards the writing is slightly different and the letters are more deeply cut. This portion might belong to the time of Rājēndra Chōla I, while the previous portion might have been written at the time of Rājārāja I.

(V 2) As long as the moon crested deity (*i e* Śiva) sports with his consort on the Kailāsa mountain, as long as Hari (Vishnu) performs meditative sleep (*yōga nidrā*) on the serpent couch in the milk-ocean, and as long as the sun, the sole light of all the worlds, dispels the dense darkness of the world, so long, may the Chōla family protect from danger the circle of the whole earth

(V 3) From the Sun (*Ahnikāra*), the sole eye of the whole world, was (born) Manu the first of kings, (then) was born his son Ikshvāku, whose footstool was licked by rows of diadems of kings. In his family was (born) king Māndhātṛi, who was a storehouse of virtues, who was equal to Dhātṛi (Brahman) and who justly ruled this earth (extending) as far as the Lōkālōka mountain

(V 4) His son was the heroic king named Muchukunda. As his son was born king Valabha who was the sole crest jewel of the Kshatṛa (*i e* the Kshatriya race). In his family was born the illustrious king, who was widely renowned throughout the world as Śibi and whose two feet were worshipped by the whole host of kings

(V 5) Who, excepting Vyāsa, the best among poets, is able to describe the qualities of that profoundly virtuous king who preserved his own life (*only*) for the benefit of others?

(V 6) As a full moon to the ocean of that family, was born (*king*) Chōla, who was the repository of all arts (*kalā*) (just as the fullmoon is the repository of the sixteen *kalās*) and the kings born in whose family bore the name Chōla after his name

(V 7) Then came king Rājakēśarin, who conquered all (*his*) enemies. After him came Parakēśarin, who was bent on destroying the towns of hostile kings

(V 8) The name of Rājakēśarin and (*that*) of this Parakēśarin became alternately the order of kings born in their family

(V 9) In that family was born the lord of kings, Suraguru, who destroyed all (*his*) enemies, who was the standard of the Solar race, (*and*) who having conquered in the battle field even the unconquerable Mrityu, acquired the unattainable epithet Mrityujit

(V 10) In his family was born king Vyāghrakētu, who was a lion (*as it were*) to the elephants — (*his*) enemies. In that race was born the strong king Pañchapa (*who was*) the *Kalpa* tree to (*his*) supplicants

(V 11) King Karikāla, (*the god of*) Death to his enemies, was born in that family. This (*king*) constructed embankments to the Kāvērī (*river*)

(V 12) In his family was (*born*) Kōchchamkannān of well established fame, the bee at the lotus feet of Śambhu (Śiva), (*and one*) whose feet were worshipped by all kings. In his family (*there*) was king Kōkkilī of clear intellect, the lord of prosperity, whose feet were worshipped by the crests of the whole host of kings

(V 13) In that family was born the victorious Vijayālaya of great strength, who conquered the entire surface of the earth (*and*) whose two lotus like feet were brightened by the lustre of gems emanating from the region of the diadems of prime kings that prostrated before him

(V 14) From that king (*also* mountain) came forth Āditya (*also* Sun) of great splendour, who possessed (*mighty*) powers (*also* heat) and destroyed the dense darkness, *i e*, enemies

(V 15) From him, who was the sole abode of countless heaps of gems (*and*) who possessed enormous strength, rose for the benefit of the world, king Parāntaka with full glory, just as the moon does with all his rays, to give pleasure to the world, from the milk ocean (which contains within it countless gems and huge aquatic animals)

(V 16) Having conquered the earth right up to the Chakravāla (*mountain and*) protected the whole (*of it*) with peace, that sun to the darkness, *i e* the Kali age, founded various big towns

(and) brightened the ends of the quarters with (*his*) fame which was as (*white as*) the clouds of the autumn (*śarad*)

(V 17) With the pure gold brought from all the quarters which were subdued by the prowess of his own arm, this banner of the solar race (*i e*, Parāntaka) covered the mansion of Indumauli (*Śiva*) at Vyāghrāgrahāra (*i e*, Chidambaram)

(V 18) To that king, whose two feet were worshipped by all the rulers of men, were born three sons prosperous as Sutrāman (*Indra*) and resplendent as the three fires, the (*one*) called Rājāditya in this world, (*another*) named the glorious Gandarāditya (*and the third*) Arījaya, the valorous, whose name was famous throughout the world

(V 19) When king Parāntaka, who was pre eminent in destroying the armies of (*his*) enemies (*and*) who was a follower of *dharma*, had gone to heaven after having protected the earth girdled by the ocean, there (*was*) his son known as Rājāditya, who was strong, (*and*) whose two feet were rubbed by the crests of hosts of kings he became the lord of the earth

(V 20) That heroic Rājāditya, the ornament of the solar race having agitated in battle, the imperturbable *Kṛṣṇarāja* along with his army, with his sharp arrows falling in all directions, while (*seated*) on the back of an excellent elephant, had his heart split by the thrusts of his (*i e* *Kṛṣṇarāja's*) sharp arrows and mounting a celestial car went to the world of heroes (*vīralōka*) praised by the three worlds

(V 21) When Rājāditya (or the sun among kings) of great prowess (or splendour) had gone to give pleasure to the lotus faces of heavenly damsels, his heroic brother of wide spread fame, (*named*) Gandarādityavarmman, protected the whole earth dispelling the dense darkness, (*viz*) all (*his*) enemies

(V 22) Having got a son named Madhurāntaka and (*having founded*) a big village after his own name in the country on the north bank of (*the river*) Kāvṛakanyā (*i e* Kāvṛī), he (Gandarāditya) went to heaven for achieving the objects of (*that*) other world

(V 23) When that lord had gone to heaven, the heroic Arījaya, a very conflagration in (*consuming*) the forest of enemy kings, ruled the whole earth

(V 24) From Arījaya was born Parāntaka, (*who was*) equal (*in prowess*) to the destroyer of the (*three*) cities (*i e* *Śivā*), (*who was*) the crusher of the circle of enemy kings, (*and*) who, (*causing his*) subjects to be pleased by his good qualities, peacefully ruled the earth girdled by the ocean

(V 25) At the city named Chāvūra, he (Parāntaka) had the quarters filled with heaps of sharp and pointed arrows sent forth from his beautiful bow and caused to flow manifold rivers of blood springing from the high mountains, *i e* the enemies' elephants cut asunder by (*his*) sharp sword

(V 26) This lord of kings (rājendra) begot (*two sons*), Āditya, otherwise called *Karikāla* and Rājarāja, the head jewel of the solar race

(V 27) When that Parāntaka directed his attention to protect the world of gods (*i e*, *died*), Āditya justly carried out the protection of the world of men

(V 28) That young boy (Āditya), the light of the family of Manu, played sportively in battle with Vira-Pāndya, just as a lion's cub (*does*) with a rutting mad elephant proud of (*its*) strength

(V 29) When that chief of kings went to heaven, the son of Gandarāditya, (*i e*) king Madhurāntaka, he, of powerful arms and famous as Mahendra (*Indra*), protected the earth which had the ocean for its girdle

(V 30) When that chief of the rulers of the earth passed away to protect the abode of the gods, the heroic Rājarāja, the light of the Chōla race, whose footstool was licked (*i e* rubbed)

by the glittering crests of all kings, bore the heavy burden of the earth on his arm which was surpassing the lustre of the body of Śūsha, the lord of serpents

(V 31) Conquering the kings of the Pāṇḍya, Tulu and Kēraḷa (*countries and*) **Śimhalēndia** and **Satyāśraya** and others by the power of his arm and taking possession of their elephants, horses, gems, and kingdoms, he caused to glow all the ten quarters with (*his*) fame

(V 32) Having accomplished the conquest of the regions and made all kings tributary, that lord of kings, Rājārāja, lived happily in his town, honoured by (*his*) people, just as Indra, worshipped by the world, was in heaven.

(V 33) As far as the mountain which has the glory of bringing forth the Sun, as far as the Southern ocean, as far as the mountain named Asta and as far as the lord of mountains (*i e*, the Himālaya) occupied by Śambhu (Śiva), the kings that were concerned in the protection of their own families sagaciously sought refuge in the pair of lotus feet of Nityavinōda, in order to enjoy many pleasures

(V 34) Because that sovereign was liberal to, (*and*) in many ways the refuge of, the kings that sought his feet, the good men in this earth call him **Rājāśīaya** of boundless magnanimity

(Il 73 to 86) He, this **Rājakēśarivarman Rājārāja**, who had seen the other shore of the ocean of the collection of all sciences, whose foot stool was made yellow by the cluster of rays (*emanating*) from many a gem set on the borders of the beautiful gold diadems worn by the entire circle of kings, gave, in the twenty first year of his universal sovereignty,

to the Buddha residing in the surpassingly beautiful **Chū āmanivarman-vihāra**, of (*such*) high loftiness (*as had*) belittled the Kanakagiri (*i e* Mēru), which had been built—in the name of his father, by the glorious **Māravijayōttungavarman**, who, by the greatness of his wisdom, had conquered the teacher of the gods, who was the sun to the lotus forest (*viz*) the learned men, who was the *Kalpa*-tree to supplicants, who was born in the **Śailēndra** family, who was the lord of the **Śrī-Vishaya** (*country*), who was conducting the rule of **Katāha**, who had the *Mahara* crest, (*and*) who was the son of **Chūlāmanivarman** that had mastered all state craft—at **Nāgī-pattana**, delightful (*on account of*) many a temple, rest-house, water shed, and pleasure garden and brilliant with arrays of various kinds of mansions, (*situated*) in the division called **Pattana-kūrā** (*included*) in the big group of districts named **Kshatriyasūkhāmani-valanādu**, which was the forehead-mark of the whole earth,

the village named **Ānamangalam** (*which had its*) four boundaries defined by the circumambulation of the female elephant and (*which was situated*) in the division called **Pattana kūrā** (*included*) in the same group of districts (*as had been named above*)

(Vv 35 36) When that powerful (*Rājārāja*) had obtained divinity, his wise son, king **Madhurāntaka**, who ascended on his throne, caused an enduring edict (*to be made*) for this village, which had thus been granted by his father, the king emperor, and ordered thus —

(V 37) As long as Śūsha, the lord of all serpents, holds the entire earth, so long may this *vihāra* last in (*this*) world with its endowment

(V 38) This lord of **Katāha** of great valour, the abode of virtues, thus prays to all future kings —

“Protect (*ye*) for ever this my charity”

(V 39) In the delightful village called **Kottaiyūr**, famed in this world, that intelligent Brāhman of stainless character named **Anantanārāyana**, the follower of the wise, born in the spotless family of **Vasishtha**, which was the abode of prosperity, composed this *paśasti*

(Vv 40 42) Of that king who was justly protecting the entire earth, who was invincible and who had subdued the whole host of hostile kings, the chief officer was the wise person called **Tilla-**



yāli, whose birth place in this earth was known as Kāñchivāyil and who was known in the world as Rājārāja Mūvūndavēl. At his (i.e. the king's) injunction, he caused this edict to be neatly executed.

(Vv. 43-44) At the direction of that lord of Katāha, Śrīmīn Atikal's son, who was well known as Tuvavūravān Anulka, who was modest, endowed with virtues, devoted to his master's concerns and of generous mind, caused to be made this lasting edict.

(Vv. 45-48) The most intelligent Rājārāja Mahāchārya, otherwise called Vāsudēva, who, though born of Kṛṣṇa, was not of black (*krishna*) conduct, the two sons of Kṛṣṇa, called Śrīraṅga and Dāmōdara, who were the bees (*as it were*) at the lotus feet of Kṛṣṇa, and also the son of Vāsudēva, named Kṛṣṇa, who had beautiful lotus like eyes and the son of Ārīvamūta, called Purushōttama, of excellent speech (?), who was vying with Chutragupta in stamping (i.e. engraving) letters—these five artists, who were the forehead marks of the Hōṃya family and born in Kāñchīpura, wrote this eulogy.

(Il. 108f.) This edict was incised by us, the engraving sculptors of the prosperous (city of) Kāñchīpura in Jayangondachōlamandalam, viz., Kṛṣṇan Vāsudēvan *alias* Rājārājappārīchārya, Kṛṣṇan Tiruvārangan, Kṛṣṇan Dāmōdaran, Vāsudēvan Kṛṣṇan and Ārīvamīrdu Purushōttaman.

#### Tamil portion

(l. 1) Hail! Prosperity! (*This is the order of*) Kōñcīrinnakondān (*issued*) to the *nāllūr* (i.e., the members of the Divisional Assembly) of Pattana-kūrram, a sub-division in Kṣhatriyasikhāmanivalanādu, the headmen of *brahmādīyas*, the representatives of the *ūr* in *dēvadānas*, *pallichchanda*, *lanimurruṭṭu* and *vellippēru* (villages) and the *nagarargalilūr* (i.e., the body of merchants).

(l. 4) In the twenty-first year and ninety-second day of our (*reign*) when we were in the pavilion to the south of the palace of Rājārāyan (*situated*) outside Tañjāvūr, we having declared that, (*in order to meet*) the necessary requirements of the *pall* (*attached to*) the Chūlāmanivarma-vihāra which is being built by the Kadāra king Chūlāmanivarman at Nāgapattanam in Pattana-kūrram (*a sub-division*) of Kṣhatriyasikhāmanivalanādu, the income of eight thousand nine hundred and forty-three *kalam*, two *tūm*, (one) *lurum* and one *nāl* of paddy accruing from the payment of land assessment on ninety-seven (*vēl*), two *mā*, one and a half *kām*, one *mundiriga*, *līl* (i.e. 1/320) of three *mā*, three *lān*, and one *mundiriga* and *līl* (i.e. 1/320) of half and two *mā* of land, inclusive of those that had ceased to be *pallichchanda* and exclusive of those that had been removed in survey, which formed the village of Ānamangalam in Pattana-kūrram (*a sub-division*) of Kṣhatriyasikhāmanivalanādu shall be entered in the (*revenue*) register as a tax-free *pallichchanda* from the twenty-first year (*of our reign*) and the taxes paid over to the *pall* in the Chūlāmanivarma-vihāra which (*as aforesaid*) is being erected by the Kadāra king at Nāgapattanam in Pattana-kūrram (*a sub-division*) of Kṣhatriyasikhāmanivalanādu, (*this*) our order was written by Amudan Tirttakaran, the headman of Vilattūr in Āvūr-kūrram (*a sub-division*) of Nittavinōda-valanādu, who writes our orders, signed by the superintendents of our writs (*viz.*,) Kṛṣṇan Rāman *alias* Mummadichōla Brāhmamāryan of Kēralāntaka chaturvēdimangalam in Vennādu (*a sub-division*) of Uyyakkondār-valanādu, Irāyiravan Pallavarayan *alias* Mummadichōla Pōsan, (*a native*) of Arasūr in Pāmbunkūrram (*a sub-division*) of Nittavinōda-valanādu and Vēlān Uttamachōlan *alias* Madurāntaka Mūvēndavēlān (*a native*) of Paruttikkudū in Nenmal-nādu (*a sub-division*) of Arumohdēya-valanādu, and was issued and in accordance with it, it was ordered to be entered in the accounts by our Secretaries Ārūran Aravanaiyān *alias* Parākramachōla Mūvēndavēlān, Tattan Sēndan *alias* Sēmbiyān-Mūvēndavēlān (*and*) Māppēran Porkāri (*a native*) of Arunkunram, the arbitrators Parameśvara-Bhatta Sarvakratuyājīn of Pullamangalam and Dāmōdara-Bhattan of Kadalangudi, our

Secretaries Piṣangan Pālūr *alias* Minavaṇ-Mūvēndavēlān of Karkuḍi in Tirunarayūr nādu (*a sub division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi valanāḍu, and Śankaranārāyaṇan Arangan of Vanganagar in Puṇḡangarambaī nādu (*a sub division*) of Arumolīdēva valanāḍu, and the arbitiators Tammadī Bhattap of Vennaimallūr and Tiyaṃbaga-Bhattan of Paśalai

(1 33) The *Puravutari* (officers) Koṭṭan Porkāri, the headman of Kūṇallūr, Śūṛṇṇan Tēvadī (*a native*) of Kalumalam, Tēvaṇ Śāttan (*a native*) of Paluvūr and Anaiyan Talikkulavan (*a native*) of Kaḷḷikkudī, the *varippattagam* (*i e* officers in charge of Tax registers) Kūmaran Arangan (*a native*) of Śāttanūr and Śiṅgan Venkādan, the headman of Paruttīyūr, being present, Ānaimangalam in Pattana kūṛram (*a sub division*) of their district, comprising of ninety seven (*vēḷi*), two *mā*, one and a half *kāṇi*, one *mundirigaḷ*, *kīḷ* (*i e* 1/320) of three *mā*, three *kāṇi* and one *mundirigaḷ* and *kīḷ* (*i e* 1/320) of half, and two *mā* of land, after deducting those that had been removed in survey, was entered in the revenue register as a tax-free *pallichchandan* on the ninety-sixth day of the (*said*) twenty-first year

(1 41) We furnished the names of (*the following persons*) for going round the hamlets accompanying the female elephant —

Our (officer) *Kankāṇi-naduṇṇukkum* Tammadī Bhattap of Vennaimallūr and the Bhattas (*i e*) Śrīdhara Bhattan of Tūṛpī residing at Śrī Tungamangalam *alias* Abhimānabhūshana chaturvēḍimangalam in Tirunarayūr nādu (*a sub division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi valanāḍu, Parpanābha Bhattan of Pārkkūḷam (*residing at*) Tirunallūr in Vēlānāḍu (*a sub division*) of the same nāḍu, Vennaiya-Bhattan of Pērēmapuram (*residing*) in the same village and Nandīsvara Bhattan of Dīḍaigōmapuram (*residing*) at Śrī Vīranārāyaṇa chaturvēḍimangalam, a free village in Kāra nāḍu (*a sub division*) of Rājēndrasimha valanāḍu and the *Puravutari* (officer) Anaiyan Talikkulavan (*a resident*) of Kaḷḷikkudī

(1 49) A royal order (*trumugaṃ*) embodying the above and with the words ‘it behoves you also to be with these persons, to point out the boundaries, to go round the hamlets accompanied by a female elephant, to set up (*boundary*) stones and milk-bush and to draw up and give the deed of gift,’ having been sent to us, the *nāḷṭōm* (the assembly of the district), in the writing of the Royal scribe (*mandiravōlai*) Amudan Tirttakaran, the headmen of Vilattūr, and with the signatures of the Superintendents of Royal Writs (*trumandiravōlai nāyakaṃ*) Kūṣṇhan Rāman *alias* Mummadiśōla Brahmamārāyaṇ, Irūyiravaṇ Pallavayan *alias* Mummadiśōla Pōśan (*a resident*) of Araisūr and Vēlān Uttamaśōlap *alias* Madurāntaka-Mūvēndavēlān (*a resident*) of Paruttikudī, in the twenty-first year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Rājarājakēśarivarman *alias* Rājarājādēva, who having conceived in his mind that, like the goddess Lakshmī, the great goddess of the Earth had become his own, was pleased to destroy the ships at Kāṇḍalūr Śālai, took, with (*the aid of*) his highly powerful and victorious army, Vēṅgai nāḍu, Gangapāḍi, Nulambapāḍi, Tadiḡai pāḍi, Kudamalai nāḍu, Kollam, Kalingam and the province of Īḷam (*i e* Ceylon), famous in the eight quarters, and who carried away the splendour of the Śēhyas (*i e* the Pāṇḍyas) in the year of his acquiring excessive glory fit for being praised till the end of time, we, the *nāḷṭōm* (*i e*, the assembly of the district), seeing it (*i e* the order) being brought, respectfully advanced (*towards*) received and carried (*it*) on our heads and accompanying the female elephant, walked round the hamlets, set up (*boundary*) stones and milk bush and drew up and gave the deed of gift

(1 65) The eastern boundary of the land (*thus granted*) forms the western boundary of Kōvūr in Pattana kūṛram (*a sub division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi valanāḍu, (*it is*) to the west of the land of the carpenter of Kōvūr and of the (*stream*) Kāvīdi ōḍai of Kōvūr, further south (*it is*) to the west of the field called Pugaiyunṇi (*belonging to*) the same village, further south, proceeding in an easterly direction on the same boundary and further south of the same field, (*it is*) to the west of the field called Pugaiyunṇi, further south and further west, (*it is*) to the north of the

small ridge (*which had been*) converted into a nursery (*and made to form part*) of the one eighth (*vēli of land lying*) to the west of the channel irrigating the (*land called*) Pugaiyunnū, further, (*it is*) to the west of the (*said*) small ridge which had been converted into a nursery at the western side of this one eighth (*vēli*), further still, (*it is*) to the north of the ridge made on the southern side of the same nursery, further on, (*it is*) to the west of the western ridge of this one eighth (*vēli*), further, (*it is*) to the west of the one eighth (*vēli*) of Pugaiyunnū (*lying*) on the southern side of the said one eighth (*vēli*), further south of this, (*it is*) to the west of the one *mā* and a half of land belonging to the potter of Kōvūr, on the south of this (*land*), (*it is*), to the west of the one *mā* and a half (*of land*), on the south of this, (*it is*) to the south of the middle of the stream, further on, (*it is*) to the west of the boundary of this (*village of*) Kōvūr, further south, (*it is*) to the west of the one *mā* of land of Arasūr Mariyīdi, a *Vellāla* of Kōvūr, on the south of this, (*it is*) to the south of the middle of the stream, going in a south-easterly direction along this stream, (*it lies*) to the west of the spot at which the western Pallavāyikkāl falls into this very stream, further on, (*it is*) to the south of the southern bank of the western Pallavāyikkāl and to the west of the western ridge of (*the land called*) Mēlpallam of Kōvūr, (*further*), it is to the north of the northern ridge of the one eighth (*vēli of land*) of the Vellāla Urāppāl Pākkaian in Mēlpallam of this village, (*it is also*) to the west of the middle of the stream at the western side of this same one eighth (*vēli*) and of the one eighth (*vēli of land*) of the Vellāla Paramāśvaran Naraiyūr, (*it is*) to the west of the middle of this stream, (*further, it is*) to the west of this same stream which forms the boundary(?) (*lottam*) of the one-eighth (*vēli of land*) of Ayyāran Śūndan, a Vellāla of Kōvūr, (*it is also*) to the south of the same one eighth (*vēli of land*), (*further, it is*) to the west of this stream at the boundary(?) (*lottam*) of the land (*called*) Mēlpallam, and (*also*) to the west of the spot at which this stream falls into the (*channel*) Erivattī-vāyikkāl and to the west of this Erivattī-vāyikkāl, further, (*it is*) to the south of this Erivattī-vāyikkāl and to the west of this Erivattī-vāyikkāl

(1 92) The southern boundary is to the north of this Erivattī-vāyikkāl, and going in a westerly direction along this Erivattī-vāyikkāl, crossing the same channel and getting up (*its*) southern bank, and going further south along the western boundary of the (*one*) *vēli* of *padugai* land belonging to the *brahmadīya* of this (*village of*) Ānamangalam, (*it lies*) to the west of the stream which (*here*) lies in the direction of south north, going then in a southerly direction along this (*same*) boundary, (*and proceeding*) further west, (*it is*) to the north of the same stream, again (*going*) in a northerly direction along the said stream and reaching this Erivattī-vāyikkāl, (*it is*) to the east of it, crossing the Erivattī-vāyikkāl and getting up its north bank and proceeding (*then*) in a westerly direction along the north bank of this channel, (*it lies*) to the north of the channel, passing in a westerly direction along this boundary, and then in a westerly direction in the course of the stream, and reaching the northern ridge of the four *mā* of land in Śivalaikudi, a *brahmadīya* of Pattana kūṛam in this *nādu*, and (*then*) passing along the same ridge in a westerly direction, (*it lies*) to the north of this boundary proceeding in a westerly direction along the same boundary and reaching the stream (*called*) Palavilappu, (*it lies*) to the north of this boundary

(1 106) The western boundary is to the east of the *vettappāru* (*granted to the men in charge of*) the head sluice of the Nāttuppōkku (*channel*) which runs in a northerly direction going further north and reaching the stream which forms the eastern boundary of the lands of (*the village of*) Muñjikudi in Pattana kūṛam of the same district and going then in a northerly direction along the middle of the same stream as it lay, (*it lies*) to the east of this stream, and includes the stream also, proceeding thence in a northerly direction along the stream, as it lay, till reaching the lands of the same (*village of*) Muñjikudi, and reaching also the stream which formed the eastern boundary of this Muñjikudi, and proceeding further north, (*it is*) to the east of the same boundary, going through the several turnings of the stream as it lay and then passing in a northerly direc

tion till reaching the lands of this Muñjikudī (*village*), and proceeding further north of the stream which forms the eastern boundary of the same village of Muñjikudī and further to the east of the same boundary, and going then in a northerly direction along this stream as it lay, and leaving this (*stream*) and reaching the southern ridge of the four *mā* of land (*belonging to*) Rāman Gōvin-dan, a Vellāl of this Muñjikudī and passing (*then*) in a northerly direction along the same boundary and reaching the southern ridge of the lands which formed the *brahmadēya* of this (*same*) Muñjikudī, (*it lies*) to the south of it and also to the east of it, further, on (*it lies*) to the north of the lands (*belonging to*) the *brahmadēya* of the said Muñjikudī, going then in a northerly direction along the same boundary, (*it lies*) to the east of the land forming the eastern boundary of the holding of the Vellālas (*vellān vagai*) of the said Muñjikudī, going then in a northerly direction along the same boundary, and then in a north westerly direction till reaching the field called Ūdārimayakkal in Muñjikudī, (*it lies*) to the east of the eastern ridge of the said field, going in a westerly direction along the northern ridge of the same field, (*it lies*) to the north of the northern ridge, going in a northerly direction along the (*stream of*) Paraiyōdai on the western side of the same field, (*it lies*) to the east of the same stream, going then in a northerly direction along the same stream till reaching the channel called Rājaraṇjan vāykkāl which was dug out to irrigate the lands of this (*village of*) Ānaimangalam and then crossing this channel and getting up its northern bank, (*it lies*) to the east of the eastern ridge of the field called Kālavāy in the *brahmadēya* of this (*village of*) Ānaimangalam, going in a northerly direction and (*then*) in an easterly direction and reaching the southern ridge of the quarter (*vīlī*) of land of Kīlān Kīlān in the *brahmadēya* of this Ānaimangalam, and passing (*again*) in a south easterly direction, (*it lies*) to the south and east of the boundary which proceeds from this (*ridge*) in north easterly and easterly directions, going (*then*) in a north westerly direction along the northern ridge of the same, (*it lies*) to the north of this (*line*), further, (*it lies*) to the east of the eastern ridge of the three *mā* (*of land*) of Ānitan Śiriyān Kadamban in the *brahmadēya* of this (*village of*) Ānaimangalam

(I 134) Proceeding in an easterly direction along the southern ridge of this (*land*), the northern boundary is to the south of this (*field*), proceeding in an easterly direction along the boundary of the land called Kottidal in the *brahmadēya* (*village of*) Pirambīl in Pattana kūrram, (*a sub-division*) of the said district (*of Kshatriyasūl hāman valanādu*) till reaching the western ridge of the land of Vāchchayan Paramēśvaran Pūvan in the *brahmadēya* of the said Ānaimangalam, (*it lies*) to the south of it, (*it also lies*) to the west, south and east of the said land, (*it is*) also to the east of the eastern ridge of the land called Kottidal in the *brahmadēya* (*village of*) Pirambīl in the above said *nādu*, proceeding in a northerly direction along the same ridge and reaching the southern bank of the river called Vilappu, (*it lies*) to the south of its southern bank, proceeding in an easterly direction along this bank and reaching the western ridge of the one *mā* and a half (*of land*) in the *dēvadāna* of (*the god*) Mahādēva of this (*village of*) Ānaimangalam, (*it lies*) to the west of this ridge, proceeding in a southerly direction along the same ridge and reaching the western ridge of (*the field of*) Mullivarayan which is (*also*) a *dēvadāna* of the same god, (*it lies*) to the west of that ridge, proceeding (*then*) in southern and eastern directions along the same ridge and reaching the tank of this god, and then going in a southerly direction along the western bank of the channel feeding the said tank of this god, (*it lies*) to the west of the western ridge of the field called Kanavadi kāl which is also a *dēvadāna* of (*the above mentioned*) god, proceeding (*then*) in an easterly direction along the southern ridge of this Kanavadi-kāl (*it lies*) to the south of this ridge, (*it is also*) to the west of the western ridge of the one *mā* of the *dēvadāna* land called Melukuppuram<sup>1</sup> (*belonging to*) this god, proceeding in an easterly

<sup>1</sup> Assignments made for meeting the expenses of supplying oil for the anointing of images of gods and for cleaning the courtyards of temples are called *Melukuppuram*

direction along the southern ridge of this one *mā*, (*it lies*) to the south of this ridge, proceeding (*then*) in an easterly direction along the southern ridge of the three *kāni* of the *dēvadāna* land of (*i e*, belonging to) this god and reaching the Pattal channel, (*it lies*) to the south of it, proceeding (*further*) in a northerly direction along the western bank of the said Pattal channel till reaching the (*river called*) Vilappu, (*it lies*) to the east of it, crossing the said Vilappu and getting up its northern bank and arriving at the boundary of Mūṅṅirkudī which is a *brahmadēya* of Pattana kūṅṅam in the same district and then proceeding in northern and eastern directions along that boundary, (*it lies*) to the east and south of it, further on, (*it is*) to the west of the lands of this Mūṅṅirkudī, proceeding in a southerly direction along the said boundary till reaching (*the river*) Vilappu, crossing the Vilappu and getting up its southern bank and then proceeding in an easterly direction along the southern bank and reaching the western ridge of the land called Kanavadimayakkal (*situated*) in Kōvūr of this *nādu*, (*it lies*) to the south of it, (*it lies also*) to the west of the western ridge of this land (*viz*), Kanavadimayakkal, proceeding in an easterly direction along the southern ridge of this land (*viz*), Kanavadimayakkal and reaching the channel irrigating Nallūrchēri, a *brahmadēya* of Pattana kūṅṅam of this district (*it lies*) to the south, proceeding then in an easterly direction along the southern bank of the said channel till reaching the southern ridge of the one *mā* of land (*belonging to*) Uṇṇippalī Pākharan, a Vellāla of Kōvūr in the same district and then going in an easterly direction of this southern ridge and reaching the carpenter's land in Kōvūr where the boundary originally commenced, (*it lies*) to the south

(1 167) The donee shall have possession of the wet lands, dry lands, the village, village site, ponds, sacred temples, the quarters of the Paruṅyas, the quarters of the artisans and the burning grounds included within the four great boundaries thus described

(1 169) The following are the conditions to be observed in thus taking possession of this village inclusive of *lāṇṇmai* and *mīyāṭchi* (*rights*) with its excess and deficiency in measurement including in it the houses, house sites, shops, the bazaar street, assembly grounds, waste lands set apart for grazing calves, ponds, *lottaḡāram* (*i e*, kraals or palaces), valleys and wells, ant hills, *terri*, forests, *pīdihai*, barren lands and brackish lands, rivers, arable lands near rivers, streams, breaches, pits containing fish, gardens with their honey (*produce*), trees growing up and wells sunk down, without excluding any of the existing lands covered with water or rolled by the harrow or where the *inguana* runs or the tortoise crawls

(1 176) Channels shall be dug (*so as*) to irrigate the lands of the village, and their waste water shall be collected in canals and led away Existing water courses over channels irrigating these lands shall be allowed to flow and their waste water shall be collected and led away It is not permissible for others to cut branches, dam them across, put up small picottahs or bale water in baskets Good (*i e*, drinking) water shall not be used for common purposes, but it may be dammed and made to irrigate (*lands*) Mansions and large edifices shall be built of burnt tiles (*i e*, bricks) Large wells shall be sunk Coconut trees shall be planted in groves *Damanaḡa*, *maruvu*, *iruvelḡ*, *senbagam*, *ṣengalunīr*, mango, jack, areca palm, palmyra, *koḡi* and other useful trees of various descriptions shall be sown and planted A big oil press shall be set up (*Such of*) the irrigation channels as are cut through the lands of this village and (*made to*) pass to outlying villages shall be permitted to flow over and be collected (*Similarly also*), the channels cut through the lands of the outlying villages (*and made to*) pass into this village for the irrigation of lands shall be permitted to flow over and be collected *Ṭṭaras* shall not be permitted to climb the palmyra and coconut trees planted (*on the borders*) of this village Big drums and ornamental arches in three rows shall be allowed for families, according to traditions

(1 191) On receiving the lands as aforesaid, the privileges conferred are as follows — *ṛāṇṇāṭchi* (fee for the administration of the district), *ūrāṭchi* (fee for the administration of the

village), *vattināl* (1 e, one *nāl* of grain on each basket), *pidānāl*, *lannālālānam* (1 e, fee of one *lānam* of gold received on every marriage occasion), *vannārappār* (1 e, fee on washerman's stones), *kuśāḥkānam* (1 e, fee of one *lānam* paid by every potter), water cess, *ilar lūlam*, *taṟṟip-puḍai* (1 e, fee of one cloth on each loom), the fee on brokers, fee on goldsmiths, fee on shepherds, *āttukḷṟar* (1 e, fee for keeping flocks of sheep), good cow and good bull, *nādukāval* (1 e, fee for the watch of the district), *ūḍupōḷḷu*, *viṟṟiḍi*, *vāḷamaṇṇāḍi*, *ulgu*, *ōḍaḥkūḷ* (1 e, fee on ferries), tolls, *manṟupāḍu* (1 e, fee raised for assembly), *māviṟar*, *tūyeri*, *ilampūṭchi*, *kūttikāl* and such other fees, as the king could levy and enjoy, shall not henceforth be received by the king but shall be taken by the authorities of this *pall*

(I 198) For this land, inclusive of its *kārānmai* and *miyāṭchi* (rights), with all excess and deficiency in measurements and including (such) lands as had ceased to be *pallichchanda*, forming the village of Āṇaimangalam (situated) in this district, which had been granted (subject to) the conditions and privileges (specified) above, as a tax-free *pallichchanda* to the *pall* in the Chūḷamaṇṟvarma viḥāra which is being built by the Kadāra king at Nāgapattanam in Pattana kūṟram, we, the *nāttōm* (1 e, the members of the Divisional Assembly) of (the said) Pattana kūṟram in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi valanādu, accompanying the female elephant, circumambulated the hamlets, planted (boundary) stones and milk-bush, drew up and presented the gift deed (to have effect) from the twenty first year (of the king's reign) I, Anaṟyan Talikkulavan, (a resident) of Kaḷḷikkudi (and) a *puravutari* (officer), being present with the representatives of the districts while accompanying the female elephant and circumambulating the hamlets, planting (boundary) stones and milk bush, drew up and gave the deed of gift and this is my signature

(I 207) When the *nāttār* were accompanying the she elephant and circumambulating the hamlets of this Āṇaimangalam, I, Kōn Puttan, a Vellāla, residing at this Āṇaimangalam, mounted the elephant, was present with them and showed the boundaries clearly and this is my signature

(I 210) In this manner, we, the members of the assembly of Kadambanūr, a *brahmadēya* of Pattana kūṟram in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi valanādu, accompanied the she elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift At their bidding, I, Muppattiruvan Yaḷṇān alias Kaṟṟagāḍittan, the arbitrator of this village, (have signed this) and this is my signature At the bidding of the inhabitants of this Kadambanūr, I, Nārāyanan Dāmōḍaran, a Vaikhāṇasa of this village, (have signed this) and this is my signature

(I 215) In this manner, we, the members of the assembly of Nāranamangalam, a *brahmadēya* of Pattana kūṟram in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi valanādu, circumambulated the hamlets accompanying the she elephant, and drew up and gave the deed of gift I, Irunūrruvan Uttaman alias Brahmamangalyan, the arbitrator of this village, (have signed this) and this is my signature

(I 218) In this manner, we, (the *ūrār* of Vēlangudi<sup>2</sup>), accompanied the she elephant and drew up and gave the deed of gift I, Vēlangudaiyān Nārāyanan Orri of Vēlangudi in Pattana kūṟram, (a sub division) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi valanādu (have signed this) and this is my signature

(I 221) In the said manner, we, the members of the assembly of Mūngiṟkudi, a *brahmadēya* of Pattana kūṟram in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi valanādu, accompanied the she elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift I, Kunava Nandi alias Alankārapriyan, the arbitrator of this village, (have signed this) and this is my signature

(I 224) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Narimanram in Pattana kūṟram, (a sub division) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi valanādu, accompanied the she elephant, circumambulated the hamlets,

and drew up and gave the deed of gift At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Aimbattiruvan Viḍḍiḷḷi dūgan, the arbitrator of this village, have signed (*this*) and this is my signature

(1 228) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Śāttamangalam in Pattana kūrram, (a *sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanādu, accompanied the she elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, *Vīlōvan* Ediran Śāttan *alias* Nānūruvapperungōvḷān of this village have signed (*this*) and this is my signature

(1 232) In the said manner, we, the members of the assembly of Śānnamangalam, a *brahmadēya* of Pattana kūrram in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanādu, accompanied the she elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift At the bidding of the assembly, I, Durukkan Kamudan, the accountant arbitrator of this village have signed (*this*) and this is my signature

(1 236) In the said manner, we, the members of the assembly of Kottārakkudi, a *brahmadēya* of Pattana kūrram in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanādu, accompanied the she elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift I, Ūran Chandraśekhharan *alias* Brahmamangalyan, the accountant-arbitrator of this village, (*have signed this*) and this is my signature

(1 239) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Kōvūr in Pattana kūrram, (a *sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanādu, accompanied the she elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Aiyyan Aiyyan, the accountant-arbitrator of this village, have signed (*this*) and this is my signature

(1 243) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Uttūr in Pattana kūrram, (a *sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanādu, accompanied the she elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Nakkan Mulli, the accountant-arbitrator of this village have signed (*this*) and this is my signature

(1 246) In the said manner, we, the members of the assembly of Nannimangalam, a *brahmadēya* of Pattana kūrram in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanādu, accompanied the she elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift At the bidding of the assembly, I, Kannan Alankārapriyan, the accountant arbitrator of this village, (*have signed this*) and this is my signature

(1 249) In the said manner, we, the members of the assembly of Poruvanūr, a *brahmadēya* of Pattana kūrram in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanādu, accompanied the she elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift At the bidding of the assembly, I, *Vīlōvan* Mādēvan Ūran, the accountant of this village, have signed (*this*) and this is my signature

(1 253) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Ālangudi in Pattana kūrram, (a *sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanādu, accompanied the she elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Kāśyapan Sūryyan Arangan, the accountant of this village, have signed (*this*) and this is my signature

(1 256) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Turaiyūr in Pattana kūrram, (a *sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanādu, accompanied the she elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Tiritti Vaikundan of the Bhāradvāja (*gōṭha*), the accountant of this village, have signed (*this*) and (*this is my*) signature

(1 259) In the said manner, we, the members of the assembly of Pirambil, a *brahmadēya* of Pattana kūrram in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanādu, accompanied the she elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift I, Kunavan Nandi *alias* Alankārapriyan, the accountant arbitrator of this village, (*have signed this*) and this is my signature

(I 263) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Kadambangudi, accompanied the she elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Kunavan Nandi *alias* Alankārapriyan, the accountant-arbitrator of this village, have signed (*this*) and this is my signature.

(I 265) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Sēndamangalam in Pattana kūṛram, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmanī valanādu, accompanied the she elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Ūrān Aiyān, the arbitrator of this village, have signed (*this*) and this is my signature.

(I 268) In the said manner, we, (*the ūrār of Śīruchchēndamangalam?*), accompanied the she elephant, circumambulated the hamlets, and drew up and gave the deed of the gift. I, Etti Valaṅṅuliyān Śāngan of Śīruchchēndamangalam in Pattana kūṛram, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmanī valanādu, (*have signed this*) and this is my signature.

(I 270) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Kurrālam in Pattana kūṛram, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmanī valanādu, accompanied the she elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, *Vēlōian* Dēvan Ūrān, the accountant of this village, have signed (*this*) and this is my signature.

(I 273) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Tirunivūr in Pattana kūṛram, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmanī valanādu, accompanied the she elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Chaturmukhan Arangan, the arbitrator of this village, have signed (*this*) and this is my signature.

(I 276) In the said manner, we, the members of the assembly of Ūvarkkudi, a *brahmadēya* of Pattana kūṛram in Kshatriyaśikhāmanī valanādu, accompanied the she elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the assembly, I, *Vēlōian* Mānāgan Nārāyanan, the accountant of this village, have signed (*this*) and this is my signature.

(I 280) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Muṅṅikudi in Pattana kūṛram, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmanī valanādu, accompanied the she elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, *Vēlōian* Mānāgan Kannan, the accountant of this village, have signed (*this*) and this is my signature.

(I 284) In the said manner, we, the members of the assembly of Tirukkannangudi in Pattana kūṛram, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmanī valanādu, accompanied the she elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the assembly, I, *Vēlōian* Atirāman Irubattunālvan *alias* Munnūrruvan, the accountant of this village, have signed (*this*) and this is my signature.

(I 288) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Kadambavalavātkai in Pattana kūṛram, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmanī valanādu, accompanied the she elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Ūrān Ūrān, the accountant-arbitrator of this village, have signed (*this*) and this is my signature.

(I 292) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Pālankorrangudi in Pattana kūṛram, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmanī valanādu, accompanied the she elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Ūrān Ūrān, the accountant-arbitrator of this village, have signed (*this*) and this is my signature.

(I 295) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Venkīdangil in Pattana kūṛram, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmanī valanādu, accompanied the she elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Ūrān Nakkan, the accountant-arbitrator of this village, have signed (*this*) and this is my signature.



(1 298) In the said manner, we, (*the members of the assembly of Āṇamangalam* ?), accompanied the she elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift I, Arītaṇ Śīryāṇ Kadambaṇ, (*a resident*) of this *brahmadēya* of Āṇamangalam, (*have signed this*) and this is my signature

(1 300) In the said manner, I, Tūṇṇil Śrīdhara-Bhattan, (*a resident*) of Śrī Tungamangalam, a *brahmadēya* in Tirunarayūr nādu, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatryaśikhāmaṇi-vaṇanādu, (*in the capacity*) of a Bhatta, caused the she-elephant to circumambulate (*the hamlets*) and got the deed of gift to be drawn up This is my signature

(1 303) In the said manner, I, Parpanābha Bhattan of Pārkkulam, (*residing*) at Tirunallūr in Vēlā nādu, (*in the capacity*) of a Bhatta, caused the she elephant to circumambulate (*the hamlets*) and got the deed of gift to be drawn up and given This is my signature

(1 306) In the said manner, I, Vennaiya Bhattan of Pērcūmapuram (*residing*) at Tirunallūr in Vēlā nādu, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatryaśikhāmaṇi-vaṇanādu, (*in the capacity*) of a Bhatta, caused the she elephant to circumambulate (*the hamlets*) and got the deed of gift to be drawn up and given This is my signature

(1 308) In the said manner, I, Nandīśvara Bhattan of Dvēdaigōmapuram (*residing*) at Śrī Viranārāyaṇa chaturvēdimangalam in Rājēndrasimha vaṇanādu, (*in the capacity*) of a Bhatta, caused the she elephant to circumambulate (*the hamlets*) and got the deed of gift to be drawn up and given This is my signature

(1 311) Our (*i e*, the Royal) Secretaries (*viz*) Minavaṇ Mūvēndaṇṇāṇ, Koṇṇamangalamu dayiṇ and Dēvaṇkudaiyāṇ, the arbitrators (*viz*) Dīmōdara Bhattan of Kadalanguḍi and Pūvatta Bhattan of Kottaiyūr, our Secretaries (*viz*) Parākramaśōla Mūvēndaṇṇāṇ, Śēmbiyan Mūvēndaṇṇāṇ, Śōlavēṇ and Araisūrudaiyṇ, and the arbitrator Paramśīvara Bhatta Sarva kratuyāṇ of Puḷlamangalam, having ordered that (*the necessary*) entries may be made in the Revenue Registers in accordance with the deed that was thus signed and issued, the *puravūraṇi* (*officers*) (*viz*) Kōdandan Śēnan of Ālangudi, Iḷavaḍigal Nallāraṇ residing at Pūdamangalam and Karpagan Śōḷi residing at Ālattūr, the *varippottagam* (*i e*, officer in charge of Revenue Registers) (*viz*) Śiṅgaṇ Venkādan, the headman of Paruttaiyūr, the *mugaṇṇṇi* (*officers*) (*viz*) Kilvāy Kanavadi, Mundan Arangan, Śaiyadaṇ Amalan, Tattan Śikattan (*i e*, Śrī Krishna), the *varippottagallanaku* (*i e*, the accountant in charge of the Revenue Registers) Mādāṇ Būmi, the *variyilidu* (*i e*, the officer who makes entries in Revenue Registers) Tāḷi Virasōḷan, a resident of Uṇṇūr, and the *pattōḷai* (keepers of Royal writs) (*viz*) Perumān Ambalattādi, Śikandan (*i e*, Śrīkantha) Dāṇ, Mākālan Arūṇi, and Nakkan Mandagavan, being present, entries were made in the Revenue Registers and the deed was given (*to the donee*) on the **one hundred and sixty-third day** of the **twenty-third regnal year**

(1 323) This is the signature of Araiyan Arumōḷi *alias* Rājēndrasōla Pallavaraiyaṇ, the headman of Nadār in Tiraimūr nādu, (*a sub-division*) of Uyyakkondār vaṇanādu

(1 325) (*This is*) approved by Krishnan Rāman *alias* Rājēndrasōla Brahmamārāyaṇ of Kēralāntaka chaturvēdimangalam in Vennādu, (*a sub-division*) of Uyyakkondār-vaṇanādu

(1 327) (*This is*) approved by Īrāyiravan Pallavayan *alias* Uttamaśōla Pallavaraiyaṇ, a resident of Araisūr in Pāmbuṇi kūṇṇam, (*a sub-division*) of Nittavinōda vaṇanādu

(1 329) (*This is*) approved by Dāmōdara-Bhattan of Dvēdaigōmapuram, (*a resident*) of Kadalanguḍi in Kurukkai nādu, (*a sub-division*) of Rājēndrasimha vaṇanādu

(1 330) (*This is*) approved by Araiyan Sikandan (Śrīkantha) *alias* Minavan Mūvēndaṇṇāṇ, the headman of Kurumbil in Ambar-nādu, (*a sub-division*) of Uyyakkondār vaṇanādu

## No 35 —THE SMALLER LEIDEN PLATES (OF KULOTTUNGA I)

BY K V SUBRAHMANYA Aiyer, B A , COIMBATORE

The inscription edited below is engraved on a set of three copper-plates now preserved in the Leiden University Museum in Holland. It was once published without plates in the *Archæological Survey of South India*, Volume IV, pp 221 ff, by Burgess and Natesa Sastri as early as 1886. Though the text of the inscription had been fairly well made out, the translation given in the volume requires to be largely amended. It is also considered desirable to give facsimile plates of the inscription. Dr N P Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist for India, very kindly obtained from the Museum authorities in Leiden one set of excellent rubbings of the inscription and a photograph of the seal and placed them at my disposal for study and publication in the *Epigraphia Indica* <sup>1</sup>

The three plates—each of which measures 11·8 inches by 5·3 inches—that form this set, are held together by a strong ring bearing a large seal very similar to the one on the Larger Leiden Plates. The following is the reading of the legend on this seal by Burgess and Natesa Sastri —

Śrī Kulōttunga Chōlasya Rājākṣaravarmanah

punyam lshōnīstara sabhā chūdā ratnāyā (ya) kṛsanam

The editor's note "whether through mistake on the part of the engraver or from want of room to get the whole inscription into the one line round the circumference, is uncertain, but the syllables—*asya Rājākṣaravarmanah* are inserted below *mga Chō* and *punyam lshōnīstara* between which they must be read, and this, together with the peculiar forms of some of the letters, makes the legend difficult to decipher." The fact that the legend runs round the circular seal and has the syllables *asya*, etc, engraved below in a second line is a clear indication that what is written below forms the end of the legend. And since it is certain that *Śrī Kulōttunga Chō* must precede the portion continued in the second line, the commencement, i.e., the first half of the verse forming the legend is *Punyam lshōnīstara sabhā chūdā ratnāyā kṛsanam*. In this legend, the compound *lshōnīstara sabhā-chūdā ratnāyā* has been translated as "to the crest jewel of the assembly of earth rulers" by Messrs Burgess and Natesa Sastri. There is no doubt that the engraver had made some mistake here as had been supposed by these scholars. It seems to me, however, that the compound must have specific reference to the *sangha* of the Buddhist church (*pallī*) erected at Nāgapattinam by King Chūdāmanivarman of Katūla. *Sabhā* in the legend is no doubt a synonym of *sangha* and the term *ratna*, which is often applied to the *Buddha*, *Dharma* and *Sangha*, the sole resorts of the Buddhists, is highly suggestive of and favourable to connecting *sabhā* with the Buddhist shrine and creed. There is yet another suggestion contained in the terms used in the same compound. *chūdāratna* may be taken to stand for *chūdāmani*, perhaps a contracted form of *Chūdāmanivarman vihāra*, which was the name of the Buddhist monument called after its royal founder Chūdāmanivarman but the intervening position of the word *sabhā* between *lshōnīstara* and *chūdāratna* makes the interpretation difficult. Had the word *sabhā* with the appropriate termination been used at the end of the compound, it would have been quite easy to interpret the word into "to the *sangha* of (the *vihāra* erected by) King Chūdāmanivarman" which, it seems, was intended to be conveyed by the legend. In fact the inscription on the plates as will be pointed out in the sequel tells us clearly that the ambassadors from the king of

<sup>1</sup> [The impressions of this inscription also were very kindly prepared by Lt Col Th van Erp of Rijks Ethnographisch Museum, Leiden, at the request of Prof J Ph Vogel.—Ed.]

Katāha requested king Kulōttunga Chōla to have a copper plate issued in favour of the *saṅgha* of the *paḷḷi* of Chūdāmaṇivarma viḥāra. We have instances of edicts with opening verses of this nature <sup>1</sup>

The inscription is written in the Tamil language and alphabet throughout but Grantha letters are used here and there where words of Sanskrit origin occur. For instance see *sa* and *sa* in *sinnaśa* (l 3), *ṛa* and *ṛma* (l 3), *śrī* (l 4), *rāja* (l 5), *Rājēnta* (l 6), *Rājarāja* (l 7), *śēśhar* (l 8), *āmra sāsana* (l 10), *Rājavidyādharma śrī sāmanta* and *Abhimānōttunga śrī-sāmanta* (ll 10 11), *Rājavallabha* (l 12), *maśāda* (l 13), *Rājarāja* (l 14), *brahmaḍ* (l 18), *brahma* (l 28), *Vijayarājēnta* (l 31), *śrī Śarīṇḍia Chūdāmaṇivarmma viḥāra* (ll 39 40), *Mahādēva* (l 42), *santuvigriha* and *Rāja*° (l 49), and *Rājē*° (l 50)

Unlike the plates of the Sanskrit and Tamil portions of the Larger Leiden set, the plates of this set are not numbered. The only orthographical peculiarities worth noting are (1) the use of the vowels in some rare places where consonants are needed, e.g., *kāmūlārā* (ll 9, 38) and (2) the formation of *ū* in cases of *tū*, *nū*, *lū*, etc., by the addition of the length (vertical stroke) sign to their short. The inscription is not quite well worded and there are possibilities of engraver's mistakes.

The inscription which is dated in the 20th year of the reign of the Chōla king Rājakesari-varman alias Kulōttunga-Chōla I, commences with the historical introduction *pugal mādu vilanga*, which refers in general terms to the king's conquest of the Chēra (*Villalar*), Pāṇḍya (*Mīnavar*), Viḷḷalār, i.e., Vikramāditya VI and Singanan, i.e., Jayasimha. It records that, while the king was resting on the reclining seat (*paḷḷi ppīḍam*) called Kīḷingarājan in the bathing hall of his palace at Āyirattal alias Āhavamallakulakālapuram, two messengers (*dūṭar*) of the king of Kaṭṭāram, named Rājavidyādharma śrī sāmanta and Abhimānōttunga śrī sāmanta, petitioned to him that the village granted free from the payment of taxes including *ar tarīya*, *īrasēśhar*, *paṇmar pandar vetti*, *kundāl* and *śungamērā*, as *paḷḷichchanda* for meeting the requirements of the shrines of Rājēndraśōḷupperumpallī and Rājarājapperumpallī which were constructed by the king of Kaṭṭāram at Śōḷakulavallipattanam in Pattana kūrram, a subdivision of Geyamānikka valanādu, may be entered in a copper-plate document and issued in favour of the *Sangattār* of the *paḷḷi*. The messengers also prayed that the *Kāmyālars* of the *paḷḷichchanda* lands may be removed and the lands be left entirely in the charge of the *paḷḷi* and that this fact may also be noted in the same copper plate deed. Accordingly, a royal order was issued to the *adhikārī* named Rājēndraśinga-Mūvēṇḍavēḷān that he, in conjunction with the *sandhivigrahaṇ* Rājavallabha Pallavaraiyan, should draw up a copper plate deed to that effect. After giving a list of the *paḷḷichchandas* belonging to Rājarājapperumpallī, their situation, extent, *kāmīlādan*, and *nichchayitta-nellu*, the inscription states that (1) the taxes or incomes in money and kind have been assigned to meet the requirements of the monastery and that (2) the previous owners who were holding the lands of these *paḷḷichchanda* villages have now been removed and the same have been vested solely with the *Sangattār* of the monastery. The details furnished about the *paḷḷichchanda* villages are given in a separate table. Further, the inscription furnishes the under mentioned boundaries of the monastery and its surroundings (*paḷḷi mīl* and *paḷḷi vilāgam*) and states that the total extent covered by them was 31½ *vēḷi*, 2 *mā* and 1 *mundiriga* —

Eastern boundary—to the west of the sea shore inclusive of the sand hill in it,

Southern boundary—to the north of the well called Pugaṇyunnū kīṇaru, to the north of the land belonging to the temple of Tiruvīrattānamudaiya-Mahādēva situated to the west of the said well, and to the north of the line passing westwards from the north

<sup>1</sup> Nos 435, 450, 764, 766 7 of the S I I (Texts), Vol V

bank of the channel dug by Paravaikkulattu-Mārāyaṇ and reaching the high road to Kāraikkāl,

Western boundary—to the east of the said high road to Kāraikkāl,

Northern boundary—to the south of the boundary of the lands in Vada-Kādanpādi of Śōl-kulavallipattanam

The inscription concludes by saying that the royal order had thus been carried out and that, on the direction of the *sandhivagrahin* Rājavallabha Pallavaraiyan and the *adhikārin* Rājēndra-śinga-Mūvēndavēlān, this copper-plate charter was written by Nilaiyudaiya Panaiyān Nigariśśōlan Madhurāntakan, one of the Vikīramābaranatterinda-Valangai Vēlaikkāras of Utkōdi

Serial No	Village	Division in which situated	Extent in vēli, mā, kāni and mundingai	Kānikkadan in kalam, kuruni and naḷi	Nicchayitta nellu kalam
1	Ānamangalam	Paṭṭana kūṛram in Geya mānikka valanādu	97 2 1½	8,943 9 3	4,500
2	Brahmadēya in Ānamangalam	Do	12½	400	560
3	Muñjikudi	Do	27½ 3½	2,779 4 4	1,800
4	Āmūr	Tiruvārūr kūṛram	106½	10,600 9 6	5,850
5	Vadakudi alias Nāpalūr	Aḷa nādu	70½ 4½	6,514 5 1	2,840
6	Kūḷ Chandirappādi	Do	10 2 1½ 1 kūḷ ¼	1,012 5	1,500
7	Palaiyūr brahmadēya	Do	60½	1,000	
8	Puttakudi	Kurumbūr nādu in Jayan gonda-ōḷa valanādu	87½	8,720 4 4	6,107
9	Udayamārttāndanallūr	Idaikkaḷi nādu	3 3	135 3 3	78 5

Of the villages noted above, whose revenues had been assigned to the *palli* Ānamangalam, Āmūr, Vadakudi and Palaiyūr are in the list of villages of the Negapatam Taluk of the Tanjore District (Madras Presidency) and Muñjikudi, which, according to the Larger Leiden plates, formed the South-western boundary of Ānamangalam, must also be in the same Taluk

The historical introduction of Kulōttunga's inscriptions commences in different ways. One of them found in his earlier epigraphs begins with the words *irumaṇṇi vīlangum* and records that with the sole aid of his arm and sword, he captured herds of elephants at Vayirāgaram (Wairagadh in the Chanda District of the Central Provinces), received tribute from Dhārāvarsha of the Chakkarakōtta (country) and brought the earth under his parasol<sup>1</sup>. In these epigraphs, which are dated up to the 4th year of reign, the king is styled Rājakēśarivarman alias Rājēndra-Chōḷa-dēva. Another inscription dated in the 6th year of his reign commences with the words *pū mēlarai*<sup>2</sup>. The majority of his other records, dated between the 6th and 49th years, have either (1) the introduction *pugal śūḷṇda punari*, which gives a detailed account of the king's achievements, or (2) *pugal mādu vīlanga*, which refers in general terms to his victory of the Chēra, Pāndya, and Vikramāditya VI and Simhana, *i e*, Jayasimha<sup>3</sup>. The late Dr. Hultzsch has dealt with the events of the reign of Kulōttunga as could be gathered from the *Vikramānka-dēvacharita* of Bilhana,

<sup>1</sup> *S I I* (Texts), Vol VII, No 392

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, No 137

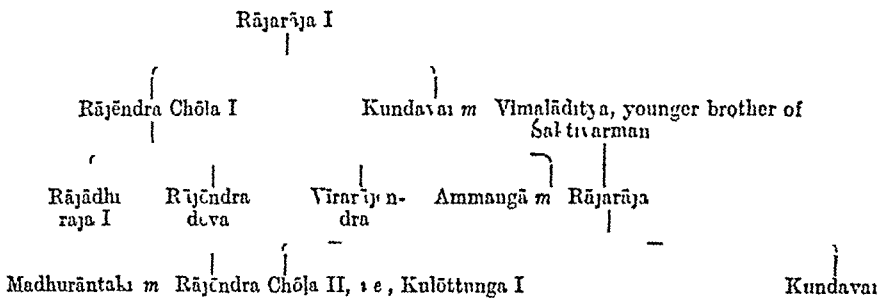
<sup>3</sup> No. 813 of *S I I* (Texts), Vol IV, Nos 874 and 785 of Vol VII.

the *Kalingattupparam* of Jayangondūn, the copper-plate grants of the later Eastern Chālukya kings and the inscriptions of his reign and has also attempted to reconcile the discrepancies found in them. The following are categorically the events of his reign —

- (1) While heir-apparent, he captured herds of elephants at Vayirāgaram and defeated Dhāravarsha of the Chakkarakōtta country
- (2) In or before the 5th year, he defeated the king of Kuntala, crowned himself as the king of the Chōla country and decapitated an unnamed king of the south <sup>1</sup>
- (3) An eleventh year record adds that he drove Vikkalan from Nangili by way of Manalūr to the Tungabhadra river and conquered Gangamaṇḍalam and Śiṅganam <sup>2</sup>. Some inscriptions substitute Alatti for Manalūr and Konganam for Śiṅganam
- (4) An inscription of the 14th year states that Kulōttunga put the five Pāndyas to flight and subdued the western portion of their country including the gulf of Mannār, the Podiṃ mountain, Cape Comorin and Kōttāru <sup>3</sup>. He is reported also to have limited the boundary of the Pāndya country, to have placed garrisons in the strategically important places of the newly acquired territory, and to have conquered Kudamalai-nādu.
- (5) The conquest of the Kalinga country is noticed in the inscriptions of the 26th, 42nd and 45th years of the king's reign <sup>4</sup>

As the inscriptions of Kulōttunga I, unlike those of Rājārāja I, Rājēndrachōla I, and others, do not mention the conquests effected by the king in the order in which they occurred—the later inscriptions often omitting the earlier achievements—it is difficult to determine with their aid the actual date of occurrence of the events.

About Rājākēśarivarman Kulōttunga's acquisition of the Chōla dominions a word may now be said. It will be easy to follow the events if we have before us the pedigree of the Chōlas from Rājārāja I, and that of the Eastern Chālukyas from Śaktivarman downwards, for it was during the reigns of the kings that followed them, the two families were closely knit together by marriage ties. The following table represents the relationship between the various members of the two families —



The earliest Chōla king that interfered in the politics of the Eastern Chālukya country was Rājārāja I. From his inscriptions it is seen that he conquered Vēṅgi in the 14th year of his reign (=A D 999 1000). That it resulted in placing Śaktivarman alias Chālukya-Chandra on the Eastern Chālukya throne is evident from the fact that the latter's accession took place in that

<sup>1</sup> See Kielhorn's *Southern List* No 761

<sup>2</sup> *S I I*, Vol III, p 174

<sup>3</sup> *S I I*, Vol III, p 144

<sup>4</sup> See Kielhorn's *Southern List* Nos 777, 782, *S I I*, Vol III, No 72, and Madras Epigraphical collection for 1891, No 44 (*S I I* (Texts), Vol IV, No 445), and the same for 1904, No 608

<sup>5</sup> *S I I* (Texts), Vol VII, No 739

very year<sup>1</sup> This is known from the Ranastūpūṇḍi grant of Vimalāditya, the son and successor of Śaktivarman, which places the coronation of that king on Thursday 10th May, A D 1011, and states that Śaktivarman ruled for 12 years before him<sup>2</sup> Of Vimalāditya's son Rājārāja I (of the Eastern Chālukya family), the Korumelli plates<sup>3</sup> state that his coronation fell on Thursday, 16th August, A D 1022 and the Teki plates<sup>4</sup> add that he ruled for forty-one years His younger brother was Vijayāditya VII And since it is said that after Rājārāja I, Vishnuvardhana-Vijayāditya ruled for fifteen years, the latter has been assigned to the period A D 1063 1077 by Dr Fleet<sup>5</sup> There are three inscriptions at Drākshārāma<sup>6</sup> of a certain Vishnuvardhana ranging in date from the 3rd to the 13th year and furnishing Śaka equivalents which work out for the king's initial year A D 1061-2 These inscriptions may have to be attributed to Vijayāditya VII, as there was no other Vishnuvardhana at the time, Kulōttunga being distinctly styled *Saptama Vishnuvardhana* It appears that Vijayāditya VII ruled till A D 1077 We have three copper plate charters of the reign of Vijayāditya which state that he succeeded to the throne on the death of his elder brother Rājārāja<sup>7</sup> There is no room to suspect that Vijayāditya's succession was disputed Further, a consideration of the facts, that Rājārāja was crowned in A D 1022 and reigned for 41 years, that Vijayāditya counted his regnal years, as shown above, from A D 1061-2, coupled with the fact that Rājendra *alias* Kulōttunga I, son of Rājārāja, actually assumed regal powers only from A D 1070, *i e*, several years after the demise of his father and reigned for the long period of nearly 50 years, *i e*, till A D 1119-20, leads to the irresistible conclusion that Rājendra must have been in his teens 60 years prior to the end of his reign, and establishes also the necessity for the succession of Vijayāditya after Rājārāja<sup>8</sup> and his quiet succession to the throne of Vēṅgi, as reported in the plates, confirm this conclusion The dissension between Vijayāditya and Rājendra, if any, must have arisen only subsequent to the death of Rājārāja, perhaps when Rājendra came of age

From what has been said above, it will be seen that the Eastern Chālukya dominion was subject to the rule of the successive kings Śaktivarman, Vimalāditya, Rājārāja and Vijayāditya without any break from A D 999-1000 to A D 1077 For aught we know, Vijayāditya was not a powerful monarch and his rule was not peaceful Ever since the Chōla king Rājārāja I interfered in the politics of the Eastern Chālukyas and, putting an end to the interregnum, placed Śaktivarman on the throne of Vēṅgi, that country seems to have practically become a principality subject to the authority of the Chōlas, and the Chōla kings appear to have cemented their relationship with the Eastern Chālukyas by ties of marriages The policy followed by Rājārāja I and Rājendra Chōla I towards the newly acquired country of Vēṅgi, was neglected by the latter's sons Rājādhirāja I and Rājendradēva, but was resumed by Virarājendra This is referred to in the Kanyākumārī inscription in the following terms<sup>9</sup> —

“The Vēṅgi and Kalinga countries which had come in the family of the Chōlas for generations having been left uncared for by his (Virarājendra's) two brothers and having

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol XXI, p 31

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, and Vol VI, pp 349-51

<sup>3</sup> *Ind Ant*, Vol XIV, p 50

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol VI, p 336

<sup>5</sup> *Ind Ant*, Vol XX, p 283

<sup>6</sup> *S I I* (Texts), Vol IV, Nos 1011, 1012 and 1013

<sup>7</sup> *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1925, p 77 and the same for 1914, p 86

<sup>8</sup> The pretty long reign of Rājārāja for 41 years and the actual longer reign of Rājendra for 50 years after an interval of several years making up a total of more than 91 years for the reigns of father and son are worth noting

<sup>9</sup> *Trav Arch Series*, Vol III, p 157, v 77

been encroached upon by powerful enemies, the glorious king Vallabha Vallabha, *ī e*, Virarājendra, conquered these highly powerful foes, leaving only those that were frightened, and ruled over the country "

From the inscriptions of Virarājendra we further learn that he conferred the country of Vēṅgi on Vijayāditya and protected him. If these facts are borne in mind, it will be easy to see why, when Vikramāditya VI invaded the Eastern Chālukya dominion, Virarājendra marched against him and his brother and defeated them in many a battle in the Vēṅgi country. Even subsequently Vijayāditya's position in the Vēṅgi country was not secure for it is said that the Eastern Ganga king Rājārāja I, the refuge of the distressed, made Vijayāditya, when he was about to sink in the ocean of troubles caused by the Chōlas, to enjoy prosperity by the support which he afforded him <sup>1</sup>

Speaking of the support given by Virarājendra to Vijayāditya, Dr Hultzsch correctly suggested that the relations between uncle and nephew, *ī e*, Kulōttunga and Vijayāditya were not so entirely amicable as the panegyric account of the Chellūr grant would make us believe, but that Kulōttunga tried to oust his uncle <sup>2</sup>. This suggestion gains ground by the explicit statement of the plates that the troubles of Vijayāditya were caused by the Chōlas who, during the reign of the Eastern Ganga king Rājārāja (A D 1070-78), were ruled by none other than Kulōttunga I.

From the facts noticed above, it will be plain that Vijayāditya actually reigned over the Vēṅgi country from A D 1063 to A D 1077, his cause being supported by the Chōla king Virarājendra in the earlier years and by the Eastern Ganga king Rājārāja in later days. It is also certain that the disturbances in Vēṅgi during the rule of Vijayāditya were on the one hand caused by the invasion of the Western Chālukya Vikramāditya VI and on the other by the attempt of Kulōttunga to oust him.

We shall now see if Kulōttunga had any position in the Chōla country which he eventually succeeded in getting. The Tamil poem *Kalingattuṭṭaram* indeed states that the queen of Gaṅgaikonda-Chōla, *ī e*, Rājendra Chōla I, taking up the child of her daughter and observing the marks on his body, exclaimed that he was fit to be her son and to protect the Solar race <sup>3</sup>. From this a theory of adoption of Kulōttunga by the queen of Rājendra Chōla I had been started. That this theory has no foundation whatsoever on facts but had been newly invented to give a *locus standi* to Kulōttunga after he had actually obtained the Chōla throne, will be evident from the sequel. Even the panegyrists that wrote the accounts of the copper plates issued during his reign, in referring to the accession of Vijayāditya which took place already in A D 1061-2, speak as if Kulōttunga had a claim in the Chōla dominions, when they say that Kulōttunga being desirous of the Chōla kingdom, suffered his uncle Vijayāditya to become the ruler of Vēṅgi, himself holding a second rank in the kingdom, *viz*, that of the *yuvārāja* or the heir apparentship <sup>4</sup>. That this is a garbled version of facts will be evident to anyone. We fail to see how the acceptance of the overlordship of Vēṅgi would have interfered with his right, if any, of the Chōla dominion. On the other hand, had he been made the ruler of Vēṅgi in the first instance, he would have been in a better position subsequently to push his claim for the Chōla throne.

That there was no need for adoption by the queen of Rājendra Chōla I of her daughter's son is clear from the facts that Rājendra-Chōla I had several sons. The Tiruvālangādu plates say that this king appointed his son Chōla Pāndya to protect the Pāndya and Kērala countries <sup>5</sup>. The Kanyākumārī inscription adds that "like unto a sacrifice having three fires, there were born

<sup>1</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XVIII, p 171

<sup>2</sup> *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1892, p 5

<sup>3</sup> *Canir* X, vv 3 to 6

<sup>4</sup> *S I I*, Vol I, pp 59 60

<sup>5</sup> *S I I*, Vol III, p 423, vv 93 and 99

to Rājēndra-Chōla I three sons, of whom the first was Rājādhirāja I”<sup>1</sup> Rājēndradēva and Virarājēndra are distinctly called Rājādhirāja’s younger brothers,<sup>2</sup> and they succeeded to the Chōla throne one after another<sup>3</sup>

A careful examination of the lowest and the highest regnal years of the inscriptions of the successive Chōla kings Rājēndra Chōla I, Rājādhirāja I, Rājēndradēva, and Virarājēndra as well as the results of the calculation of the astronomical details furnished in many of them establishes —

- (1) that Rājēndra Chōla I counted his regnal years from A D 1011,<sup>4</sup> though his actual rule began in A D 1014-15<sup>4</sup> and lasted till A D 1044,<sup>5</sup> and that he installed his eldest son Rājādhirāja I heir-apparent in A D 1018,
- (2) that Rājādhirāja I counted his regnal years from A D 1018<sup>6</sup> though his rule actually began in A D 1044<sup>7</sup> and lasted till A D 1053<sup>4 8</sup> and that in his turn he installed his younger brother Rājēndradēva as his heir apparent in A D 1052,
- (3) that Rājēndradēva counted his regnal years from A D 1052<sup>9</sup> though his rule actually began in A D 1054 and lasted till A D 1065<sup>10</sup> and that he installed his next younger brother Virarājēndra as his heir-apparent in A D 1062, and
- (4) that Virarājēndra counted his regnal years from A D 1062<sup>11</sup> though his rule actually began in A D 1064-5 and lasted till A D 1069<sup>12</sup>

Besides the above named kings there were also two others who, as the inscriptions left by them prove, had actually ruled over the Chōla dominions, even though it be for short periods only. These are Rājākēśarivarman Rājamahēndradēva and Parakēśarivarman Adhirājēndra. The inscriptions of the first so far found, are dated in the 2nd and 3rd years<sup>13</sup> while those of the second, which are somewhat more numerous, are also dated in the 2nd and 3rd years<sup>14</sup>

As Rājākēśarivarman Rājamahēndra claims to have defeated Āhavamalla at Mudarkāru and gained victory over Jayasinha who commanded his forces, it looks pretty certain that he must have reigned after Rājēndradēva<sup>15</sup>. Since he and Virarājēndra are both styled Rājākēśarivarman, they may be considered to have ruled conjointly, for otherwise Virarājēndra should have borne the title Parakēśari and not Rājākēśari as he is actually called in all his records. Since one of the

<sup>1</sup> *Trav Arch Series*, Vol III, p 157, v 73

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, vv 74 76

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol VII, p 7 It has been shown that the reign was counted from a date between the 26th November A D 1011 and the 7th July 1012

<sup>4</sup> The earliest year found in his inscriptions is the 3rd

<sup>5</sup> *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1915 16, p 118, para 14

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol VII, p 7 The reign is determined to count from a date between 15th March and 3rd December A D 1018

<sup>7</sup> The earliest year found for him in inscriptions is the 26th

<sup>8</sup> The latest known date is the 36th year. See No 262 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1921, where the king is called Rājākēśarivarman *alias* Vijayarājēndradēva which was another name for Rājādhirāja I

<sup>9</sup> Above, Vol VII, p 7 His reign is determined to have commenced approximately on the 28th May A D 1052

<sup>10</sup> Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1927 28, No 63, which is dated in the 11th year of the king’s reign. His earliest inscription is of the 2nd year

<sup>11</sup> The commencement of his reign is determined to have fallen between the 11th September A D 1062 and the 10th September A D 1063

<sup>12</sup> The earliest date known for him is the 2nd year and the latest 8th. See *S I I*, Vol V, No 976 and Vol III, No 57

<sup>13</sup> *S I I*, Vol III, No 56 and Vol VII, No 743

<sup>14</sup> No 123 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1926 and *S I I*, Vol III, No 57

<sup>15</sup> See text of No 743 of *S I I* (Texts), Vol VII



inscriptions of Adhirājendra refers to some transactions made in the 8th year of Virarājendra, Dr Hultzsch has correctly placed him between Virarājendra and Kulōttunga I.<sup>1</sup> We may suppose that his actual rule over the Chōla dominion commenced in the later part of his 2nd year when perhaps Virarājendra died,—and this must have taken place in A D 1069. As his Tiruvallam inscription is dated in the 200th day of his 3rd regnal year, he must have had charge of the Chōla territory for very nearly a year. Another inscription of this king found at Kūhūr, dated in this very year, is also very interesting as it tells us that in the latter part of that year there was some concern about the king's health for the recovery of which provision was made for the recital of the sacred hymns (*tiruppāṭṭam*) in the temple of Māmbalamudaiya Mahādēva at the village.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the disease could not be cured and proved fatal. Two other epigraphs of the king<sup>3</sup> inform us that the village Sengēni and Āḍaiyūr were under the rule of chiefs who bore the title Karikālachōla, which was one of the surnames of Adhirājendra's father Virarājendra who must have bestowed it on them. That the rule of the predecessor of Kulōttunga I was recognised even in Ceylon, which was then a province of the Chōlas, is proved by the inscriptions found in the island. From what has been said above, it would be seen that there was absolutely no need for any adoption from A D 1044 till the demise of Virarājendra. It may also be added that there are no indications in Chōla inscriptions of the period A D 1040-1069 that Kulōttunga I was ever adopted for succession to the Chōla throne.

Now as to the contents of the inscription. Lines 1-13 form the preamble, lines 13-38 the document proper, and lines 39-48 furnish the boundaries of the lands comprised in the *pallinilai* and *pallivilāgam*, while what follows is the concluding portion. In the preamble, two *pallis*, named Rājendraśōlapperumpalli and Rājarājapperumpalli, are mentioned as having been built by the king of Kadāram in Sōlakulavallipattanam in Pattana kūrnam, a subdivision of Geyamānikka-valanādu. It is stated that the ambassadors of the king of Kadāram made the request that the *Pallichchanda* villages of these two may be entered in a copper plate deed, the previous Kāniyālars removed and the lands vested with the Sangattār of the *palli*. The document proper enumerates only the *Pallichchandas* of Rājarājapperumpalli, and there is no mention of Rājendraśōlapperumpalli at all. We are not sure if the word *Rājendraśōlapperumpallikkum* has been omitted after *eduppitta* in line 14. If it had been, the villages given must have belonged to both the *pallis*. In lines 16 and 38, this copper plate document is said to have been issued in favour of the Sangattār of the *palli* erected by the king of Kadāram and in line 39 Rājarājapperumpalli, which must have been a shrine in the *viḥāra*, figures as the surname of Śailendra-Chūdāmanivarman-*viḥāra* itself. While this is the case here, the grant registered in the Tamil portion of the Larger Leiden Plates is said to have been made 'for the requirements of the *palli* in the Chūdāmanivarman-*viḥāra* which was then being constructed at Nāgapattanam in Pattana-kūrnam of Kshatriyaśikhāmani valanādu by Chūdāmanivarman, the king of Kadāram'—the Sanskrit portion, however, stating that "the *Viḥāra* was built by Māraṇḍavyōttungavarman in the name of his father Chūdāmanivarman". On account of the substitution of the names Sōlakulavallipattanam and Geyamānikka-valanādu in the Smaller set for Nāgapattanam and Kshatriyaśikhāmani valanādu of the Larger Leiden Plates, and also on account of the other differences noted above as regards the *palli* referred to in either set, a doubt may reasonably arise as to the identity of the donee in the two sets. But the fact that the village of Ānaimangalam with its total extent of 97 *vēḷi*, 2 *mā* and odd and *kāniḷḷadan* 8943 *kalam*, which is exactly the grant made in the

<sup>1</sup> S I I, Vol III, No 57

<sup>2</sup> No 280 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1917

<sup>3</sup> S I I (Texts), Vol. VII, Nos 854 and 884. In the later history of the Chōlas the chiefs of the villages Sengēni and Āḍaiyūr play an important part.

Larger Leiden Plates, figures as the first item of the *Pallichchandas* belonging to Rājarājap perumpallī in the Smaller set, proves definitely the identity of the donees of the two sets. Therefore it must be regarded that Śōlakulavallipattanam and Geyamīnikka vaṇanādu are but the altered names of Nāgapattanam and Kshatriyaśikhāmani vaṇanādu respectively.

Of the terms that occur in the inscription, *kāmilādan*, *kāmyālan*, *nichchayitta nelli* and *Saṅgattār* deserve to be noticed. *Kāmikkadan* is made of *lām* lands and *adan*-duty, and may be taken to mean "the assessment payable on lands to the king." From the occurrence of this word in the Larger Leiden Plates in this very sense with respect to the total quantity of income from the entire extent of lands in the village of Āṇamangalam and the repetition of the term and the quantity in our plates, the meaning suggested above seems to be decisive. *Kāmyālar* means literally "the persons that manage lands" and may be taken to refer to the men employed by the State to lease its lands for purposes of cultivation, to afford facilities to farmers by way of irrigation, etc., and to see to the realisation of rents or assessments. The term *nichchayitta nelli* is rarely met with in inscriptions. In this record, which relates to an application made to the king to terminate the functioning of the *lāmyālar* and to transfer the lands from their possession and management to the authorities of the Buddhist monasteries for being dealt with directly by them, there is evidently some further gain to be derived by the monasteries in the proposed change, to wit the rights and privileges which the *lāmyālar* might have had. Perhaps the term *nichchayitta nelli* stands for the quantity of paddy settled to be paid by the cultivating tenants to the *lāmyālar* to meet the cost of affording facilities, etc., and for their remuneration for performing the function as middlemen between the State and the tenants.

It is not unlikely that the term *Saṅgattār* of the *palḷi* has the same significance as the Panmāhēśvaras (or Mīhēśvaras) of Śiva temples and Śrī Vaiṣṇavas of Viṣṇu temples. In many inscriptions we meet with the clauses "*idu Panmāhēśvarar rakṣai*", "*idu Śrī-Vaiṣṇavar rakṣai*". In the case of grants of Buddhist or Jain shrines the above clauses would be altered into "*idu pallichchattār rakṣai*". The translation of these clauses into "This shall be under the protection of all the Māhēśvaras or Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas or the *Saṅgattār* or others of the monastery" may not make clear whether by the terms Panmāhēśvaras, Śrī Vaiṣṇavas and *Saṅgattār* individuals belonging to the respective sects are meant or whether they have any particular reference to regularly constituted bodies of men drawn from the said sects in accordance with set rules as in the case of the *Sabbhā* or other constituted bodies and having concern with the management of the properties of the temple or other institutions with which they are associated. Judging from the single fact that the objects of the grants had to be fulfilled daily or at specified occasions, not for a fixed number of years only, but perpetually "as long as the Moon and the Sun last" as the inscriptions put it, in the manner stipulated by the donors, it can be said that the recipients who undertook to effect them could not have been a chance collection of individuals but could only have been responsible members of regularly constituted bodies whose duties were to accept such gifts and to execute the will of the donors. In this connection a few more facts contained in some of the inscriptions are worth noting. It is stated that the donations made have to be maintained as a whole, undiminished for ever and that the expenses involved in fulfilling the objects of the grants have to be met only from the incomes. It is unnecessary to say that on the part of the recipients, the safe investments of the endowments and the timely realisation of interests and the utilising of the latter without default for the specified purposes involve a very high responsibility and considerable amount of work. Here again we are obliged to think that the recipients must only be members of regularly constituted committees wielding influence and authority and not mere chance collections of individuals. Unless this be the case, it is impossible to perceive how costly gifts of lands, villages and the

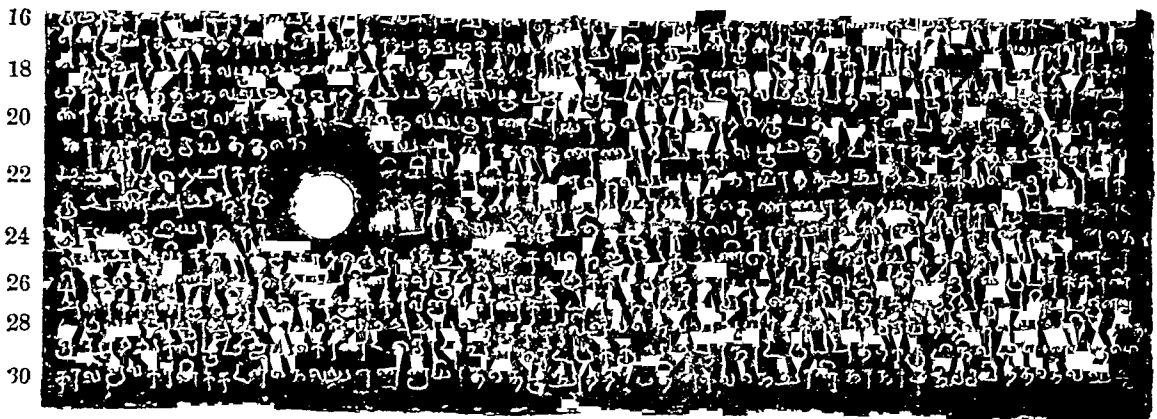


# THE SMALLER LEIDEN PLATES OF KULOTTUNGA I

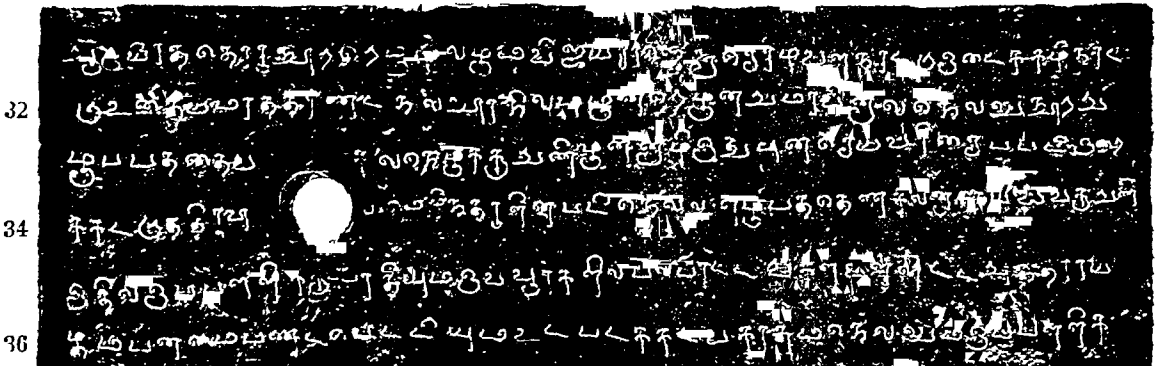
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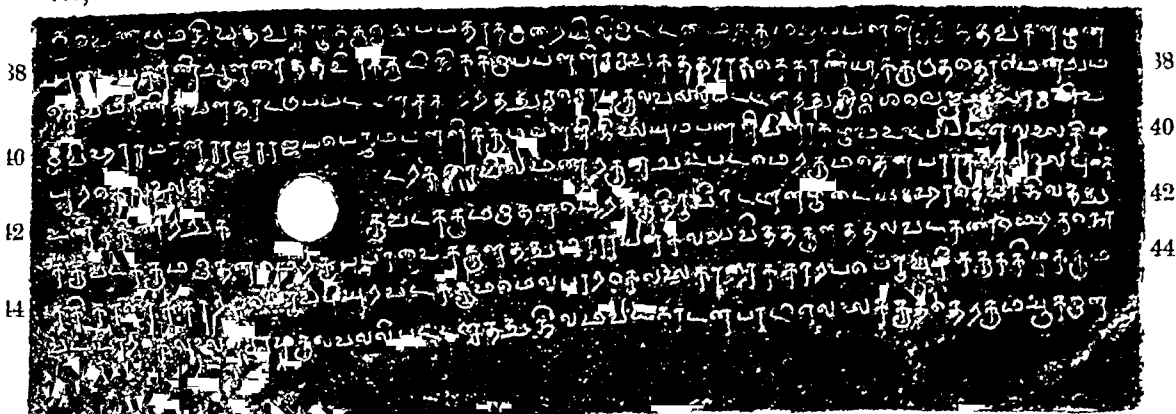
11,a



11,b



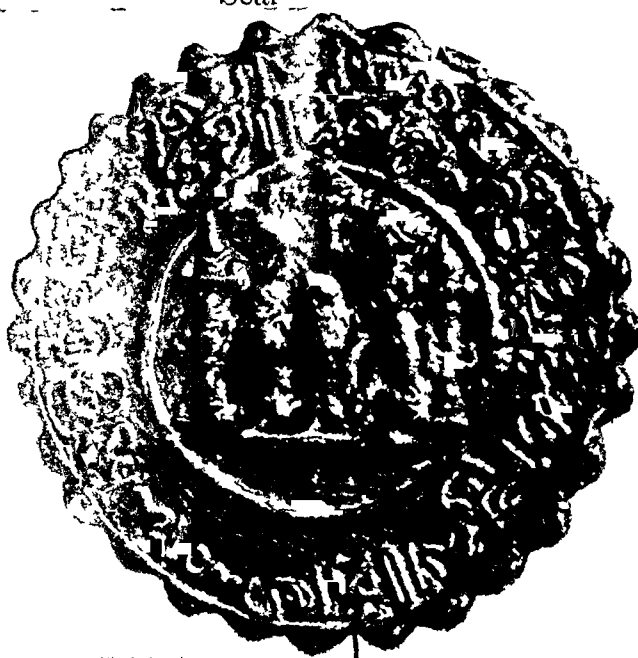
III, a



III, b



Seal



Actual size

From a photograph

- 12 Rājavallabha pPallavaraiyanōḍun=kūda irundu tāmra śāsanam pannī-kkuḍukkav-  
enṟu adikāri-
- 13 ga| <sup>1</sup>Rājēntrasīga-Mūvēndavēlārkkū=ttirumugam prasādañ=cheyd aru| vara=  
ttāmra śāsanañ=cheydapadi [\*] Kaḍāratta-
- 14 raiyaṇ Geyamānikka-valanāttu Pattana-kkūrṟattu Śōlakulavallī pattanattu edup-  
pitta Rājarāja-[p\*]perum pa[l\*]li-
- 15 lku<sup>2</sup> pa||ichchendam Geyamānikka valanāttu=pPattana-kkūrṟattu Ānaimangalam  
nilan=tonnūrṟ ēlē<sup>3</sup> iran-

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 16 du-mā=kkāni arai=kkāniyum munbudaiya kāni ālarai<sup>4</sup>=ttavira i-ppalli chchan-  
gattārkkē kāniy āgavum idu kāni-kkadan nellu
- 17 enn āyirattu=ttol|āyirattu nārṟattu mu-kkalanē iru-tūni=kkurṟu mu nnā|hiyinal  
nichchayitta nellu nāl āyirat-
- 18 t=aiññūrṟu=kkalamum Ānaimangalattu brahmadēyam nilam pannirandē muk-  
kālinal nellu nānūrṟu=kkala-
- 19 m nichchayitta nellu aiññūrṟu=aṟupadiṇ kalamum i nnāttu Muṇṇikudī  
nilam irubatt-ēlē mukkalē mukkāni a-
- 20 rai kkāniyinal kāni-kkadan nellu irand āyiratt=elu-nūrṟ<sup>5</sup>=elubatt-onbadin ka[la]n[ē]  
tūni<sup>6</sup>
- 21 nā-nāli nichchayitta nellu āyiratt=ennūrṟu<sup>7</sup>=kkalamum [\*] Tiruvārūr-kkūrṟattu  
Āmūr nila-
- 22 m nūrṟ<sup>8</sup>=āṟē māgāniyil kāni kkadan nellu<sup>9</sup>ppadiṇāyiratt=aṟu-nūrṟu=kkalanē  
iru-tūni=k-
- 23 kurṟu aṟu nāli [n]ichchayitta nellu aiyy-āyiratt=ennūr aimpadiṇ kalamum [\*]  
A|a nāt-
- 24 tu Vadaḱudiy āna Nāṇalūr nilam elupadē mukkalē nān-māv=araiyinal  
kāni-kkadan ne-
- 25 llu ā-āyiratt=aiññūrṟu=orupattu nār-kalanē ain-kurṟu oru-nāli nichchayitta  
nellu irand-ā-
- 26 yratt=ennūrṟu <sup>10</sup>nārppadiṇ kalamum [\*] i-nnāttu=kKī|chchandirappādi nilam pattē  
irandu-mā=kkāni
- 27 arai-kkāni mudiṇṇai kī| mukkalinal kāni kkadan nellu āyiratt=orubatt-  
iru kalanē<sup>11</sup> ain-kurṟuyum [\*] i-nnā-

<sup>1</sup> Read *Rājendra*<sup>2</sup> The engraver seems to have, in the first instance, omitted the word *paḷi* and then inserted it in smaller characters (*paḷi* at the end of l 14 and *lku* at the beginning of l 15)<sup>3</sup> The *re* of *reḷē* is entered below the line in small characters<sup>4</sup> Read *kāniyālarai*<sup>5</sup> The *r* of *re* has been inserted in small character between *e* and *lu*<sup>6</sup> The length of *tū* is unconnected with *tu*<sup>7</sup> The length of *nū* is separated from *ru*<sup>8</sup> The length of *nū* is separated from *nu*<sup>9</sup> Cancel the first *p*<sup>10</sup> Read *nārppadiṇ*<sup>11</sup> *lanē* seems to be a correction

- 28 ttu=pPālayūr brahmadēyam nilam aṟupadū<sup>1</sup> mukkāḷḷūl nellu āyira-  
kkalam mechayitta nellu āyiratt=ai  
29 ānūrru kalamum [\*] Jayangondaśōla-valanāttu=kKuṟumbūr nūttu=pPuttakkuḍi nilam  
enbatt-ūl<sup>2</sup>  
30 kālūnāl kānu-kkadan nellu enn āyiratt=elū nūrr=irupadū=kalanē tūm nū nūl  
mechayitta nellu ā-

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 31 āyiratt=oru nūrr=elū \*kalamum Vijayarājēntaśōla<sup>3</sup> valanāttu Idaikkāl-nātt  
32 tu Udayamā[\*]ttāndanallūr nilam mūṇṇē mūṇṇu māvipūl nellu nūrru-  
33 muppattai=alanē mu kkuṟu mu nūl idu punṣy varisaippaḍi irai=  
34 kkattu=ttiruv i molindaruḷinapadi nellu elupatt en=kalan(n)cy aṇ=kūṟu  
35 idil i ppaḷḷikkū=ppāḍiyum ivv ūṟgaḷ pala pūttangal ullitta antarāya-  
36 mum panmai panda-vettiyum utpada=kkadava kāsum nellum i-ppaḷḷik-

*Third Plate, First Side*

- 37 ku vāndum nivanṭangalukku iruppaḍ āga iraiy-il ittaṇaiikkum [\*] i ppaḷḷi-  
chchandangal mun-  
38 budaiya<sup>4</sup> kām ālarai<sup>5</sup>=ttaiyira=kkuḍi nikku i ppaḷḷi chchandattārkke kāny-  
āga kuduttōm=enṇum  
39 Geyamānikka<sup>6</sup> valanāttu=pPattana kkuṟrattu=chChōḷakulaḷallipattanattu Sri Sailēndra-  
Chūdāmamava  
40 rama-vihāram-āna Rājaraḷapperumpalḷikkū=ppaḷḷi nilaiyum paḷḷi vāḷagamum utpa[t]ta  
ellai kīl-  
41 pārk-ellai kadaṟ karaiyil manar-kūṟ=utpaḍa mērkum [\*] tenpārk-ellai Pugai-  
42 un<sup>7</sup>-kkinnarrul ku vadakkum idan mērkku Tiruvirattinamudaiya-Mahādēvar  
nūttu-  
43 kku vadakkum idan mērkū=pParavaikkulattu Mārāyaṇ kalluvitta kuḷettīl  
vadakarai mērkū nō-  
44 kki Kāraikkīr pperuvaiy=ūṟa vadakkum [\*] mēlpārk-ellai Kūraikkāṟ-pperuvaiḷikkū=  
kkūḷakkum [\*]  
45 vadapārk ellai Śōlakulaḷallipattanattu nilam Vada Kādanpīḍi ellaiḷḷu=tterkum [\*]  
āga i-n-

*Third Plate, Second Side.*

- 46 nāṅg ellaiḷḷu=utppatta<sup>10</sup> nilam muppatt onrē mukkāḷē irandu-mā mundin-  
gai idu an-

<sup>1</sup> The letter *t* is inserted below *pa*<sup>2</sup> *Enpatalē* had been entered first and *t* and *c* inserted after in small characters,<sup>3</sup> The initial letter *a* had also been entered at the end of the previous line Cancel one of the *ā*'s<sup>4</sup> The letter *la* is a correction from some other letter<sup>5</sup> Read *Vijayarājēndra*<sup>6</sup> The syllables *budaiya* have been read as *paḍaiy* in *A. S. of S. I*<sup>7</sup> Read *laniyālarai*<sup>8</sup> The letter *la* is written as a group, perhaps as an after thought, by raising the top stroke of *la*.<sup>9</sup> Read *nuṇṇu*<sup>10</sup> Read *utpatta*.

- 47 tarāyamum paṇmai-panda-vettayum marrum eppērppattidum utpada 1  
ppallikkē iray-i-
- 48 li kuduttōm [1\*] ippadi śeydu kudukkav-enru tiruvāymolindaruḷ=ttiru-mugam  
prasādañ=cheydaru-
- 49 li vandadu [1\*] tāmra śāsanam panni=kkudukkav=enru 1 santuvignhagaḷ<sup>1</sup> Rāja-  
vallava-pPallavaraiyarum a-
- 50 dikāṅgaḷ Rājēndiraśiṅga-Mūvēndavēlārum śolla 1-ttāmra-śāsanam eḷudi-
- 51 nēn Uttkōḍi Vīkkiramābarana-tterinda-(vala) Valangaḷ<sup>2</sup>vēlaikkāraḷ Nilai-  
udaiya-Pa[nai]<sup>3</sup>-
- 52 yān Nigariśōḷan Madurāntakanēn ivai en eḷuttu ||-

## TRANSLATION

(Lines 1 to 13) In the 20th year of (*the reign of*) king Rājakēśarivarman *alias* the emperor Śrī-Kulōttunga-Chōladēva, who was pleased to be seated along with (*his queen*) Bhuvana-mulududaiyāl on his lion throne, wearing the excellent crown of gems belonging to (*the family*), his disc of authority (*i e*, sway) extending in all directions, the goddess of fame (*growing in*) excellence, the goddess of victory becoming desirous, the goddess of the earth (*becoming*) bright and the goddess on the (*lotus*) flower (*i e*, Lakshmī) espousing (*him*), the *Villavar* (*i e*, the Chēra) becoming shattered, the *Mīnavar* (*i e*, the Pāndya) becoming disestablished, and Vīkkalan (*i e*, Vikramāditya VI) and Śinganan (*i e*, Jayasimha) plunging into the Western ocean,

when he was pleased to rest on the reclining couch (*pallhippīdam*) called Kālingarājan in the bathing hall within the palace at Āyirattalī *alias* Āhavamallakulakālapuram, the ambassadors of the king of Kadāram named Rājavidyādharma-Śrī-Sāmanta and Abhimānōttunga Śrī-Sāmanta having made the request that,

for having been exempted from the payment of (*the customary taxes*) inclusive of *antarāyam*, *vīraśēṣai*, *paṇmai panda vetti*, *kundāl*, and *śungamērā*, (*all*) the villages which were the *pallichchanda*s of Rājēndrasōḷapperumpallī and Rājarājapperumpallī constructed by the king of Kadāram at Śōlakulavallippattanam in Pattana-ikkūram (*a sub division*) of Geyamānikka-valanādu, for removing the old *kāniyālars* who were holding the *kānis* of the *pallichchandas* and for investing the *Sangattār* of the *palli* with these lands,

a copper plate charter may be made and given,

a royal order having been issued (*with the approval of the king*) to the *adhiakārin* Rājēndra-śiṅga Mūvēndavēlār that (*he*) in conjunction with the *sandhivigrahin* Rājavallabha-Pallavaraiyan should draw up a copper-plate charter to this effect,

the following is the copper plate charter drawn up in pursuance of this order —

(Ll 13-35) Ninety-seven (*vēḷi*), two *mā* and one *kām* and a half of land comprising Ānaimangalam in Pattana-kūrram, a subdivision of Geyamānikka-valanādu, which formed the *pallichchanda* of Rājarājapperumpallī, erected at Śōlakulavallippattanam in Pattana-kūrram, a subdivision of Geyamānikka-valanādu, have been removed from the possession of its old tenants and made the *kāni* of the *Sangattār* of the said *palli*. The *kānikkadan* on this land is eight thousand nine hundred and forty-three *kalam*, two *tūm*, one *kurum* and three *nāl* of paddy and the *nichchayutta-nellu* on it is four thousand and five hundred *kalam* of paddy,

<sup>1</sup> Read *sandhivigrahaḷ*. The *i* sign has been inserted on *gr* instead of on *h*. The *A S of S I* adopts the correct reading in the text itself.

<sup>2</sup> The reading given in the *A S of S I* is *pala-pala iagai* which gives no sense.

<sup>3</sup> The letters *l Nilai udaiya Panai* at the end of this line are in smaller characters, the last letter being faintly engraved in the margin. The *A S of S I* has *nalai*.



(the *kāṁikkadan*) on lands measuring twelve and three fourths (*vēli*) in the *brahmadēya* of Āpaimangalam is four hundred *kalam* of paddy its *nichchayitta nellu* is five hundred and sixty *kalam*

The *kāṁikkadan* on twenty-seven and three fourths (*vēli*), three *lāni* and a half of land in Muṇṇikudi of this *nādu* is two thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine *kalam*, (one) *tūni* and four *nāli* of paddy its *nichchayitta nellu* is one thousand and eight hundred *kalam*

The *kāṁikkadan* on one hundred and six (*vēli*) and one sixteenth of land in Āmūr situated in Tiruvārūr-kūṇṇam is ten thousand and six hundred *kalam*, two *tūni*, one *ḷuruni* and six *nāli* of paddy its *nichchayitta nellu* is five thousand eight hundred and fifty *kalam*

The *kāṁikkadan* on seventy and three fourths (*vēli*), four *mā* and a half of land in Vadakkudi alias Nānalūr situated in Alānādu is six thousand five hundred and fourteen *kalam*, five *ḷuruni* and (one) *nāli* of paddy its *nichchayitta nellu* is two thousand eight hundred and forty *kalam*

The *kāṁikkadan* on ten (*vēli*), two *mā*, one *lāni* and a half, one *mundirigai*, and *ḷil* three-fourths of land in Kil Chandirappūdi of this *nādu* is one thousand and twelve *kalam* and five *ḷuruni* of paddy, and on sixty (*vēli*) and three fourths of land in the *brahmadēya* of Pālaiyūr of this same *nādu* is one thousand *kalam* of paddy their *nichchayitta nellu* is one thousand five hundred *kalam*

The *kāṁikkadan* on eighty-seven and one fourth (*vēli*) of land in Puttakkudi of Kuṇumbūr-nādu in Jayangondaśōḷa-*valanādu* is eight thousand seven hundred and twenty *kalam*, one *tūni*, and four *nāli* of paddy its *nichchayitta nellu* is six thousand one hundred and seven *kalam*

The paddy (income) on three (*vēli*) and three *mā* of land in Udayamārtāndanallūr of Idaiakkalinādu in Vijayarājendraśōḷa-*valanādu* is one hundred and thirty-five *kalam*, three *ḷuruni* and three *nāli*. The royal order fixing the income on this, according to the prevailing rate for dry lands, is seventy eight *kalam* and five *ḷuruni* of paddy. Half of this shall be for this *palli*

(Ll 35 40) The several incomes of money and paddy inclusive of *antarāyam*, *panmai panda-velu*, etc., arising from the above said villages have been assigned, free from taxes, to meet the expenses of this *palli*. Also, the *pallichchandas* have been freed from their previous *kāṁiyālars*, have their tenants removed and have been given by us to the *Sangallār* of this *palli* as their *lāni*. The boundaries of the site and the surrounding ground of the glorious Śaiḷendra-Chūdāmanuvarmā-vihāra alias Rājārājapperumpalli at Śōḷakulavallipattanam in Pattana-*kūṇṇam*, (a *subdivision*) of Geṇamīnikka-*valanādu* are —

(Ll 40 52) The eastern boundary is to the west of Sand-hill on the sea shore

The southern boundary is to the north of the well called Pugaiyanni and also to the north of the land belonging to the Tiruviraṭṭānamudaiya Mahādēva situated to the west of this (*i e*, the above said well) as well as to the west of the high road to Kāraikkāl which proceeds westward from the north bank of the tank dug out by Mārāyan at Paṇavaikkulam to the west of this (*i e*, the land of the Mahādēva)

The western boundary is to the east of the high road to Kāraikkāl

The northern boundary is to the south of the boundary of the land called Vada-Kādanpādi in Śōḷakulavallipattanam

The land situated within these four boundaries measure thirty-one and three-fourths *vēli*, two *mā* and one *mundirigai* in extent. And this land has also been given by us free of all taxes to this *palli* inclusive of the *antarāyam*, *panmai panda velu* and all other (*pāllams*). This has been made in accordance with the royal order issued to us embodying the declaration of the king

On the direction of the *sandhivigraha*n Rājavalabha Pallavarayan and the *adhikārin* Rājendra-singa-Mūvēndavēlān, this copper (plate) edict was written by the *Nilayudariya-Panariyān*<sup>1</sup> Nigarihsōlan Madhurāntakan, one of the Vikramābharapa-terinda-Valangai Vēlaikkāras of Utkkōdi this is my signature

## No 36 —NOTE ON THE ŚAILENDRA KINGS<sup>2</sup> MENTIONED IN THE LEIDEN PLATES

By PROFESSOR R C MAJUMDAR, M A , Ph D , DACCA

The Larger Leiden Plates of Rājārāja I contain references to two Śailēndra kings, viz , Chū-lāmanivarman and his son Śrī-Māraṇṇiayōttungavarman. The Śailēndra dynasty is known to have ruled over Malay Peninsula and Java towards the close of the eighth century A D. An inscription found at Ligor<sup>3</sup> in Malay Peninsula refers to a Śailēndra king named Śrī Mahārāja, and he had, perhaps, also the personal name Vishnu. There is internal evidence to show that this inscription is somewhat later than A D 775. An inscription found at Kalasan,<sup>4</sup> in Java, dated A D 778, refers to the building of a temple of Tārā by *Mahārāja* Panamkarana, the ornament of the Śailēndra dynasty. The temple is undoubtedly the famous Chandi Kalasan, one of the finest temples in Java. Another inscription found at Kelurak<sup>5</sup>, in the neighbourhood of the same locality, mentions a Śailēndra king Śrī Sangrāma Dhanamjaya and refers to the setting up of an image of Mañjuśrī by the royal preceptor Kumāraghōsha, a resident of Gauda (*Gaudī dvīpa-guru*).

Arab writers, from the ninth century onwards, refer to the empire of Zābag or Zābaḡ, ruled over by the Mahārāja. There is no doubt that under this name they refer to the empire of the Śailēndras, which now extended over nearly the whole of Malayasia (Malay Archipelago and Malay Peninsula), including the famous kingdom of Śrī Vijaya in Sumatra. There are reasons to believe that for some time this empire also exercised some sort of suzerainty over Kāmbōja (Cambodia) and Champā (Annam).

There can be hardly any doubt that the empire of the Śailēndras, referred to as Zābag by Arab writers, is the same as the kingdom of San fo-ts'ī, referred to in the Chinese Annals from the tenth century onwards.<sup>6</sup>

The Chinese annals refer to no less than twelve embassies sent from San fo-ts'ī to China during the tenth century A D. The first two embassies during the eleventh century A D are

<sup>1</sup> The expression *Nilayudariya Panariyān* might indicate a "profession, office or calling". Its exact meaning is not clear to me and it is therefore left untranslated.

<sup>2</sup> Much has been recently written in French and Dutch journals and books about the Śailēndras. The following note is intended merely to give a very brief outline of their history so far as it is necessary to elucidate the Leiden Plates. For fuller discussion of their history and reference to recent authorities the reader may consult the following articles of mine —(1) *Les Rois Śailēndra de Suvarnadvīpa*, *B E F E O*, Vol XXXIII, pp 121-141. (2) *The Śailēndra Empire*, *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Vol I, pp 11-27. (3) *The struggle between the Śailēndras and the Chōlas*, *Ibid*, pp 71-91. (4) *Decline and Fall of the Śailēndra Empire*, *Ibid*, Vol II, pp 12-24. Reference may also be made to the following article by Dr G Coedès —(5) *On the origin of the Śailēndras of Indonesia*, *Ibid*, Vol I, pp 61-70.

<sup>3</sup> *B E F E O*, Vol XVIII, 6, App 1, pp 29ff. *J A S B*, *Letters*, Vol I (1935), pp 20ff.

<sup>4</sup> *T B G*, Vol 68 (1928), pp 57ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, pp 1ff.

<sup>6</sup> The Arab and Chinese accounts are collected by Ferrand, *J A*, 11-XX, pp 1ff. They are also quoted in articles Nos 1-4 mentioned in fn 2 above.

of special interest from the point of view of this inscription, and we therefore give short details of them on the authority of the *History of the Sung Dynasty*

"In the year 1003 A D, the king Sseu li chu la wu ni fo ma tao hua sent two envoys to bring tribute "

"In the year 1008 A D, the king Sseu li ma lo p'i sent three envoys to present tribute "

Dr Coedès was the first to point out<sup>1</sup> that the first royal name is a Chinese rendering of Śrī Chūlīmanuvarman, and the second is equivalent to Śrī Mūraya, the first part of the name of his successor Śrī Mūrayajyōttungavarman, referred to in the Larger Leiden Plates. This identification has been universally accepted, and has served to clear up the history of the Śailēndras in many respects.

The Larger Plates refer to the Śailēndra kings as follows —

- (1) *Śailēndra ramśa sambhūtēna Śrīveśhaya ādhīpatinā Katāh ādhīpatyam=ātanaatā*  
(Sanskrit portion ll 80 81)
- (2-3) *Katāh ādhīpati* (*Ibid*, ll 90, 100)
- (4) *Kidārall arāyan* (Tamil portion l 6)
- (5 6) *Kadārall-arāyan* (*Ibid*, ll 13, 200)

It would thus appear that the Śailēndra kings are referred to as kings of Katāha Kadāra, or Kidāra, these three being variants of the same place name. This place has been identified with Keddah in the Malay Peninsula.

Now, in the first passage the king is also called lord of Śrī Viśhaya, which is no doubt the same as Śrī Vijaya, a kingdom in Sumatra<sup>2</sup> which, as we have noted above, was included in the empire of the Śailēndras. The expression immediately following viz, *Katāh ādhīpatyam=ātanaatā* means, in my opinion, 'who extended the suzerainty (i.e., the kingdom) of Katāha'. The learned Editor of the Plates has translated the passage as "who was conducting the rule of Katāha". But the primary meaning of the Sanskrit root 'tan' is to 'spread', 'extend' etc., and I see no reason to reject it in this case.

If we accept the normal meaning of the expression, and remember that in all other cases, five in number, the king is simply referred to as king of Katāha (i.e. Kadāra, Kidāra), no doubt remains that the Śailēndras, according at least to the writers of this inscription, were originally rulers of Katāha, and then extended their suzerainty over Śrī Vijaya.

The great importance of this point will be obvious to any one who is familiar with the current controversy about the original home land of the Śailēndras. Dr Coedès first suggested that the Śailēndras were originally rulers of Śrī-Vijaya, and this view was subsequently regarded as an established fact. Some time ago I demonstrated the weakness of the reasoning on which this theory was based, and Dr Coedès has now freely accepted my view. He states that 'it is impossible, according to sound methods, to affirm that before the 11th century the kings of Śrī Vijaya belonged to the Śailēndra dynasty or that they reigned at Śrī Vijaya'.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *B E F E O*, Vol XVIII, 6, p 7

<sup>2</sup> This is the general view. Recently Dr H G Quaritch Wales has suggested that Śrī Vijaya might be the name of a kingdom in Malay Peninsula itself. He has drawn attention to the fact that "one of the most important ancient sites in the northern part of the Malay Peninsula is still called C'aya (i.e., Java, a shortened form of Vijaya, and not far to the south is situated Śrī Vijaya Hill)". *Indian Art and Letters*, Vol IX, p 4.

<sup>3</sup> See articles mentioned in p 281, n 2. That the Śailēndras ruled over Śrī Vijaya as early as the tenth century A D is proved by Arab records, if we regard Zābīg as denoting the Śailēndra empire. To this extent, Dr Coedès' statement requires modification.

As noted above, the evidence of the Leiden Plates fully supports the view that the Śailendra kings were rulers of Katāha or Kadāra (*var* Kidāra) and subsequently extended their suzerainty over Śii-Vijaya

The Chinese references to the two embassies from San fo ts'ı quoted above, taken along with the data supplied by the Plates, leave no doubt that king Chūlāmanivarman died sometime between A D 1005 and 1008. The fact that although the formal grant in the Tamil portion was drawn up in the 23rd year of Rājarāja I, yet mention is only made of Chūlāmanivarman and not his son, might be taken to indicate that the former died in A D 1007-8. But this is somewhat problematical. In any case Chūlāmanivarman died shortly after A D 1005 and this explains the discrepancy noted by the Editor on pp 228-29 above. It is obvious that soon after the Grant was made in A D 1005 by Rājarāja I, and while the construction of the Vihāra was still in progress, king Chūlāmanivarman died, and the work begun by him was completed by his son and successor.

The learned Editor has discussed at length the problem 'how the ruler of Katāha came to erect a Buddhist Vihāra at Negapatam in the heart of the distant Chōla dominion, and how the powerful Chōla king came to grant the entire revenues of a village for the upkeep of a *pall* in it' (p 230 above).

The early history of the Śailēndras and the Nālandā Charter of Dcūvapāla of the year 391 offer an easy solution to this problem.

It is most likely that the Śailendra dynasty originally migrated from India, there is at least no doubt that they kept up an intimate intercourse with India and received their religious inspiration from this country. We learn from Hiuen Tsang and I-tsing that even as early as the seventh century A D there was a regular religious intercourse between India and Malayasia. The Kelurak inscription, mentioned above, shows that the *guru* or preceptor of the Śailendra kings in A D 778 was a resident of Gauda (Bengal). About the middle of the ninth century A D the Śailendra king established a Vihāra at Nālandā, and at his request king Dcūvapāla of Bengal granted five villages for its upkeep. The Leiden Plates obviously describe a transaction which is exactly similar to what we find in the Nālandā Charter of Dcūvapāla, and, as in this charter, the villages must have been granted by Rājarāja at the request of the Śailendra king. In the Smaller Leiden Plates also, we find that at the express request of the king of Kidāra, communicated by his envoys, the Chōla king Kulōttunga exempted these villages from taxes. In the Larger Leiden Plates there is no express mention of this request, but such a request must be presumed, not only on the above analogies, but also from verse 38 of the Sanskrit portion which may be rendered into English as follows: "This lord of Katāha thus prays to all future kings — 'protect (ye) for ever this my charity'". The reference to the grant as 'my charity' can only be taken to mean that it was at his request, and on his behalf, that the village was granted by the Chōla king. The two persons who composed and executed the edict are mentioned in vv 39-42, and it is not clear whether their master (*tasya rājñō* i.e., 'of that king'), mentioned in v 40, refers to the Chōla king or king of Katāha. But the verses 43-44 definitely say that 'on the direction of that lord of Katāha, Tuvavūravān Anukkan caused to be made (*this*)

<sup>1</sup> Above Vol XVII, p 310. The Editor of this inscription has added some notes on "the evasive race of the Śailēndras" (p 312). But they are neither adequate nor accurate. His statement that the Śailēndras ruled over Sumatra and Java in the seventh century A D (p 313) is not warranted by any evidence known to me. His other remarks need not be discussed here in detail, but the readers are referred to the articles mentioned in p 281 n 2 for a general review of the subject. I may note that he pointed out the resemblance between the Nālandā Charter and the Leiden Plates, and took the word '*ālanvalā*' in this inscription in the sense in which I have taken it.

lasting edict' As the composers and engravers are separately mentioned by name, it is not clear what exact part this person played But it proves that the lord of Katāha was an interested party in the transaction

The learned Editor has discussed at length various possible relations, friendly or hostile, between the Chōla king and the ruler of Katāha at the time of the grant (p 230 above) There can be no doubt that the relation of the Śailēndras and Chōlas was friendly, not only at the time when the grant was first made, but also when the deed was actually executed, early in the reign of Rājendra Chōla But soon hostility broke out, and there was a prolonged warfare between the two The first reference to this hostility is contained in the Tiruvālangādu plates dated in the sixth year of Rājendra Chōla From these we learn that the Chōla army crossed the seas and conquered Katāha<sup>1</sup> The Malur inscription of Rājendra Chōla, dated in the thirteenth year, gives a detailed account of his conquest of Kaḍāra and various dominions included in the Śailēndra empire These details are repeated in other charters of Rājendra Chōla dated in the 19th, 22nd, 23rd, and 27th years of his reign, and some other inscriptions represent him as burning Katāha and ruling over Kaḍāra There is thus clear evidence that Rājendra Chōla conquered the Śailēndra empire in or before his 13th regnal year, and that hostilities had probably begun as early as the sixth year The views of the learned Editor of the Plates that the conquest of Katāha is described in detail in the records of the 16th year onwards (p 230) does not appear to be accurate

The war between the two kingdoms continued during the reigns of Vīra-Rājendra and Kulōttunga The former is said to have conquered the kingdom of Kaḍāra, but he gave it back to its king who worshipped his feet<sup>2</sup>

But the Smaller Leiden Plates show that peace and amity were again established between the two powers by A D. 1089 90 As already stated above, these Plates inform us that at the request of the king of Kaḍāra, communicated by his envoys Rājavidyādhara Sāmanta and Abhimānōttunga Sāmanta, Kulōttunga exempted from taxes the village granted by the Larger Leiden Plates Thus diplomatic relations were again established, and friendly feelings revived, after a struggle of more than half a century during the interval between the two Leiden Charters

In conclusion, we may refer to a point on which these Plates throw interesting light Line 81 of the Sanskrit portion refers to the king of Katāha as 'Makara-dhvaja' Makara, which is a conventional representation of an animal with the body of a fish and the head of an elephant, forms one of the most well known decorative ornaments in Javanese architecture The adoption of Makara as the emblem of royal banner by the Śailēndras may explain its frequent occurrence in Javanese architecture

<sup>1</sup> The reliability of the inscription, in this respect, has been doubted I have fully discussed this point in the article No 5 mentioned in p 281 n 2.

<sup>2</sup> *S I I*, Vol III, Part II, p 202 This inscription, among others, disproves the statement of the Editor of the Nālandā Charter that "in the documents, known at present, these Śailēndras or the rulers of Śrī Vijaya are nowhere mentioned as the feudatories of the Chōlas". (Above, Vol XVII, p 313).

No 37 —CHIRAVA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF SAMARASIMHA OF MEWAR,  
[VIKRAMA-JSAMVAT 1330]

By R R HALDER, RAJPUTANA MUSEUM, AJMER

This inscription was first edited in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol XXI, pp 155 ff without any notes on historical persons and places mentioned therein In order to bring out the importance of the inscription historically, I re-edit it in English from an ink-impression kindly placed at my disposal by Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar H Ojha of Ajmer

The stone containing this inscription is now fixed outside the door of a new temple at **Chīravā**, a village situated about eight miles to the north of Udaipur in Mewār

The record consists of thirty-six lines of writing, which cover a space of about 1' 9" × 1' 8" The characters are Nāgarī of the fourteenth century A D , common in Rājputāna during that period

The language is Sanskrit and excepting a few words in the beginning and the date at the end, the whole inscription is in verse

The inscription commences with the usual eulogy of the god Yōgēsvara and the goddess Yōgēsvarī (Vv 1—2) Verse 3 says that in ancient times there was the king **Bappaka** in the family of the sons of Guhila (i e , Guhilot clan) After many kings came **Padmasimha**, who was like a jewel among men (V 4) Verse 5 speaks of his son **Jaitrasimha**, who was like the wind of destruction to other great kings In verse 6, we are informed that neither the kings of Mālava (Mālwa), Gurjara (Gujarāt), Mārava (Mārwar) and Jāngala, nor the ruler of the *mlēchchhas* (Muhammadans) could humble his pride His (Jaitrasimha's) son was **Tējahsimha**, a devotee of Śiva, whose son was **Samarasimha**, an exceedingly brave and dutiful king then living (Vv 7-8) The text then turns to another family, which rendered conspicuous services to the kings of Mewār Verses 9-12 state that in the Tāmtarada family, there was a man named Uddharana who being able to protect the good and punish the wicked was made the *Talāraḥsha* of **Nāgdrahapura** (Nāgdā) by the king **Mathanasimha**, and who had eight sons, the eldest of whom was Yōgarāja who in turn was made the *Talāra* in the same city by the king **Padmasimha** His (Yōgarāja's) younger brother was Ratabhū, whose son was Kēlnana Kēlnana's son was Udayī, whose son was Karmana (Vv 13 14) Yōgarāja had four sons, namely, Pamarāja, Mahēndra, Champaka and Kshēma, of whom Pamarāja was killed fighting with the army of **Suratrāna** (Sultān) near **Bhūtālā**, while **Nāgdrahapura** was destroyed (Vv 15 16) Verse 17 speaks of Mahēndra having three sons named Bālā (Bālāka), Āhlādana and Vayaja Bālāka's son was Pēthāka, whose son was Sāmanta, a worshipper of Vishnu (V 18) In verse 19 we are told that while **Kōttadaka** was being taken and a battle with **Rānā Tribhuvana** was being fought, Bālāka was killed fighting in front of the king Jaitrasimha His clever wife Bhōlī, being unable to bear the pains of separation of her husband, became *satī* (V 20) Champaka had a son named Rājasimha who had a son called Rāmasimha whose son was Bhachumda (V 21) Verse 22 informs us that, through the favour of the king Jaitrasimha, Kshēma secured the post of *Talāraḥsha* of **Chitrakūta** (Chitor) From his guileless wife Hirū he had a son named Ratna, who was killed along with **Bhīmasimha** in a battle fought at the foot of the fortress of Chitor Ratna's son was Lālā and brother was Madana The latter proved his valour in the battlefield of **Uttūnaka**, while fighting with *Pamchalagudika* **Jaitramalla** in the cause of the king **Jēsala** (Vv 23 28) Verse 29 says that Bhīmasimha's son Rājasimha on being made a minister, paid him (Madana) much respect Through the favour of the king **Samarasimha**, he (Madana) succeeded his father in the post of *Talāraḥsha* of Chitor, where he worshipped Śiva in the temple of **Tribhuvananārāyana** built by the king **Bhōja** (Vv 30 31) Madana's son was Mōhana (V 32) The

text of the record again changes here and describes the village **Chīrakūpa** (i.e. Chīravā where the inscription is found). Verses 24-40 tell us that, surrounded by hills and beautiful sights, the village Chīrakūpa is situated near Nāgahrada and was given as a gift by the king Padmasimha to Yōgarīja serving in his army. The latter built there the temples of *Yōgēśvara* and *Yōgēśvarī*, which were restored later on by Madana, who granted some land near the lake **Kālēlāya** (Kālēlā) for the maintenance of those temples. Another beautiful temple of Vishnu called Uddharanasāmī had formerly been built there by Uddharana (V 37). In verses 41-42, Vayārāka, Pātāka, Munda, Bhuvana, Tūja, Sāmanta, Ariyaputra, Madana and their descendants are urged to preserve the grant fully. Then follows the description of the Jain *Āchāryas*, who flourished at that place (Chitor). Verse 43 says that there was at the head of the Pāsupata sect Śivarāśī, who possessed many good qualities and worshipped the (god) Ēkalīnga. After him Bhadrāsvarasūri of the Chaitra *gachehha*, Dēvabhadrāsūri, Siddhasnāsūri, Jinēsvarasūri, his pupil Vijayasimhasūri, Bhuvanachandrasūri, his pupil Ratnaprabhasūri, then living, followed in succession (Vv 45-47). The last-named was highly honoured by Visvaladēva and Tūjasimha, and composed this *prasasti* at Chitor (V 48). The name of the writer of this record is given as **Pārsvachandra**, who was the pupil of Ratnaprabhasūri, while that of the engraver was **Kēlīsimha**, son of Padmasimha. **Dēlhana** was the artisan, who did other things connected with it (Vv 49-50). At the end, the date is given as [Friday], the first day of the bright half of *Kārttika*, Samvat 1330, corresponding to Friday, the 13th October 1273 A.D.

As regards the persons mentioned in the inscription, the name **Bappaka** (V 3), which seems to be a personal title and not an individual name, refers to the Guhila ruler of Mewār, also known as Bappa,<sup>1</sup> Vāppaka,<sup>2</sup> Bishpa,<sup>3</sup> Bappāka,<sup>4</sup> Bāppa,<sup>5</sup> Bāpā,<sup>6</sup> etc. In the inscription<sup>7</sup> of Naravāhana, dated V S 1028 (A.D. 971) he is said to be like a moon among the kings of the Guhila family and a jewel on this earth. He is said to have ruled for some time at Nāgdā, the old capital of Mewār and then taken the fortress of Chitor from the Mori king Māna.<sup>8</sup> The inscription<sup>9</sup> dated V S 770 (A.D. 713) shows that Chitor was in the possession of the Mori dynasty till that year, so that Bappaka (Bāpā) must have taken it after that date. According to the *Ēkalīnga Māhātmya*, also called *Ēkalīnga Purāna* of the time of *Rānā Rāyamala*, he is said to have abdicated in favour of his son in V S 810 (A.D. 753).<sup>10</sup> This shows that he was the master of Chitor for about 40 years from V S 770 to 810 (A.D. 713-753). The accession of Bāpā, according to Col. Tod, also falls within this period.<sup>11</sup>

This date of Bāpā helps in his identification. In the inscriptions of Rānapur,<sup>12</sup> Ābu<sup>13</sup> and Chitor,<sup>14</sup> dated Samvat 1496, 1342 and 1331 respectively (in which the genealogy of the Mewār

<sup>1</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XVI, p 347, verse 10

<sup>2</sup> *J B B R A S*, Vol XXII, p 166

<sup>3</sup> *Bhuvanagar Inscriptions*, p 118, verse 17

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, p 141. Inscription, dated V S 1537 of the time of Mahārāna Rāyamala of Mewār

<sup>5</sup> *श्रीमद्वाल्मीकिरामायणभाष्ये* ॥३८॥ *Ēkalīnga Mahātmya* (Manuscript, dated V S 1738) of the time of Mahārāna Kumbhakarna of Mewār

<sup>6</sup> *Bhuvanagar Inscriptions*, p 123

<sup>7</sup> *J B B R A S*, Vol XXII, p 166

<sup>8</sup> *Tod's Rajasthan* (Lt. Crooke), Vol I, p 266. *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, 1917-18*, p 3

<sup>9</sup> *Tod's Rajasthan*, Vol II, p 919, Appendix No 3

<sup>10</sup> *Ind Ant*, Vol XXXIX, p 190

<sup>11</sup> *Tod's Rajasthan*, Vol I, p 269

<sup>12</sup> *An. Rep. A S I*, 1907-8, p 214

<sup>13</sup> *Ind Ant*, Vol XVI, p 347

<sup>14</sup> *Curvingham A S R*, Vol XXIII, plate XX, v 3

ruled is not complete) he is designated as father of Gulula which is evidently wrong. In the Kumbhalgarh<sup>1</sup> inscription, dated V. S. 1517 he is placed fifth from Gulula which seems also to be wrong for in the Ātipur<sup>2</sup> inscription dated Samvat 1034 which is earlier than the Kumbhalgarh inscription and in which the genealogy of the early rulers of Mewār is complete and correct, this (fifth) place is occupied by Śila, although there is no mention of the name of Bīpī in it. Thus Śila of the Ātipur inscription is Bappa of the Kumbhalgarh inscription so that Bappa or Bīpī may be identified with Śila (Śilāditya). But, the discovery of Śilāditya's inscription,<sup>3</sup> dated V. S. 70 and of his son<sup>4</sup> Aparījita dated V. S. 718, annuls this identification of Bīpī with Śila, there being a difference of about 70 years between this date of Śila and that of Bāpī specified above. In the Ātipur inscription after Aparījita, come the names of Mahēndra, Kālabhōja and Khumīna in succession. In Rippurīnā Khumīna is said to be the son of Bāpī,<sup>5</sup> i.e., Bāpī was the father of Khumīna and hence he is to be identified with Kālabhōja, who is mentioned in all the above named inscription.<sup>6</sup> The date of Bīpī according to this assumption will not differ much from that of Kālabhōja if an average rule of 25 years be assigned to each of the preceding ruler Aparījita and Mahēndra (II).

**Jaitrasimha** (V. 5) was one of the most powerful kings of Mewār. He is also known by the names Jayatala<sup>7</sup>, Jayasimha<sup>8</sup>, Jayat-simha<sup>9</sup> and Jait-sī<sup>10</sup>. His name is not mentioned by Col Tod in his *Rajasthan*. He was the grand father of Samarasimha, to whose time the present record belongs. He fought many battles with the Sultāns of Delhi, Gujarāt, Mālwa and the rulers of Māraṭra, Langūda and Sind<sup>11</sup>. The inscriptions of his time show that he ruled at least for 39 years. **Tējabhisimha** (V. 7) was the son and successor of Jaitrasimha and ascended the throne between Samvat 1299<sup>12</sup> and 1317<sup>13</sup> (A.D. 1253 and 1261). During his time Mewār seems to have been attacked by Visaladeva the Bīghēlī (Rānā of Dhōlīā, who afterwards became the ruler of Gujarāt<sup>14</sup>). He died between Samvat 1321 and 1330 (A.D. 1267 and 1273). Much is already known about **Samarasimha** (V. 8) who succeeded his father Tējabhisimha about Samvat 1330 (A.D. 1273). He seems to have protected Gujarāt when it was attacked by the Muḥammadans<sup>15</sup> (Sultān of Delhi, most probably Ghāṣiuddīn Balbān A.D. 1265-1287)<sup>16</sup>. He also protected the Mewār country when Ulugh Khān the younger brother of Alāuddīn, started from Delhi for Gujarāt<sup>17</sup>. The inscriptions of his time range from Samvat 1370 to 1379<sup>18</sup> (A.D. 1274 to 1301). There is nothing worth mentioning about **Padmasimha** (V. 4) and **Mathanāsīmha** (V. 10) except that they followed in succession on the throne of Mewār and were the father and grand father respectively of *Rātal*

<sup>1</sup> Noted in *PP. IS. B.C.*, 1905-06, p. 61, No. 2214.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Art.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 187.

<sup>3</sup> Above Vol. XX, p. 97.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 31.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Art.*, Vol. LIX, p. 165, notes 26 and 27. Also noted in *Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 250, n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> He has been identified with Khumīna I (*Ind. Art.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 190).

<sup>7</sup> *Haripurīnā*, in *manḍana* of Jayasimha's time, p. 27.

<sup>8</sup> *Annual Report of the Ajaypura Museum*, *Ajmer*, 1924-25, p. 2, No. III.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2, No. II.

<sup>10</sup> In bardic chronicles.

<sup>11</sup> *Ind. Art.*, Vol. LVII, pp. 31-34.

<sup>12</sup> This is the date of the last manuscript of Jaitrasimha's time.

<sup>13</sup> This is the date of the first manuscript of Tējabhisimha's time.

<sup>14</sup> *Ind. Art.*, Vol. VI, p. 210, plate I 1-4 and Vol. LIX, p. 166.

<sup>15</sup> *Ind. Art.*, Vol. XVI, p. 370, V. 46.

<sup>16</sup> Edward Thomas, *The Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 7.

<sup>17</sup> *Ind. Art.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 194-95.

<sup>18</sup> *An. Rep. Ajaypura Museum, Ajmer*, 1920-21, p. 4, No. VIII.



Jatrasimha of Mewār, who is mentioned in verse 5 of this record, and who is called Jāsala in v 28 of the same

*Rānā Tribhuvana* (V 19) was the king of Gujarāt after Bhīmadēva II and was the contemporary of *Rāval* Jatrasimha of Mewār<sup>1</sup>

Bhīmasimha (V 26) appears to have been the minister<sup>2</sup> of Jatrasimha and was killed in the fight, most probably fought between Tejāsīmha of Mewār and Viśaladēva of Gujarāt<sup>3</sup>

*Suratrāna* (V 16) refers to the Sultān Shamsu'ddin Altamsh of Delhi, who had attacked Mewār and destroyed Nāgdā, its old capital<sup>4</sup>

*Jatramalla* (V 28) was the Paramāra king Jayatungidēva of Mālwa<sup>5</sup>

Bhōjarāja (V 31) was evidently the Paramāra king Bhōjadēva of Mālwa. He lived for sometime at Chitor and built there a temple of Śiva, which is now called Advadjī or Mōkaljī's temple<sup>6</sup>

*Tribhuvananārāyana* (V 31) was the name of the temple as well as the title of the king Bhōja who built it. It was also called *Bhōjasvāmījagatī*<sup>7</sup>

*Viśvaladēva* (V 48) was evidently Viśaladēva, the younger son of Viśradhavalā, the Bāghela ruler of Dhōlkā. He became the *Rānā* after the death of his father in Samvat 1291 (A D 1238) and in Samvat 1300 (A D 1247) usurped the throne of Gujarāt after deposing its ruler Tribhuvana (Tribhuvanapāla) referred to in v 19 of this inscription<sup>8</sup>

As to the places mentioned in this record, *Chīrakūpa* (V 24) is the present village of Chīravā, about 8 miles north of Udaipur. *Nāgadrāha* or *Nāgahrada* (Vv 10 and 12 respectively) is now called Nāgdā and was the old Capital of Mewār. *Bhūtālā* (V 16) is a village about twelve miles from Nāgdā. *Kōttadaka* (V 19) is the village of Kōtrā, one of the military stations in Mewār. *Utthūnaka* (V 28) is the village of Arthūnā in the Bānswārā State in Rājputāna.

#### TEXT

Metres — Vv 10, 11, 16, 17, 19, 20, 23, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 42, 44, 45, 47 and 48 *Āryā*, vv 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 22, 25, 32, 37, 49, 50 and 51 *Anushtubh*, vv 1, 4, 5, 6, 26, 34 and 36 *Upajāti*, vv 7, 38, 39, 40 and 43 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, vv 41 and 46 *Gīti*, v 2 *Indravajrā*, v 3 *Vantāliya*, v 8 *Māhātī*, v 21 *Rathōddhatā*, v 24 *Vasantatīlātā* and v 35 *Indravamśā*

1 सिद्धम्<sup>1</sup> ॥ श्री नमः श्रीमहादेवाय ॥ श्रीयोगराजेश्वरनामधेयो देवो हृषीकेशः स शिवाय वोस्तु । स्तुतः सदा यः प्रसदात्प्रसन्नः किं किं प्रभुत्वं न ददाति सद्यः ॥

2 १ योगेश्वरी वो भवतु प्रसन्ना देवी स्वभावानवमप्रभावा । षट्संसाधनलीनचित्तेर्योगीन्द्रहृदैरभिवदिताङ्गिः ॥२ गुह्यलागजवंशजः पुत्रा चित्तिपा-

3 लोचन बभूव वपुः । प्रथमः परिपंथिपार्थिवध्वजिनीध्वसनलालसाशयः ॥३ व(व)हु-  
प्वतीतिषु महीश्वरेषु श्रीपद्मसिंहः पुरुषोत्तमोभूत् । सर्वांगहृद्यं यमवाप्य ल-

<sup>1</sup> *Ind Ant*, Vol LVII, p 33

<sup>2</sup> His son Rājasimha was also made a minister, as is clear from v 29 of this record

<sup>3</sup> *Ind Ant*, Vol LIX, p 166

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, Vol LVII, p 32

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, Vol LVII, p 33

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, Vol LIX, p 163 4

<sup>7</sup> *An Rep Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*, 1920 21, p 4

<sup>8</sup> *Duff's Chronology*, p 189

<sup>9</sup> Expressed by a symbol

- 4 क्षीस्तस्थौ विद्यायास्थिरता सहोत्थां ॥४ श्रीजेन्नसिहस्तगुजोस्य जातोभिजातिभूभृत्प्र-  
लयानिलाभः । सर्वत्र येन स्फुरता न कोषां चित्तानि कंप गमितानि
- 5 सद्यः ॥५ न मालवीयेन न गौर्जरेण न मारवेशेन न जागलेन । स्नेच्छाधि-  
नाथेन कदापि भानो ज्ञानिं न निन्देवनिपत्य यस्य ॥६ तेजःसिंह  
इलापतिः
- 6 समसवत्सलात्मजन्मा नथी चातुर्योऽश्वयंचिताच्युतवधूवचप्रपंचीचय । चचचंद्रमरी-  
चिचक्रचिराचारो विचाराचितं चित न्यचितचापलं च रचयन् श्रीचद्र-  
चूडार्चने ॥
- 7 ७ तदनु च तनुजन्मा तस्य कल्याणजन्मा जयति समरसिंहः शत्रुसंहारसिंहः ।  
चित्तिपतिरतिशूरशृङ्गद्रुक्तीर्तिपूरः स्तुतिविहितकर्मा वु(वु)वसवर्षमर्मा ॥८ इत्य ॥  
जात-
- 8 छोट्टरुज्जातो पूर्वमुद्धरणमिधः । पुमानुमाप्रियोपास्त्रिसंपन्नशुभवैभवः ॥९ यं दुष्ट-  
शिष्टशिष्टाण्यदक्षत्वतस्तलारक्षं । श्रीमयनसिंहनृपतिश्चकार नागद्रुद्रंगे ॥१०
- 9 अष्टावस्य विशिष्टा पुत्रा अभवन्विवेकसुपवित्राः । तेषु व(व)भूव प्रथमः प्रथितयशा  
योगराज इति ॥११ श्रीपद्मसिंहभूपालाद्योगराजस्तलारता । नागद्रुदपुरे प्राप  
पौरप्रो-
- 10 तिप्रदायकः ॥१२ बभूवावरजस्तस्य रतभूरिति विश्रुतः । केष्टुस्तनयोमुष्य सुख्य  
पौरुषशालिना ॥१३ उदयीत्याख्यया ख्यातस्तत्सुतो विततोदयी । अभूज्जातस्तु  
तत्पुत्रः कर्मण
- 11 सप्त शर्मणः ॥१४ योगराजस्य चत्वारश्चतुरा जज्ञिरेगजा । पमराजो महेंद्रोश्च  
चंपकः जेम इत्यमी ॥१५ नागद्रुहपुरभगे समं सुरत्राणसैनिकैर्युद्धा । भूता-  
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<sup>१</sup> Seems to be the title of Jaitramalla<sup>२</sup> Read निपाप

- 23 निधानि पदे पदे प्राज्यलसन्निधानि । ग्राम. सुभूमीभृति चौरकूपनामाख्यदो-  
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BY B CH CHHABRA, M A, M O L, P H D

[The figures refer to pages, *n* after a figure to footnotes and *add* to additions. The following other abbreviations are also used — *ca* = capital, *ch* = chief, *ci* = city, *co* = country, *com* = composer, *di* = district or division, *do* = ditto, *dy* = dynasty, *E* = Eastern, *engr* = engraver, *ep* = epithet, *f* = female, *k* = king, *l* = locality, *m* = male, *mo* = mountain, *myth* = mythic or mythological, *n* = name, *N* = Northern, *off* = office, *q* = queen, *ri* = river, *S* = Southern, *sa* = same as, *sur* = surname, *te* = temple, *tit* = title, *vi* = village, *W* = Western.]

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